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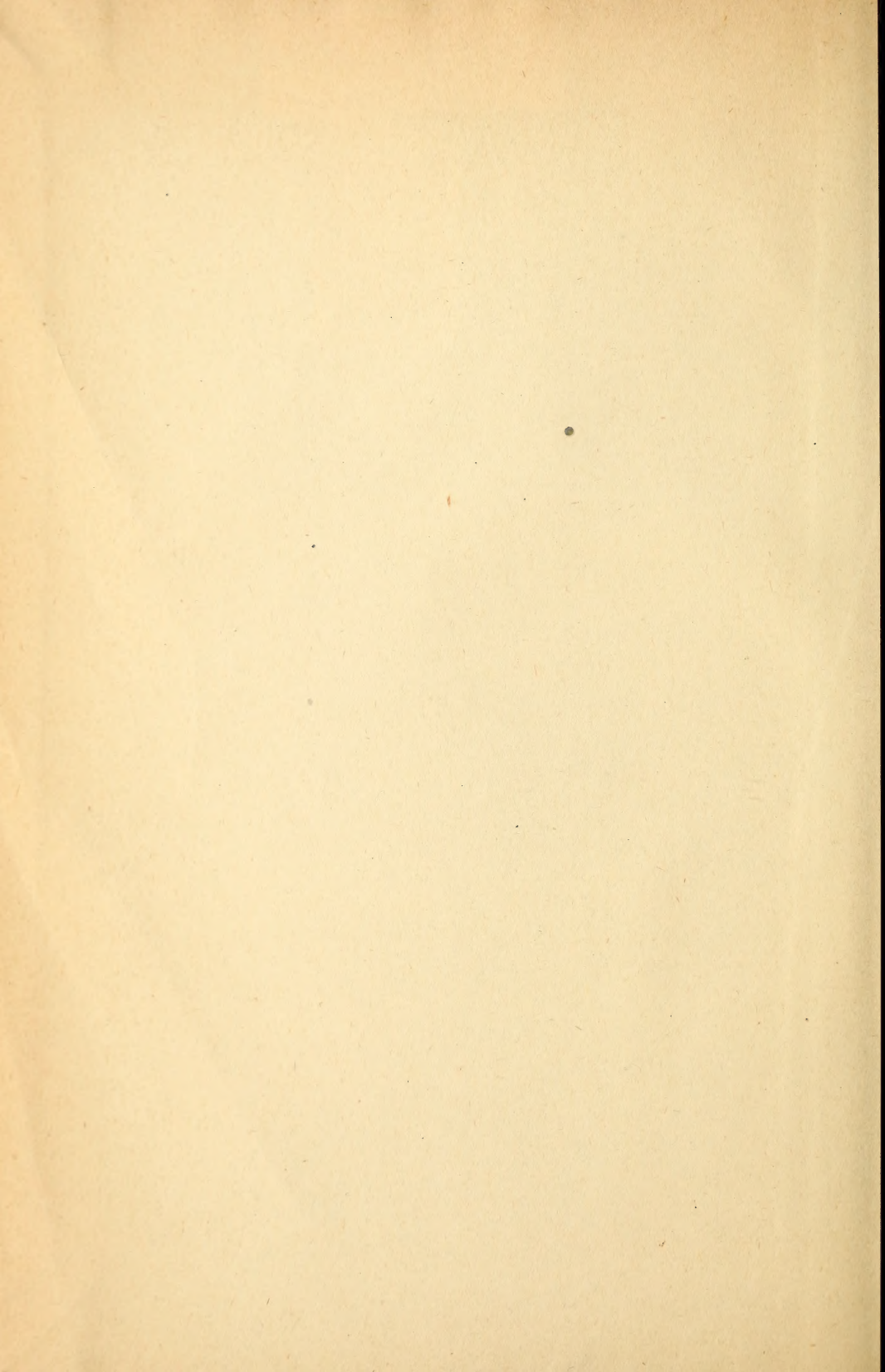
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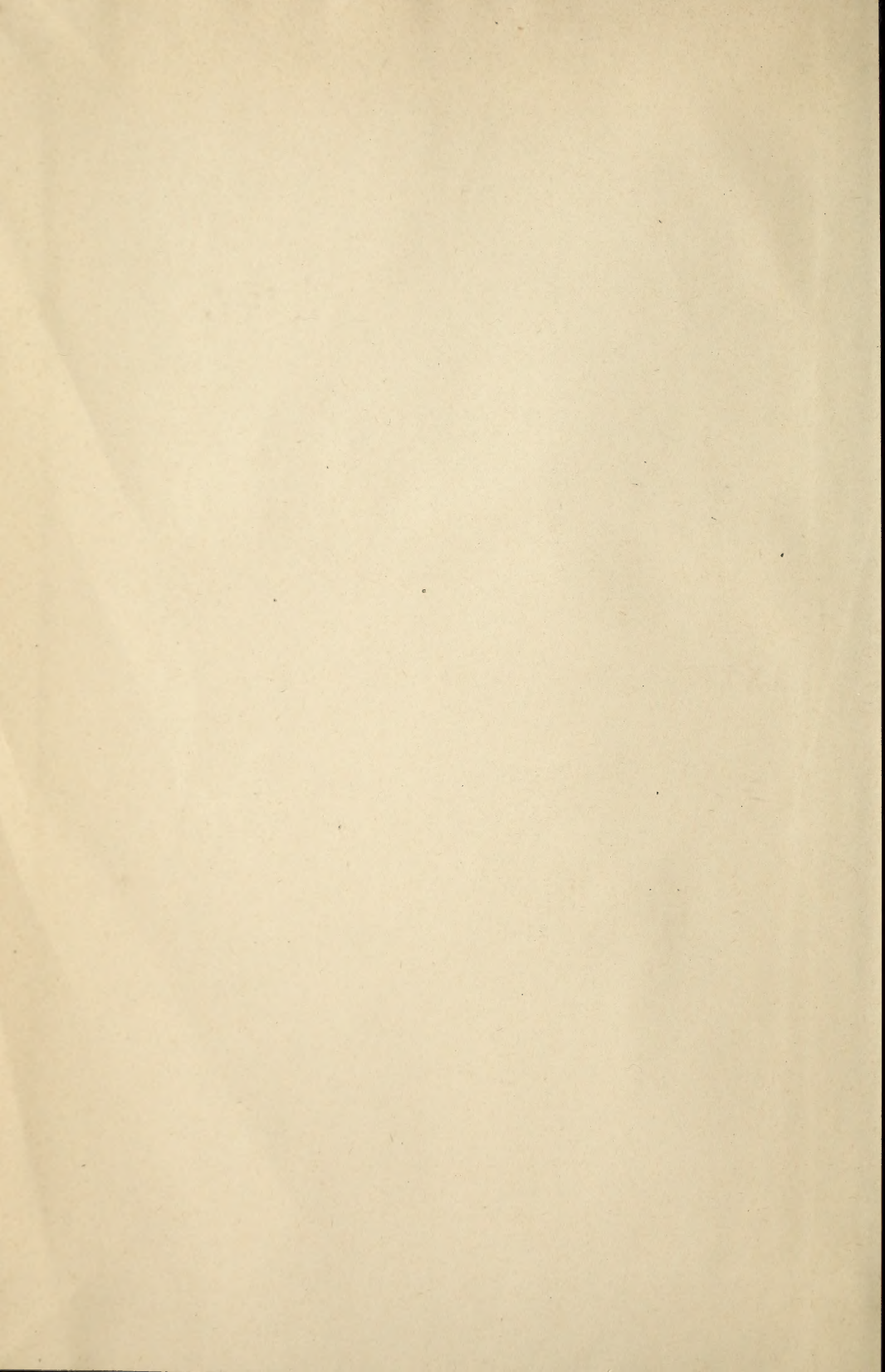
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THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,  
AND  
NOTES AND QUERIES,  
CONCERNING THE  
ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY  
OF  
AMERICA.

VOL. X.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:  
HENRY B. DAWSON.

1866.

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BRADSTREET PRESS.

## PREFATORY NOTE.

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A little more than ten years since, a young Bostonian, Mr. Charles B. Richardson, entertained the idea that a monthly periodical, devoted to the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America, would be an useful, if not a remunerative enterprise; and after consulting Doctor Sparks, Mr. Everett, and other prominent gentlemen in his vicinity, he embarked in the venture.

The first number of this new candidate for popular support and favor was issued on the first of January, 1857, under the able editorial supervision of Mr. John Ward Dean; and the first volume of the work, all that Mr. Dean edited, remains to this day unsurpassed, if not unequalled, in value by any of those which have followed it, if not by any similar work which has ever issued from the prolific press of our country. But the enterprising Publisher soon ascertained that something more than sterling ability and integrity in his Editor was required to secure the business success which THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE merited and he desired. Boston, he soon found, as other Eastern business-men have since discovered, might be properly considered the commercial and literary capital of *New England*, but not that of *the United States*; that that respectable town, the home of his fathers and his own home, might properly be considered an excellent place, as it was, for a limited, *local* trade, but not for a business which aspired to, and required, a *general* support and a sympathy which should extend throughout the entire Union; and that if he expected to become entirely successful, he must remove to the locality where only that success could be certainly found.

Accordingly, at the close of the first year, the office of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE was removed to New York, where it was received with favor and, under the editorial care, successively, of Hon. George Folsom and John Gilmary Shea, LL.D., very soon became a highly successful, while it continued to be, also, a highly useful work.

The troubles in the Southern States, in 1861-5, which affected every branch of business in the North having relations with that portion of the Union, seriously affected THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and without materially increasing the support which it had previously enjoyed nearer home, it lost, in those dark days, that portion of its support, both literary and material, which had come from the Southern States. It is satisfactory, however, to know that, notwithstanding this serious loss, the work continued to be self-sustaining

297

throughout the war ; and the rapid increase of subscriptions during the past six months, warrants the belief that the former business success of the work is not far distant, even if the Editorial ability displayed in its earlier volumes shall not be equaled in those which are to come. It is, also, not less satisfactory to my own feelings, that the greater part of this increase, as well as the greater portion of the former support of the Magazine, has come from the *wicked* city of New York and its vicinity, and in the face of a *repudiation of just debts incurred for the privilege of receiving its monthly issues*, of gratuitous abuse of its management by those who have contributed nothing for its support, of a thin-skinned sensibility when an unpalatable truth has been spoken, and of a dishonest hankering for the suppression or denial of whatever in History tells against their fathers, their Commonwealth, or themselves, which have come from *self-righteous* Boston and its vicinity. *Its greatest and most reliable support is found where the Magazine and its Editor are best known.*

Looking, therefore, at the history of the Magazine and my own brief experience as its Editor and Proprietor, at the steady and efficient support, during a period of anxious suffering, of one the most enlightened constituencies in the country, and at the whole-souled liberality—generally in that community among whom I have lived and toiled during the past thirty-three years—which has recently rallied to my support and is continuing the work on a paying basis, notwithstanding the bad faith of some of my “patrons,” so called, I have reason to feel grateful to God—to that God who “hateth a false witness who speaketh lies, and him who soweth discord among brethren”—and to those, prompted by him, who in holding up my hands have vindicated the Truth and rebuked Hypocrisy. To these, and to my friends everywhere, I gratefully acknowledge my great indebtedness ; and earnestly bespeaking a continuation of their kind indulgence and support, I turn to the future, buckle on the harness, and resume the work to which God, in his Providence, has so emphatically called me.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

*Morrisania*, 1866.

# THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. X.]

JANUARY, 1866.

[No. 1.

## General Department.

By their own most ancient traditions, before they went South they were associated with the Kickapoo, and with them crossed a  
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### TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

In assuming the charge of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, at the commencement of its Tenth Volume, the subscriber desires to announce that every effort will be made to secure its continued and increased value as a medium of communication between historical and antiquarian students.

A large amount of fresh and valuable matter has been secured for its columns;—its many old contributors will be largely reinforced by others;—a new department of “Book-Gossip” has been added;—its “Reports of Proceedings of Societies” will be more fully and promptly given;—and other new features of interest and permanent value will be introduced from time to time.

Arrangements have also been made to insure (after March 1st) the prompt appearance of the Magazine upon the 1st of each month;—engravings and other illustrations will be more frequently given;—and its typographical appearance will be much improved.

In doing this, the subscriber desires the friends of the Magazine distinctly to understand that he expects *their lively co-operation*, both in influencing new subscriptions and in forwarding literary contributions to the Magazine.

For himself, although he cannot expect to rival the ripe scholarship which his amiable predecessor has hitherto bestowed upon it, he feels confident that, if energy and industry can accomplish anything, he will be able to render a fair *quid pro quo* for the support which his friends may render.

HENRY R. STILES.

NEW YORK, January, 1866.

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### THE SHAWNEES AND THEIR MIGRATIONS.

BY D. G. BRINTON, M. D.

IN remotest Algie tradition Kabeygun, the west wind, divided the world between his four sons: Wabuw, the east; Shawano, the south; Kabibonokka, the north; and Manibozho, the ancestor of the Chipeway tribes (Schoolcraft Algie Res., ii., p. 214). This allegory would seem to mean that the Algonquin race, coming from the West to the Lake Superior region, there separated into four bands, one of which remained on the spot, while the others continued their journeyings east, north and south.

In historic times an Algonquin tribe, calling itself Sawanwaki (Smith's Fontaneda, p. 47), known to the French as Chaouanous, locally to the Iroquois, because of the corrupt dialect of the Algonquin they spoke, as Ontouagannha or Touagannha, *the place where they do not know how to speak* (là où on ne sait pas parler, Relation de 1662, p. 2), to the English as Shawnees, Shawannohs or Savannahs, is frequently mentioned as living "toward" or "beyond Carolina," in Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois and Pennsylvania; and though of no great numerical force, in course of time became quite conspicuous by its constant roamings, its intractable character, and its distinguished men (Tecumseh, Elkskatawa). "Its tortuous wanderings," says Mr. Parkman (Conspiracy of Pontiac, p. 28), "perplex the antiquary and defy research." It is the obscure problem of their history that I propose to approach.

HIST. MAG. VOL. X.

1

By their own most ancient traditions, before they went South they were associated with the Kickapoo, and with them crossed a vast water, probably one of the great lakes, apparently to Ohio, when the latter moved west and the Shawnees turned south (Louis Rodgers, 1812, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, iv., p. 255). A similarity of dialect still existing, and the fact that as early as 1648 Father Ragueneau mentions a small band of *Ouchawanag* associated with the Mascouteus and Kickapoux on Fox River, substantiate this tradition (Rel. de 1648, p. 62). Except this small band none of the Shawnees dwelt north of the Ohio during the period of the Jesuit Relations, until 1672. They, indeed, maintained constant intercourse with their related tribes, and constant quarreling with the Iroquois, but are described by Father Marquette, in 1670, as living east south-east of the Illinois, a distance of thirty days' travel, in a land where two crops of corn could be raised in a year; and as they dealt in colored glass beads (*rassade*), it was evident they were in proximity to some European settlement (Rel., p. 91). Under the name Ontouagannha they are located by Father Salemant four hundred leagues south south-west of the Iroquois, on a great sea, near Europeans who made use of bells and beads in their worship (Rel. de 1662, p. 2), and by Father Bruyas at the more moderate figure of two hundred leagues (Rel. de 1670, p. 46).

When, then, did they return to "the great plain of Moguck on the Scioto," which was so long notorious by their inhabitation? I believe the answer to this query may be found in the famous speech of Garangula to De La Barre at Hungry Bay, in 1684. In his charges against the Miamies he specifies,

among others, that "they brought the Satanas into the country to take part with them, after they had concerted ill designs against us," referring to the great Algonquin league of ten nations, headed by the Miamies, which had formed a year or two before. "The Satanas," explains Smith, from whom I quote, "are by the French called Sauounons (Hist. N. Y., p. 63; see also Father Lamber-ville in Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., p. 63). This league, and the Shawnees as members of it, are mentioned a few years later (1689) in the reports of the Albany Convention (Doc. Hist. N. Y., ii., pp. 137-8), and it is evident that the Iroquois did not obtain that supremacy over them which they afterwards exercised, without a struggle. In or about the year 1683, therefore, the Shawnees, at the instance of the Miamies, came north and located themselves in Ohio. Where did they come from? Doubtless from that warm country, near the ocean and Spanish settle-ments, hundreds of leagues east south-east, that the Jesuit fathers describe. Long after-ward they remembered the trail and retraced it to wage their ancient feuds, the war-path leading up the Kentucky river, through the Cumberland gap, up the French Broad from the valley of the Tennessee, and by Saluda gap into the fertile lowlands of South Carolina (compare Proud, Hist. Pa., ii., p. 334, and Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, iv., p. 256). Their identification among the Southern tribes is a matter of difficulty, indeed, but seems not altogether hopeless.

A tribe called in the earlier narratives Savannahs, and subsequently Yemassee, dwelt on both banks of the river, to which they gave their name, between Georgia and Carolina, extending from the sea to sixty miles inland, and scattered along the shore quite to the Spanish settlements in Florida. (Carroll, Hist. Colls. of S. C., pp. 106, 246, 353, 355, Barcia Año 1686.) We possess no monu-ments of their language, and Albert Gallatin supposed them of Creek descent; but not only is the name Savannahs clearly identical with Shawanos, and was so understood by the French, who called this river *Rivière des Chaouanos* (Atlas Nouveau of De l'Isle, 1739), but their position corresponds in all respects with that attributed to the Ontou-

agannha; and furthermore, when, in 1716, the Lords proprietors ordered the "extirpa-tion" of the Yemassee, a portion of them sought refuge, as among kinsfolk, with the Shawnees, then living in the colony of Penn. (Hazard, Reg. of Pa., xv., p. 82.) Adjoining them, higher up the river, lived the Uchees, who, in the same year (1716), migrated, in great part, to West Florida, whose language, in the meagre specimens we possess, shows indeed but slender affinity to the Algonquin, but is obviously in no way connected with the Creek, and as late as 1774 was certainly intelligible to persons understanding the Shawnee dialect. (Bartram, Travels, pp. 389, 466.) It is further remarkable that after the towns of the Shawnees, in Ohio, were destroyed by General Clark, in 1780, many of the tribe migrated to the far South, and, associating themselves with the Creeks, settled near the Uchees, on the Talapoosa river. (Major Swan, in Schoolcraft, v., pp. 260-262.) There can be no reasonable doubt but that the whole or a portion of both Uchees and Yemassee were of Algonquin derivation and dialect. If, in 1662 their language was already so corrupt that their country was called, in ridicule, Ontouagann-ha, *where the people do not know how to talk*, what wonder that a vocabulary collected a century and a half later should manifest many and radical differences from the mother tongue?

Two years after the decisive action of the Lords proprietors, which resulted in driving them from the Savannah river, we find the first mention of the Shawnees in Spanish writers. Barcia notes that in 1718 an Indian of the "Sabano" tribe, living near Mobile, brought letters from Bienville to Don Juan Pedro Matamoros (En. Cron., p. 342), and much later in the century the anonymous author of the *Voyage à la Louisiane*, published in Paris, in the year XI. (B. D.: who was he?), who is well informed on Indian affairs, men-tions a tribe of "Chaouanons" north of the Alibamons and south-east of the Chickasaws, at a place called Chalcatague, above Mobile (p. 241, note).

I shall not enter further into the history of these southern Algonquin tribes, but before leaving this portion of the subject it

seems proper to consider the oft-repeated assertion that the Shawnees once dwelt on the Suwaney river, in Florida, and that from them it derives its name. The authorities for this assertion are, first, the resemblance of Suwaney to Shawano; secondly, the tradition of Blackhoof, related by him in 1819, when he was about eighty-five years old, to the effect that he was born in the far South, on the ocean shore, near white men, who used iron; and, thirdly, the supposed Algonquin type of certain Floridian names. (See Morse, Rep. on Ind. Affairs. App. p. 93. Johnson in Arch. Am., i., p. 273. Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, ii., p. 34. Smith, Fontaneda, p. 46, and others.) Another derivation, however, and one equally plausible, has been offered for the word Suwaney, namely, that it is a negro corruption of the Spanish name of the river Sanjuanito (Little San Juan, contradistinguished from the greater river on the eastern coast, Vignolle's Obs. on the Floridas, p. 55). As for the story of Blackhoof, it would apply to many other places besides the banks of the Suwaney, and would certainly not apply there, as the whites had no settlements there whatever at the date of his birth, that whole region having been overrun by the Lower Creeks years before (in 1732 at latest). That there can be found words in the Shawnee of the present day resembling in sound certain native names preserved for more than three centuries by the narrators of De Soto's expedition is undoubtedly true, and certainly not astonishing. There is a similarity between Mocoso and Shawnee M'kwah-thah, little bear, Allimacani and S. alimammakanu, stupendous, Kissimmee (a modern Seminole word) and S. Kisima, verbal insult, Mayaimi and Algonquin Miami, Paracoxi and Al. Paracossi, chief, etc. While ready enough to grant the possibility of an early Algonquin colony on the Floridian peninsula, I have found no sufficient evidence of its existence.

The party that answered the summons of the Miamis, to take part in the great league, did not probably exceed two hundred and fifty fighting men. When by diplomacy and force of arms the Iroquois had broken up the combination, these auxiliaries found themselves out of employment and hunting

grounds. Instead, however, of returning south, they migrated east, moving up the Ohio and Kittanning, and down the Juniata, appearing first in Pennsylvania in 1698, when by the action of the Assembly and the consent of the Indians already there, they were assigned homes on the Susquehanna, and along the Conestoga and Pequa creeks. The date of their first arrival in that State has been contested. Mr. Redmond Conyngnam, of Lancaster, an excellent local antiquarian, has urgently argued that it was as early as 1676, and that they came directly from the south through Virginia (Hazard, Reg. of Pa., xv., pp. 82, 117, 180). In both these points he is in error. That they came from Ohio is proved by a report of a treaty they held with the Six Nations in 1726, who then addressed them thus: "You Shawanese, Look back towards Ohioh, The place from whence You Came, and return thitherward, for now we shall take Pitty on the English, and Lett them have all this Land." (Message of Shawnee Chief to Gov. Gordon in 1732. Pa. Arch., i., p. 329). That it was in the year 1698 they first settled in Pennsylvania, about eighty families in number, is most clearly shown in the State records, and they were frequently reminded of the fact and date, nor ever claimed an earlier possession (see Pa. Arch., i., pp. 228, 302, Col. Rec., iii., p. 460). Thomas Penn expressly says that they were present at the treaty of 1701 merely "as friends of the Susquehannocks" (Col. Rec., iii., p. 604).

The majority remained about the Conestoga, but a smaller party continued on to the Forks of the Delaware, and occupied the east bank and an island in that river, near where Stroudsburg now stands (Hist. Colls. of Pa., pp. 505-6, Heckewelder, p. 69). When in 1726 the Six Nations ordered them back to Ohio, a portion obeyed, but the greater number remained about Conestoga until 1749, when they ceded their land to the whites and removed to the Wyoming Valley under the Chief Backsinosa (Pa. Arch., ii., p. 33), when they had been preceded (about 1740) by the band from the Forks of the Delaware. A few families remained at Beaver Pond near Carlisle until 1750 (Hazard, Reg., v., p. 115). At Wyoming they occupied what were called

the "Shawney Flats" (Miner, Hist. Wyoming, p. 36). In 1754 this territory was ceded from under their feet by the Six Nations in a treaty at Albany, and in the two following years they forsook forever the eastern slope of the Mountains (Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., p. 415). During their residence in Pennsylvania they had increased to about three hundred warriors, partly by birth and partly by arrivals from the far South of relatives, some of whom the early settlers observed could speak the Spanish language (Pa. Arch., i., p. 223, Conrad Weiser in Smith's Fontaneda, p. 47).

Some of these latter isolated migrating bands we can succeed in tracing with tolerable precision. The largest of them left the South in 1730, and having reached as far north on the track of their predecessors as the region now occupied by Clark county, Kentucky, there divided, a portion of them known as the Shaweygira band, thirty warriors in number, continuing north to western Pennsylvania, where they arrived in 1731, while the remainder established the town of Lulbeograd. In 1735 the Iroquois saw fit to order the Shaweygiras further east, an exercise of authority which they resented, and killed the envoy, but foreseeing the certain destruction that awaited them in the north after this rash act, gathered hastily their chattels and "fled back to the place from whence they came, which is below Carolina" (Pa. Arch., i., p. 454, Col. Rec., iii., pp. 609-10). Lulbeograd continued to flourish until 1750, when its inhabitants deserted it and removed to East Tennessee, but subsequently slowly wandered down the Cumberland river (hence in the early writings often called the Shawnee river), and located themselves on the Ohio, near its mouth, on the spot now occupied by Shawneetown, Illinois, and thence, after a few years, removed to the rest of their nation on the Scioto. It was to this band that Blackhoof belonged (see Jos. Fincklin's Acct. of the Ind. Pop. of Ky., in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, i., p. 300).

According to their own story, when the Shawnees were driven from their homes on the Susquehanna, in 1754, they were in despair, and "went on board their canoes, determined to go whithersoever fortune should drive them, but were stopped at

Scioto by the Six Nations, who shook them by the heads and fixed them there." (Shawnees to Thomas King, in 1792, Doc. Hist. N. Y., ii., p. 990.) This is somewhat allegorical. During the French war (1756), when they took part against the English, their chief towns were Logstown, eighteen miles below Fort Pitt, and the Lower Town, on a branch of the Scioto. (Pa. Arch., iii., p. 83). In 1758 Logstown was deserted, the inhabitants joining their kindred on the Scioto, making in all three hundred warriors. (Pa. Arch., iii., p. 560; Proud, Hist. Pa., ii., p. 296). When the revolution broke out, the tribe, at that time divided into the Maquichee, the Peckawee, and the Chilicoffeetoms, were uncertain and unreliable, but generally inimical to the patriots, and finally "the most hostile of any savage tribe." (Pa. Arch., App. p. 238). At last, in August, 1780, Col. Clark, at the head of one thousand men, marched to the Scioto country and utterly destroyed their five principal towns, Chillicothe, Old Chillicothe, New Chillicothe, Pecaway, and Willstown. (Filson, Acct. of Ky., Ed. Lond., 1793, p. 358, and Pa. Arch., App. p. 263). After this a portion migrated to the far South, as has been previously mentioned, while the remainder continued on the Scioto until 1827, when they were removed to the far West by the United States Government. Their later history is, however, too well known to ask further consideration here.

### AMERICAN BARONETS.

THE recent bestowment by the Emperor of Russia upon Josiah Pierce, Jr., Esq., a native of Portland, Maine, and now residing at St. Petersburg, of the order of St. Anne, has called forth from "W." a correspondent of the *Maine State Press*, the following facts concerning American Baronets:

The only other American who has received the badge of that order was Admiral Tate, son of Captain George Tate, of Westbrook. He was born in London in 1745, but came to this town with his father when about seven years old. He entered the Russian Naval service before the Revolution, and was pro-

moted to the rank of Lieutenant by Catherine II., in 1770. He rose rapidly through various grades, until 1783 he was promoted by the same sovereign to the office of Rear-Admiral, afterwards to Vice-Admiral, and received at different times not only the order of St. Anne, but of St. Waldemar, St. Alexander Newski and St. John, all for distinguished merit.

The first English order of Knighthood bestowed upon an American was granted to Sir George Downing, who was knighted by Charles II., and in 1663 made a baronet. He was son of Emmanuel Downing, of Salem, Massachusetts, a graduate in the first class that issued from Harvard College, in 1642, went to England, became a chaplain in one of Cromwell's regiments, was appointed his ambassador to Holland, and was an able statesman. On the Restoration, he made himself useful to Charles, was sent by him ambassador to Holland, received from him the distinctions above noticed, and died in 1684, highly honored.

There were two other persons, graduates of Harvard College—Sir John Davie and Sir John Steuart; the first graduated in 1681 the other in 1734, who received the order of Knighthood. I do not know the places of their birth, but as there were several persons of the name of Davie in Boston prior to that time, it is presumed that the baronet of that name was a native of Boston; Edmund Davie H. C. 1674, went to Europe and studied medicine in Padua; Humphrey Davie H. C. 1679, and John, a magistrate in Boston, 1680.

The next title of the kind granted to an American was to Sir Wm. Phipps, by James II., in 1687, for his successful enterprise in recovering and carrying to England £600,000 stg. in plate, jewels, &c., from the wreck of a Spanish ship on the coast of Hispaniola. He was son of a ship carpenter, and brought up to the same business, born at Woolwich, Maine, in 1651, and died governor of Massachusetts in 1694; he left no children to inherit the title.

The next in order of American Knights was Sir Wm. Pepperell, created a baronet in 1745, for his services in the capture of Louisburg. He was born in Kittery, Maine,

in 1696. Son of an enterprising fisherman, and himself a merchant and partner with his father, he rose to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas Court in Maine, Commander of the expedition to Cape Breton, a baronet, a member of the Council for thirty-two years, and Lt.-General; he died in 1759, the wealthiest man in Maine, without a son to inherit his title; but it was subsequently conferred upon Wm. Sparhawk, the son of his daughter, who took the name of Pepperell, and became a loyalist in the early days of the Revolution.

Another and more singular case than either of the others was that of Sir John Bernard, son of Gov. Bernard, of Massachusetts, the successor of Gov. Pownall in 1760. He was a Whig, while all the other members of his family were loyalists, and remained in America during the Revolution. His father had large estates in Maine, among which was Mt. Desert, Moose Head Island, now Eastport, which were confiscated in 1778. John had an agency over these islands, and during the Revolution he resided at Bath, Machias and at Pleasant Point near Eastport, where he attempted to make a farm. He became quite poor, and after the war Massachusetts restored to him a part of Mt. Desert. He succeeded to his father's title on his death in 1779, the father having been created a baronet in 1767. John dying childless in 1809, was succeeded by his brother Thomas, a graduate of Harvard College in 1767.

I will venture to notice briefly the remaining persons in this country who have received the honor of knighthood. These were Sir John Wentworth, son of Mark Hunking Wentworth, of Portsmouth, N. H., where he was born in 1736. He graduated in Harvard College in 1755. In 1767 he was appointed Governor of New Hampshire, and retained the office until he abandoned the country in 1775. In 1792 he was appointed Lieut.-Gov. of Nova Scotia, and in 1795 created a baronet. He died in office at Halifax in 1820.

Another was Sir Samuel Auchmuty, son of Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, Rector of Trinity Church, New York, where he was born in 1758. On the breaking out of the Revolution he joined Sir William Howe's army, became by various promotions Lt.-General,

and was made Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath. He died in 1822.

Sir William Johnson, though born in Ireland, early became a citizen of New York, and in the war of 1755 led successfully the colonial army during the French war. For his valuable services he received large grants of land and a baronetcy. He died in 1774, and his title is now borne in Canada by his grandson, Sir Adam Gordon Johnson.

And last is that noble descendant of old Tristram Coffin, head of an extensive race in America, Sir Isaac Coffin, a native of Boston. He entered the British Navy before the Revolution, became Admiral of the Blue, was created baronet in 1804, Vice-Admiral, and was a member of Parliament. He died without issue, and did not forget the humble spot of his ancestors; he gave to Nantucket \$10,000 for her public schools.

Thus it will be seen that New England has contributed more names to this distinguished honor than any other portion of our country, and that Maine rises predominant over every other in contributing from her native element Phipps, Pepperell and Pierce—and from her adopted sons Tate and Bernard. And it is remarkable that not one of these deceased persons of Maine left a son to inherit his title.

The order of St. Anne was instituted in 1738, in the reign of the Empress Anne, in honor of St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary, for whom the Greek Church celebrates a festival in December. The badge of the order is a cross composed of four large rubies set in gold, the angles between the cross set with diamonds, and on the centre a medallion with the figure of St. Anne. The Star of the order is of silver, with eight equal rays; on the centre a red cross on a gold ground.

It may be proper to define the distinction between the titles referred to in the above article. A *Baronet* is of a higher degree than a *Knight*, and ranks next after the Peerage, the lowest order of which is a Baron, and he is entitled to prefix *Sir* to his name, and add to it Bart. or Baronet, as Sir Wm. Pepperell, Bart., and may become a Knight at his option. Sir Nicholas Bacon was created the first Baronet, by James I., in 1611. A Knight is next in the order of precedence

to a Baronet, and is entitled to prefix the *Sir* to his name, but without any addition, except in cases of the high order of Knights—the Garter, Thistle, &c., when the letters K. G., K. T., &c., are always added when their title is given, and persons receiving these honors rank above a Baronet. But in the case of the Russian orders, as of St. Alexander Newski, St. Anne, &c., their possessors are not entitled to prefix the *Sir* to their names; they are not Knights properly so-called, that rank not existing in Russia. Those honors are granted by the Sovereign to mark his favor, and to confer a certain distinction upon the recipients, so that neither Admiral Tate nor Mr. Pierce were, or are, entitled to be addressed as *Sir*.

Sir Wm. Pepperell, Sir John Wentworth, and Sir Isaac Coffin were Baronets, Sir Wm. Phipps simply a Knight.

To the *Portland Transcript* "W." also contributes the following interesting additional statement to the foregoing notice of Admiral Tate:

I have received from our respected friend Josiah Pierce, Jr., now at St. Petersburg, whose interest in whatever concerns this, his native State, is unceasing, an extract of the services of our distinguished citizen, Admiral George Tate, procured by him from the archives of the Russian Navy. Believing that the facts will interest many of your readers, I hand you a copy for publication.

"Service List of Vice-Admiral Tate."

"George Tate was received in the Russian Naval service a Lieutenant, in 1770, by Rear Admiral Elphinstone. He served, in 1771, on the Frigate Feodore, under the command of Poiarkoff; in 1772, in the ship of the line "Pamiate Evstafei;" in 1774, in the ship of the line "Davis;" in 1775, in the ship of the line No. 57, arrived from Archangel at Cronstadt; in 1777, in the ship "Wsevolod," was promoted to the rank of Commander; in 1778, was sent to the fleet at Azoff, as Captain of the Frigate No. 5.

From 1778 to 1783, at Azoff on shore; in 1783, was promoted to the rank of Captain of the second rank, and was ordered to St. Petersburg; in 1784, served in the ship "Izokile;" in 1785, on the ship "Constan-

time;" was promoted to the rank of Captain of the first rank; in 1786, commanded the ship "Constantin;" in 1787, commanded the ship "Iverskoy;" in 1788, commanded the ship "Kir-Johan," in Admiral Greig's Squadron, and was in battle with the Swedes, July 6, near Hoghland; in 1789, commanded the ship "Kir-Johan," in Tchitchagoff's Squadron, was in battle with the Swedes near Oland, and was promoted to the rank of Brigadier Captain (a grade between a Captain of the first class and Rear-Admiral, now abolished). In 1790, with the same ship was in battle with the Swedish fleet on the roadstead at Reval, May 2, and in battle with the same fleet in the Gulf of Wiborg, June 22, and was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral; in 1798, was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral; in 1799 returned to England."

Mr. Pierce adds, "I can learn of no one now living here who remembers him. But an old General recollects that his father was an acquaintance of the Admiral, and used to speak of him as a most inveterate smoker—so constant a devotee of tobacco—that he used to go to sleep with his pipe in his mouth, and his servant consequently always had to see, after his master was asleep, that he had not set the bed-clothes on fire." Mr. Pierce also adds, "it is supposed he never came back to Russia, but died in England."

He did, however, return to Russia, and died there Feb. 17, 1821, highly respected. A letter is now in possession of his grand-niece, Miss Eliza Ingraham, of this town, written to her father from Cronstadt, June 28, 1805, in which he says, "I send her a Gold Medal, the gift of her late Majesty, Katherine, to me, at the conclusion of the Swedish war, and whose portrait, a very good one, it represents."

The Admiral visited Portland in 1819, and was looking remarkably well, as I had the pleasure of personally observing. His sister Ann, wife of our esteemed citizen Joseph H. Ingraham, who was born in Westbrook, was then living here with her large family. He was of medium height, compactly and firmly built, full, but not corpulent, and of a dark complexion. Although he was then 74 years old, he was erect and vigorous in his step. At the time

of his visit to this country, in 1819, he did not use tobacco in any way, so that the statement of his being a great smoker is a mistake, or he had abandoned the practice. He was remarkably neat in his appearance and dress."

Portland, Dec. 1865.

## THE HESSIANS OF THE REVOLUTION.

FREDERICK KAPP, the well-known Prussian historian, has written a monograph on the subject of what he calls the "American Soldier Trade," and has furnished many new and interesting facts regarding it. We find a carefully prepared summary of the principal revelations of Kapp's work, from which we condense the following: The whole number of mercenaries furnished by the German princes to the British Government during the war for our independence was 29,166, exclusive of 2,365 cavalry from King George's electorate of Hanover. Of this number, 17,313 returned to their native country, while 11,853 fell in battle or died. There were few desertions. These mercenaries cost the British Treasury £6,096,857 5s. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; of which about three tenths, or £1,790,113 15s. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., swelled the purses of the sovereigns who had sold them. Of the entire contingent, 16,992 were subjects, native or kidnapped, of the land-grave of Hesse-Cassel; the rest were supplied in various proportions by the Duke of Brunswick, the hereditary Prince of Hesse Hanau, the margrave of Anspach, the Prince of Waldeck, and the Prince of Anhalt-zerbst.

Charles I., of Brunswick, who reigned from 1735 to 1780, had involved his principality of 150,000 inhabitants in debt to the amount of twelve million thalers. As his revenue was only a million and a half, and his extravagance excessive, he found it very difficult to meet his engagements. He had so little confidence in his own financiering that he placed the treasury under the control of his miserly son Ferdinand (Duke from 1780 to 1806). Both father and son were rejoiced at an opportunity to procure British gold, and signed a treaty in forty-eight hours after the opening of negotiations. The men were promptly stolen and delivered, but the cloth-

ing was not obtainable on the same terms, and uniforms were procured with English funds at Portsmouth.

The landgrave of Hesse, Frederic II. (1760 to 1785), differed from the Prince in being rich and powerful. His forefathers had kidnapped and traded in soldiers for a hundred years. The business in his hands was systematized and productive. Cassel, his capital, gloried in palaces and public buildings, erected with the funds thus realized, and his court was a colony of Versailles. He had imported the cast-off mistress of the Duc de Bouillon, and paid her a salary of forty thousand thalers. He refused to see any of his legitimate children for twenty-nine years, because their mother had left him on embracing Catholicism. Yet he left sixty million thalers in ready money, at his death, the earnings of his subjects under the flags of foreign countries. The Seven Years' War had swept away the youth of his dominions; scarcely had a recovery set in, when one twentieth of the entire population was sent to America. More experienced in these negotiations, and less pinched for money than any of his illustrious competitors, he succeeded in making far more favorable terms with his English customers.

The hereditary prince of this monarchy administered the government of the county of Hanau as a sort of appanage. He had the avarice and licentiousness of his father, coupled with a detestation of any thing that even bore the appearance of refinement. Of his innumerable illegitimate children, two have achieved a dismal notoriety as the brothers Haynau. Twenty-two others were born of a Miss Schlottheim, his avowed mistress, all, as she is particular to state in her memoirs, "without love." She at first fled to elude his advances, but was captured and delivered up to him by her own parents. A lady of Cassel, who related this circumstance in conversation, and found that it elicited some disgust, observed that it would have been out of the question for the Hessian gentry to have allowed such an advantage to escape them. It was this gentry which afterward encircled the throne of Jerome Napoleon.

Of Prince William's English epistolary style, the following specimen has become immortal :

HANAU, 1 May, 1776.

*To the Earl of Suffolk :*

MY LORD : The luck I have had to be able to show in some manner my utmost respect and gratitude to the best of kings, by offering my troops to his majesty's service, gives me a very agreeable opportunity of thanking you, my lord, for all your kindness and friendship to me upon that occasion, and begging your pardon for all the trouble I may have provided you in this regard.

My only wishes are that all the officers and soldiers of my regiment now to his majesty's orders, may be animated of the same respectful attachment and utmost zeal I shall ever bear for the king, my generous protector and magnanimous support. May the end they shall fight for answer to the king's upper contentment; and your laudable endeavors, my lord, be granted by the most happiest issue. The continuation of your friendship to me, sir, which I desire very much, assures your goodness and protection to my troops. I ask in their names this favor from you, and hope they will deserve it.

Excuse me, sir, if I am not strong enough in the English language for to explain as I should the utmost consideration and sincere esteem with which I am forever, my lord, your most humble and very obedient servant,

WILLIAM, H. P. of Hesse.

None of these potentates, however, have so varied a personal history as Christian Frederic Charles Alexander, the last of the margraves of Anspach and Baireuth, whose father, Charles Frederic William, a good shot, had once, for the diversion of his mistress, and at her suggestion, brought down a chimney-sweep from the top of a house with his rifle, afterward indemnifying the widow with a donation of five florins. On another occasion the same monarch, having commissioned a Jew to procure certain diamonds to be presented to the King of England, discovered, after the present was made, that Bohemian glass had been fraudulently inserted in place of the jewels.

The Jew was immediately dragged to the capital, and handed over to the executioner, who tied him in a chair, and drew the sword of justice. In his agony the unfortunate man jumped up, and ran around a long table

with the chair tied to his back, crying out piteously for only a moment's audience with the landgrave; but the executioner was too practiced a hand to be foiled in that way. Reaching across the table he struck the blow with unerring accuracy, and Jew, chair and head tumbled in a heap upon the floor. Nor was this rigor by any means exercised upon Jews exclusively. Counts and Colonels are known to have been executed, while the reasons for which they suffered were never mentioned. Christopher William von Rauber, accused of having ridiculed the government in print, was sentenced to slap himself on the mouth, to burn his pasquil, and then to be beheaded. The last clause of the sentence was mercifully commuted to life-long imprisonment, but all his property was confiscated. A Hungarian, who had shot the margrave's orderly, was broken on the wheel. A Prussian soldier's wife, who had induced a private of the margrave's body-guard to desert, was hung, and the Prussian recruiting officer, who had been arrested at the same time, imprisoned. The deserter himself was too valuable a piece of property to be damaged. A citizen of Gunzenhausen, doing duty as a sentry, so ill-versed in military etiquette as to obey a personal command of the margrave to hand him his musket, was tied to a horse's tail and dragged through a pond, and died a few days after. A gamekeeper, who had charge of the margraval hounds, was accused by backbiters of neglecting them. The sovereign rode up to his door, called him out of his house, and shot him down.

The wife of this great old man had insisted on sending her son to study at the republican university of Utrecht. Having completed these studies, he had made the tour of Italy, but returned with a constitution greatly shattered by vicious indulgences, for which his august father immediately wreaked condign vengeance upon his tutor, a privy councillor of state, and cast him into prison; whether he remained there, or whether he was beheaded, rumors are conflicting. Perhaps in consequence of his semi-republican education he so far departed from the traditions of the family as to admit ladies who were not of noble birth to his

court; but it was on condition that they should never utter a word in their mother tongue, a stipulation which the ladies from Paris exacted as due to them. Being at this moment in debt some five millions of thalers, he received the British emissary with open arms, and made all haste to furnish his contingent. The transaction has obtained a place in German classical literature, from at least an allusion to it in Schiller's play of "Kabale und Liebe," "Love and Intrigue." He introduces the margrave's avowed mistress, Lady Milford, whose real name was Lady Crayen, as the only person of condition in all the land who is alive to the tyranny of the proceeding. Learning that the diamonds which the prince sends her were bought with the blood-money obtained from these recruits, she rejects them with disdain. "My sons are among them too," says the lackey who brings them. "Not by compulsion, I hope?" inquires the lady. "O dear, no!" he answers; "all volunteers. Two or three jackanapes stepped out of the ranks and asked the colonel what he took for a yoke of men? But our gracious sovereign had them shot in the presence of all the regiments. Their brains spouted over the paving stones, and we all shouted, 'Ho for America!' Then the drums beat and off they went, orphans howling after their hiring fathers, and mothers telling their husbands to run bayonets through their children, and bride and groom hewn asunder with sabres, and aged crones throwing their crutches after their departing sons."

All this is founded on fact. The Anspach troops mutinied while on the way down the river Main in boats, and might have robbed the margrave of all his vested rights in their flesh and blood had he not ridden night and day to overtake them and overawe them, partly by the grandeur of his presence and partly by means of his double-barreled rifle, with which he posted himself on one of the boats and accompanied the transport to the Netherlands. "At the sight of his Serene Highness," says a contemporary newspaper, "the good soldier shed tears of joy, and took up his march in patience." But the hussars of the Bishop of Wurzburg were also called in to keep up the effect.

Frederic Augustus, the last of the princes of Anhalt-Zerbst (1747-1793), reigned over 20,000 subjects; among whom, ever since 1716, the deaths had exceeded the births. Brother of the Empress Catharine of Russia, he was a caricature not only of monarchs in general, but even of the little monarchs of Germany. His hatred of Frederick the Great, his near neighbor, was such that in 1763 he took a final leave of his dominions, and spent the rest of his life at Basle and Luxembourg. After frequently admonishing his subjects not to violate the sanctity of his retreat with petitions for the redress of grievances, he put up a placard expressly forbidding such impertinences. His life was cut short by the execution of Louis XVI. On hearing of that calamity, he steadfastly refused all nourishment, and expired in a few weeks. His troops were accepted by the English only at his urgent solicitation.

The price paid per head by the British Government for its mercenaries was about 51 thalers.

### OLD NEW YORK.

About the year 1842, Mr. Editor, the late Judge William Alexander Duer, sent to me, for publication in the magazine "Areturus," of which I was one of the Editors, a series of five anecdotal papers, which he had previously contributed anonymously to the *New York American*, then conducted by Charles King. The magazine publishing only original articles, these sketches were not printed in that periodical. Subsequently, in 1848, Judge Duer delivered his interesting address before the St. Nicholas Society of the city of New York, entitled "New York as it was during the latter part of the last Century," in which he introduced several topics of the sketches alluded to, which were, in fact, under a pleasant guise of essay writing, the writer's reminiscences or narratives of the early history of the city. Having recently lighted upon these newspaper articles by Judge Duer, I now offer them to your Historical Magazine, a repository in which, I am sure, were the writer of these

papers living, he would desire to have them preserved.

E. A. D.

*New York, Jan. 9, 1866.*

## THE OMNIBUS ;

OR,

A SERIES OF ESSAYS

ON

MATTERS IN GENERAL

AND

THINGS IN PARTICULAR.

BY A RETIRED PHYSICIAN.

*Omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis.*

We welcome the writer—unknown but promising—of the annexed paper, the first of, we hope, a *long* series, but *brief* numbers:

THE OMNIBUS.—NO. I.

*Omnibus meis, mecum ibo.*—ANON.

I am a great patron of the *Omnibus*, in preference to the *Cab*. The one is a social machine; the other fit only for a Bachelor, or a surly old maid, if there be such a thing *in rerum natura*, which that veteran sinner Aaron Burr always professed to doubt. Indeed my social predilections are so strong, from my solitary habits, being an unmarried Physician not overburdened with practice, that I frequently sally out and mount the postern of an Omnibus, with some assistance from the garrison, merely in quest of Society, and am not unfrequently rewarded in the way of amusement, as well as of exercise. Some few days ago, my horse being lame, and not likely soon to recover, I set off upon my usual rounds, and first visited an old friend of twenty years standing, who confined himself to his house, with a nervous complaint, as it is called, for want, I presume, of a better name. He appeared at first languid and moody, but soon relapsed into his usual cheerfulness, when an old crony of both of us

happened in, and gave a stronger *impetus* to the conversation. "Come, come," said he, "this is the day of the Boz dinner, and I see your name, as well as mine, on the committee. We must both go." "Indeed, I shall not," said my patient; "I will have nothing to do with such tom-foolery." "Oh! but you must; it will do you good, will it not, Doctor?" To this appeal I answered promptly in the affirmative; and our common friend immediately clinched the matter, by exclaiming—"There, the *Doctor* prescribes it—*probatum est*."

Having left my patient without any other prescription, I repaired to the next omnibus stand, and soon found myself seated directly opposite to an old-fashioned looking Dutchman of the true Knickerbocker stamp, who had not, as he said, been in *York* before since Evacuation Day. I asked him what he remembered of it. He answered, with the brevity and bluntness characteristic of his race, "Why, all about it." "Ah," said I: "what American troops marched in to take possession of the city?" "The flower of them," said he. "There were Van Schaack's and Willett's and Gansevoort's and Van Courtland's regiments, and some light horse commanded by Captain Stakes; he that behaved so well in the Doctors' mob." "The Doctors' mob!" cried I, more excited and interested than ever; "where and when was that?" "Why, here in *York* to be sure; where else should it be? Baltimore had not got going yet." Far from being repelled by the roughness of my companion, I ventured to ask him for the particulars; and having dropped our fellow-passengers one by one on our way, I proposed a walk on the Battery to my new acquaintance. "Waal," said he, "I see no objections." As we crossed below the Bowling Green he exclaimed, "Thank God! they haven't tore down Captain Kennedy's house yet—nor old John Watts's *nother*. Hang me if I haven't a great mind jist to call and see if any of the family is living yet." "I suspect not," I replied, "as Captain Kennedy or Lord Cassilis (for such was afterwards his title) went to England before the Revolution, and Mr. Watts died last year." "Died last year?" said the old man; "why he has been dead these fifty years.

You must mean young John. Ah! me, I suppose Robert, who was older, has gone too." "He has," said I. The old man looked quite sorrowful, drew a long sigh, and, after a considerable pause, said, "I begin to think I shall outlive all my acquaintance after all." When we got to the Flagstaff he observed, "Ah! I see they have dug down all the Upper Battery. I was so in earnest in looking at Kennedy's house, that I didn't miss it. But, hang 'em, what must they level off the Lower Battery for. I suppose they thought it must be *Loco-focoed* too. Ah!" continued he, "this is another guess Pole—not the old one. By jinks, those British troops bothered us, I tell you, about that old Pole; for what does they do when they struck their colors, but *slush down the Pole*. While we stood a looking at it, says Sargeant Van Slick to me, says he, Well, Corporal, what's to be done now? Why, Sargeant, says I, hang me if I know; we are in a proper quandary." "But," says he, "the Continental colors must go up." "So they shall, my lads," says a bystander—one Blundell, *Master*, as they used to call them then, of a London trader; and what does the devil do but gets a cart load of sand, and dumps it at the foot of the Pole, and then takes a basket, and slings it round his neck, full as it could hold of sand, and begins pelting away at the Pole, till he gets enough to hold on by; then he fills again, and begins climbing up till he reaches the sheve with his rope, reeves it in a jiffey, and then comes down like a cat with the *ceend* of it in his paw. Now, wasn't that what the Yankees call *cute*? Why, it beats any Indian of my acquaintance." As we returned to the Bowling Green, I reminded him of his promise to tell me about the Doctor's Mob, and he agreed to meet me at noon the next day at the Omnibus stand above, as he preferred the longest line down Broadway. Before we parted, I asked his name. "Brom Van Groesbeck," said he, "and I arn't a bit ashamed of it; and what's more, if you want to know it, I live in the *colonic* in the house I was born in; and its walls will stand my life-time and longer too, for they're almost as thick as the *little Patroom's*, at Greenbush," which he used to call his brick block house.

## THE OMNIBUS.—NO. II.

—“Shall a beardless boy,  
A cockered silken wanton, brase our fields?”

SHAKS.

True to his appointment, as I crossed from my patient's house, I descried the old man parading up and down the Omnibus stand like a sentinel, as St. Mark's clock was striking twelve. He accosted me first, according to the approved rules of Belgian politeness: “Waal,” said he, “here you are just in time, for here's one of them there *vehicles*,” (I observed he had caught the word I had used to him the day before,) “upon the start.” “Jump in,” said I, and off we trundled. We had hardly got under way, when my impatience got the better of my discretion, and I reminded him of his promise to tell me all he remembered of the “Doctors' Mob.” “Don't be in such a hurry now,” said he; “who knows but some of the friends and relations of the Doctors' or their *subjects*, as they call them, may hear us.” Knowing most of the company either personally or by sight, and appealing to the rest, I assured him he was safe on that score, and need not be afraid.” “A-feard!” cried he; “I'm not a-feard—I'm a Dutchman.” There was no denying this, and therefore I thought it most prudent to remain silent, and let my friend tell his story at his own good time and pleasure. It was not long before I reaped the reward of my prudence, for as we passed the Hospital, he exclaimed, “You know I told you, Doctor, that some boys first gave the alarm when they saw the woman's arm; well, what does they do afterwards, but go back and climb up a piece of scaffolding, that Gosman, the mason, had left standing in front of the building where he had been at work at a job. This was the other side of the door and right up against the room, where the Doctors were at work cutting and slashing like Stakes's Light-horsemen, as they charged up the steps of St. Paul's Church. There was one of the Doctors that 'tended in the family of one of the boys who had but lately lost his mother. ‘Aha! Doctor Hicks,’ says the boy, ‘is that you?’ ‘Hold your tongue, you young rascal,’ says the Doctor, ‘or I'll cut you up too.’ ‘Aye,’ says the boy, for he was no wise daunted; ‘what for?’ ‘Why,

for a specimen, to be sure,’ says the Doctor. ‘A specimen!’ ‘What's that?’ says the shaver. ‘Why there's one, you rogue. It's your *mother's arm*.’ With that the boy jumps down in less than no time, runs down to McComb's building, where his father was at work, and gave the alarm. All the folks there knocked off work in a body, and marched up Broadway with their spades and picks, and hods on their shoulders, in less than no time, and went straight to the Hospital, and saw it all with their own eyes just as Gosman's boy had told. They all felt very bad, and some felt sick at their stomachs. *Howsomdever*, they made a rally, marched down Magazine street (it's called Pearl street now) to Queen's street; and as they passed Sir John or *Sinjan* (as some called him) Temple's, who lived in old John Murray's house a'top of Burling slip, somebody inquired who lived there, and the footman at the steps said, ‘Sinjan Temple.’ ‘Surgeon Temple,’ cries one of the mob. ‘I know the Doctor very well when I see him.’ ‘It's no such thing,’ says another. ‘He's the British *Counsel*, and it would be against the law to touch a hair of his head.’ So out of respect to the law off they went down along Pearl street to Doctor Sam. Bard's; but he had gone into the country; and they would not go to the old Doctor's, because the steward of the British Packet, who was one of the leaders, told them he was so polite a man and talked so smooth, he'd get all their men away from them. So they turned up Maiden Lane and down Broadway, and never stopped till they got to Dr. Hicks's. The Doctor had just time to save himself by getting out of his scuttle into Dr. Cochran's garret, which was the very next house and under the same roof; and as soon as they had searched his house and had got to Dr. Cochran's street door to search that, Dr. Hicks walks back again.

But after all, he liked to be discovered—for he set a parcel of game-cocks belonging to Cochran's boys crowing like screech of day. After all, though, the Doctor got off to Long Island by the help of his friend Harry Bedlow, and there they kicked up some queer capers, I can tell you.” “But,” said I, “what became of the other Doctors?” “Why,

they were put into the stone-jug for safe keeping." "The stone-jug?" "Yes, the jail; but who kept the jail safe, says you?" "Why," said I, "they were obliged, I suppose, to garrison it." "For when Stakes' Light-horse had drove the mob from the Doctor's, they up straight after them to the jail. But old Willet and Jonathan Pearsee saw it was worse to wait for the troops, so they *put confidence* in the prisoners and muskets in their hands, and told them they might go where they pleased, if they would only defend the jail and obey orders. With that the chaps gave three cheers, and swore they'd defend it till they were starved out, which I told Jonathan wasn't promising much after all, as they were half starved already, and had nowhere to go when they got out. 'Why, that's true,' says he. By this time the Governor and Baron Steuben hove in sight; and as I knew old George, I went down to speak to him, and he shook hands with me at once, and asked after the Jefrau and all the family, and gave me an invite to walk along; says he, 'Baron, this is my friend M. Van Groesbeck, of Albany, a patriot of the Revolution.' 'Mornin,' says the Baron. 'Now, Governor,' says he, as if they had been talking the matter over before—'Now, Governor, don't be rash and fire upon them people in a hurry; they are like children, and don't know what they are about.' Just then there came a brick-bat, and struck the poor Baron somewhere between the forehead and the nose, and laid him flat as a pancake on his back. 'Fire away, Governor,' says he, 'fire away!' them rascals have no respect for rank.' 'What, Baron,' says the Governor, who had a sprig of the shillalah in his cap, 'What, fire upon children?—they don't know what they are about, Baron.' Well, I had to laugh out loud, though the old cock showed he was rather chicken-hearted, and bled like a sheep." Upon this, I observed to Mr. Groesbeck that he did not appear to like the Baron over-much. "No," said he, "nor *Lafayette* nother, nor any of them foreign officers, any more than the Old Congress did. They tendered their services, got full pay and rations, besides travelling expenses, and then they asked for compensation for the *counte-*

*nance* they gave to the American cause. After that, I think no one will deny them *countenance* enough and to spare, as they did to an Irishman like Gen. Conway, in the bargain. The military, consisting McCullum's Light Infantry, Van Dyke's Grenadiers and Sturtevant's Artillery, under the command of the Adjutant General, Colonel Fish, now arrived, the mob dispersed; the city was restored to its usual quiet; and the Old Congress not being in session, resumed its wonted dullness."

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## Notes and Queries.

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### NOTES.

REMINISCENCES OF JAMES OTIS.—The valley of the little town of Hull, of which it is said, "as goes Hull so goes the State," ever famed for its five-mile beach, rendering it one of the most fashionable watering places in Boston harbor, is yet more noted as having been the place where James Otis, the first great orator of the American Revolution, retired in 1772, for three years, having become insane from the blow of a sabre on the head, inflicted by an officer of the Royal Customs, in the British Coffee-house on State street, in Boston, Sept. 5, 1769. Hutchinson relates of him that, in 1771, before the close of the Massachusetts Assembly, Otis had exhibited strong marks of a returning insanity, and not long after became outrageous. At length, upon application from his friends or relatives, a guardian was appointed, who caused him to be removed to Hull, often called Nantasket. Many curious reminiscences of his eccentric conduct here are related by the oldest inhabitants of the present day. The lapse of time, and the exquisitely delicate statue of this martyr to liberty, now standing in Mount Auburn chapel, tends to render any incident whatever regarding Otis as a point of interest, especially whatever indicates the character of the man. He occupied a front chamber of the mansion of Captain Daniel Souther, formerly of the Royal Navy, and I have slept in the same

chamber repeatedly, quietly ruminating on this patriot, whose eloquence inflamed the spirit of liberty until every vestige of royalty was destroyed. The apartment and study remain unaltered, with the same antique furniture. Being a restless person, and disturbed with sleepless nights, he would, for exercise, gather, at twilight, large flat blue stones from the beach, and pave the yard around the house. Vestiges of this labor, partly overgrown with grass, and an embankment of stones, which, with his own hands, he erected at the foot of the elevation behind the mansion, are yet remaining, and are preserved unaltered, with peculiar veneration, by the occupants.

James Otis often wandered to adjoining towns. One time, Captain Souther found him on the five-mile beach that leads to Hingham. On dismounting from his horse, Otis jumped upon it, and returned to the village with lightning speed, leaving the naval veteran to find his way home on foot. Being lame and infirm, on his arrival home he remonstrated with Otis at such conduct, who replied, with a smile, that the horse raced as if he had a thousand legs. At another period, Otis fired a gun up the old-fashioned chimney, making a tremendous racket, which he regarded as a very amusing act.

The father of the writer of this article has often related that when he was about ten years of age, his birth-place being on the estate adjoining Captain Souther's mansion, our patriot, who was fond of children, instructed him in the polite art of dancing in the captain's yard; and, often imagining himself a military officer, Otis would gather the boys of Hull in a body to march around the village, and many were the youthful games in which he would initiate them, which made him a great favorite with young people. He was very courteous to the ladies, and quick in his resentments. Madam Souther, his landlady, unintentionally offended him, and he put her social knitting needles for ever out of sight. When a young lady, whom we knew, was vaccinated, he officiated very kindly as the physician's assistant. On long winter evenings Otis kept an evening school for the children of Hull. The great orator of the Bay State has been described

as a plump, round-faced, smooth-skinned, short-necked, eagle-eyed politician. This corresponds with Copley's portrait, of which a copy is engraved in Drake's History of Boston. If this be correct, the statue in Mount Auburn, however beautiful it is, gives a wrong conception of the features of James Otis. But we will pursue the reminiscences.

Otis was a ready wit. One day a hen flew against the window in a violent passion, owing to the disturbance of her young brood. A young lady being present, who was one of the Collier family, a rather high-spirited race, Mr. Otis, amused with the scene, remarked that the hen evidently possessed the blood of the Colliers, which excited a hearty laugh. Some years previous to his decease he destroyed all his papers, and Tudor relates that his daughter once remarked, with tears in her eyes, that not an autograph of his hand could be found. The writer of this article, however, discovered an autograph among Captain Souther's papers, in an old linen bag, consisting of a receipt, dated Hull, April 17, 1772, for money sent him by his brother, Samuel Alleyne Otis. The late Isaac P. Davis had an original letter of his, written in 1743, when a student at Harvard College.

One time, when in Boston, Mr. Otis disguised himself in the attire of a farmer from the country, and proceeded to the T. wharf, in the rear of Long wharf, where was a British man-of-war ship; a quantity of its freight on the wharf was guarded by a regular. Mr. Otis, in his assumed character, approached him, appearing to be very ignorant, designing to show a little spirit, inquired of the soldier whether "it would be safe to go near that ar' shooting-iron of your'n?" The regular, unsuspecting of any design from such an apparently unintelligent clown, persuaded him to take the musket in his hand. Mr. Otis directly placed it on his foot, and kicked it with great energy into the dock. Then, drawing himself up with an expression of almost superhuman dignity, James Otis remarked to the soldier, "Go back to George the Third, and tell him that an American farmer taught a British soldier discipline. Next time keep your gun!"

SHAWMUT.

## ANECDOTE OF THE FIRST PRESIDENT ADAMS.

—The following is from an old cutting, without date, of the *New York American*, when it was edited by Charles King, at or previous to the year 1842. "This patriot of the Revolution was dining one day with a Tory Judge, who gave as a toast 'The King.' Mr. Adams and other Whigs present drank the toast, but with no small reluctance; and when his turn came he reciprocated the civility by saying, 'Let us drink to the health of 'The Devil.' This was so startling and offensive, that it would have produced unpleasant consequences, had not the Judge's lady, with the admirable tact of her sex, directed the tide of wrath into another channel, by observing: 'Pray do not scruple to drink the toast; Mr. Adams has drank to the health of *our* friend, and you ought not to hesitate to drink to the health of *his*.'" This was pouring oil upon the waters, and it restored the good humor of the hour. The name of the Judge, if my memory be correct, was Paine. It was probably the same gentleman who asked a black servant if he had heard the news. 'No, sir; what is it?' 'The Devil is dead.' 'Ah! I didn't know he was dead, though I have heard that he has been a long time in *Pain*.'"

AN ERROR.—Sir Harris Nicolas, K. C. M. G., in his *Chronology of History*, page 272, says—

"The importance of extreme accuracy respecting the Regnal years of the Kings of England, is at once proved by the facts that in most instances after the reign of Henry the Second no other date of a year occurs either in public or private instruments than the year of the reign of the existing monarch, and that an error respecting the exact day from which the Regnal year is calculated, may produce a *mistake of an entire year*, in reducing such date to the year of the incarnation." "The effect of an error of even a few days, much less of an entire year, in the date of historical events, must be evident, and a correct Table of the Regnal years of the Kings of England is consequently a *sine quâ non* to the historian."

And he adds, p. 273—"The value of accurate Tables of Regnal years of English

Sovereigns, having, it is presumed, been established, some surprise will be felt, when it is stated, that *no Table of this nature has ever been printed which is not full of errors*, not in one or two reigns only, but in the reigns of nearly all our early monarchs."

This may be true of the tables of his predecessors. But even the tables of Mr. Nicolas are not always correct. In his "*Notitia Historica*," of 1824, and afterwards in 1833, in his enlarged work, "*The Chronology of History*," he furnishes an illustration of this fact, that even the most careful writer must fall into error.

His commencement of the years of William III. after his Sixth are all wrong; and, which is somewhat remarkable, he gives the wrong dates, although the true dates were before him, as we learn from the following remarks, made with such unqualified positiveness, that, together with his reputation for laborious and careful research, one might be induced to follow him without hesitation. As "this erroneous statement has found a place in your pages, the correction of it there may be proper.

Your correspondent, N. B. S., referring to the rebuilding of Castle William, in Boston Harbor, in the time of William III. of England, says:—

"As William commenced the Thirteenth year of his reign on the 28th of December, 1700, the rebuilding of the Castle must have been commenced during the year 1701."

Here is a mistake, not merely of a day, but of an entire year. The 13th year of William III. did not commence on the 28th of December, 1700. All the Regnal years of that king commenced on the 13th of February. His 12th year ended on the 12th of February, 1701, and his 13th year commenced the next day, on the 13th of February, 1701. By making the 28th of December, 1700, begin in the 13th year (as N. B. S. does), all the days thence to the 12th of February, 1701, with all the acts of the king, the courts, and the Parliament, are placed in the wrong year. For, during the lifetime of both William and Mary, the royal authority was executed by the king in the joint name of the king and the queen. On the death of Queen Mary, in 1694, the

"Royal styles" not the "Regnal year of the king," was changed.

In regard to her death, Mr. Nicolas says, p. 323:

"Queen Mary died without surviving children, about one o'clock in the morning of the 28th of December, 1694, when the Royal Style was altered, and William III. commenced his Seventh Regnal year, his Sixth being considered to have terminated on the 27th of that month."

When Sir Harris Nicolas wrote this, he had before him the evidence (for he refers to it in a note) that no change was made in the commencement of the Regnal year of William, during his entire reign. On the death of Queen Mary, her name was necessarily dropped, and that of William III., in accordance with a previous Act of Parliament, stood alone. No other alteration was made in the Royal Style.

By this error of Sir Harris Nicolas, of altering the termination of William's Sixth, and the commencement of his Seventh year, namely, from the 12th of February, 1695, back to the 28th of December, 1694, forty-seven days are cut off from his Sixth year, and his Seventh year is made to begin forty-seven days too soon, which forty-seven belonged to his Sixth year, and consequently these forty-seven days, in every year, thenceforward to the end of his reign, are thrown back twelve months.

**DESTRUCTION BY FIRE OF THE OLD BAKE HOUSE.**—A few days since the "Bake House," situated on the Delaware river, below the mouth of the Poquessing creek, was destroyed by fire. This old family mansion was in Lower Dublin Township, Twenty-third Ward, and many historical reminiscences cluster around it, recalling memories of by-gone days. It is stated in the early history of Philadelphia that William Penn instructed his Commissioners to examine the shores of the Delaware, and to fix upon a site for the building of a "great city." After several weeks spent in the examination, they selected three places, one of which was the bold shore a short distance above the "Bake House." Here they resolved to build the city of Brotherly Love, the country being admirably suited to the

purpose; but after much time spent in making soundings along the shore, they discovered a large number of rocks, most of which are beneath the surface of the river, and finally concluded to abandon the site for the one upon which Philadelphia now stands. The rocks were denominated the "Hen and Chickens," on account of one of them being much larger than the rest. The place has often been called "Old Philadelphia," but that name lives only in the traditionary accounts that have been handed down to us. About the time of the arrival of Penn, several Welsh families settled along the Delaware, not far from the mouth of the Pennypack creek, and one of the number, named Thomas, purchased a large tract extending up the stream to the site of "Old Philadelphia." This settlement was called South Wales. Thomas started a bakery on his tract for the purpose of supplying his friends in the settlement. From this circumstance it was called "The Bake House," a name by which it has ever since been known.

In 1777 and 1778, when Washington and his army were encamped at Whitemarsh, in Montgomery county, "the Old Bake House" was used in supplying bread and biscuit to that band of patriots. In later times large quantities of sea-biscuit were made there, and old Jacob Walton, who died in 1836, remembered the Bake House and the things around it. He said the oven was large enough to hold three or four hundred weight of bread at one time, and that the facilities for loading and unloading vessels were so good that many vessels had all their baking done at the place. The last of the Welsh family living there was Evan Thomas, who for many years was Justice of the Peace and a Commissioner for the city of Philadelphia. With him ended the bakery, and the Old Bake House passed into other hands and was remodeled into a stately edifice. Isaac Comly says that an attempt was made to have the seat of Government of the United States fixed at that place instead of at Washington, and that Dr. Edwards, a prominent character of that time, is believed to have originated the project. A third attempt was made to revive Old Philadelphia in 1800, when it was proposed to build a rival to the present city;

but Old Philadelphia has not yet been begun. After the Bake House was remodeled, it was occupied by Mr. J. C. Fisher and family as a summer residence. They removed to the city a short time since, and some of the occupants left in care of the premises built a fire in the chimney-place, from which sparks were communicated to the roof, and the Old Bake House, that furnished food to the starving patriots of '76, made fuel for the flames in '65.—*Phil. Ledger, Dec. 8, 1865.*

**LONG PASTORATES IN BOSTON.**—The New York *Evening Post* of Saturday has the following paragraph :

There are two clergymen in Boston who have been settled in the same parishes for thirty years—Dr. Gannett and Father Taylor.

This statement is incomplete. Dr. Gannett is in the forty-first year of his ministry, and Father Taylor is in his thirty-seventh. There are six clergymen in Boston who have been pastors of the same parishes more than thirty years, and several others who have occupied the same pulpit nearly a generation.

Dr. Gannett was settled in 1824; Rev. E. T. Taylor, 1828; Rev. Thomas Worcester, D. D., 1828; Rev. Chandler Robbins, D. D., 1833; Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D. D., 1834; Rev. S. K. Lothrop, D. D., 1834; Rev. Dr. Blagden, 1836; Rev. C. A. Bartol, 1837; Rev. R. H. Neale, D. D., 1837.

Rev. Baron Stow was pastor of the Baldwin Place Baptist Church from November, 1832, to July, 1848, since which time he has been pastor of the Rowe Street Church, so that his ministry in Boston extends over a period of thirty-two years. Rev. Dr. Neale was pastor of a church in South Boston from 1830 to 1834. Rev. Dr. Blagden was pastor of the Salem Street Church six years before he was called to the Old South. Rev. Dr. Hague was pastor of the First Baptist Church from 1831 to 1837, and of the Rowe Street Church from 1840 to 1848. He has since been pastor of the Charles Street Church, and now has a flourishing society in Shawmut avenue.

Several clergymen are now living whose pastorates in Boston were of long duration, viz.: Rev. Sebastian Streeter, thirty seven years; Rev. Dr. Barrett, thirty-six years;

Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D. D., thirty-five; Rev. John Pierpont, twenty-seven. The venerable Dr. Jenks was pastor of the Green street church many years, and fifty-years ago was preaching to seamen in our city. Father Cleaveland, the City Missionary, now in his ninety-fourth year, has had the poor for his parish since the beginning of the present century. The two longest pastorates of modern times were those of Rev. Dr. Freeman, forty-eight years, and Rev. Dr. Lowell, fifty-four years.

**INDIAN FORT AT NORRIDGEWOCK, ME.**—It is well known that the Indians of Maine, whose tribal residence was on the banks of the Kennebec, had their stronghold at Norridgewock. Here they had the paternal guidance of Father Rale, and his loyalty as a subject of the King of France, to stir up their animosity against the English, on the frontiers, whom they regarded as intruders on their ancient and time-inherited domain.

No description of their Fort, on the beautiful and rich-soiled plain where they dwelt, has come down to us so full and accurate as the one never yet published, found on a manuscript map, made by Joseph Heath, Esq., who resided on the west side of the lower Kennebec. His house, as indicated on another of his MS. maps, was near the bank, on the north side of the small inlet, now known as "Harwood's Cove," whose fresh waters are supplied by the little "run of fresh water" from the south, being the second of the streams which Weymouth's exploring party crossed over in the present city of Bath, on the 12th of June, 1605. He was Town Clerk of Brunswick.

This description by Col. Heath is in the following terms :

"Nerigawalk Fort, Built with Round Logs, nine foot long, one End set into y<sup>e</sup> Ground, is 160 foot Square with 4 Gates, but no Bastions; within are 26 Houses Built much after the English manner. The streets regular; y<sup>e</sup> from y<sup>e</sup> west Gate to y<sup>e</sup> East is 30 foot wide. Their Church stands 4 perch without y<sup>e</sup> East Gate. And their men, able to Bear Armes are about Three score." The remainder of the description, referring to "The wedth of the great River," is taken up

with an explanation of the mode of constructing the map, which is now in the possession of the Maine Historical Society, among the "Pejepscot Papers." It is dated at "Brunswick, in the late Province of Mayne, in New England, May 16, 1716," more than eight years before the capture of the fort, and destruction of the village and tribe by the militia, under Col. Moulton, when Râle was shot in his wigwam by Lieut. Jaques. [Hist. Mag., May, 1864.] Aug. 22, 1724.

A plan of this stockade might be easily drawn.

*Brunswick, Me.*

B.

"FIRST AMERICAN BOOK reprinted in England." (Vol. ix., pp. 290, 349.)

In a letter received by me from Henry Stevens, the distinguished bibliographer of London, dated May 2, 1860, he says:

"Do you know of a perfect copy of the Bay Psalm Book, second edition, 1647? If so, will you describe it? Is it in 8vo 12mo, or 24mo? And how many leaves in a signature? A copy of the Bay Psalm Book has just been discovered in the British Museum, in 12mo (twelve leaves in a sheet) with the imprint, 'Imprinted 1647.' It is a small 24mo size, and contains precisely what the Cambridge edition of 1640 has—no more and no less. It has been corrected in the spelling and punctuation. The type is smaller than the 1640 edition, and the book is much better printed. Indeed, it strikes us here that this must be an English reprint. It has no 'Spiritual Songs' at the end. It was probably printed at Cambridge, in England, as it resembles closely the type used there at that time, and the ornamented capitals at the beginning of the preface agree with Cambridge books."

As the second edition of the Bay Psalm Book, printed at our Cambridge, contained a few "Spiritual Songs," and was a "crown octavo" (see Thomas's History of Printing), of course the copy described by my correspondent was not a product of the New England press, and therefore may be deemed to have been printed in England, and if so, must be regarded as the "first American book reprinted in England."

C. D.

*Cambridge, Dec. 18, 1865.*

CURIOUS COINCIDENCE.—The *Lowell Courier* notices that the Massachusetts and Maine Houses of Representatives organized on Wednesday, Jan. 3, 1866, by electing gentlemen of the name of James M. Stone Speakers of their respective Houses. Thus the mother and daughter States, on the same day, select men of the same name for Speaker, after warm contests. The same paper recollects one similar coincidence in the organization of the Legislatures in 1842, when the Presidents of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire Senates were named Josiah Quincy, though in the first-named State the gentleman named had a "Junior" affixed to his name.

A QUOTATION FATHERED.—We often hear the line quoted—

"When Greek meets Greek then comes the tug of war;"

And we have heard the origin of it discussed and studied time and again, with impunity. A New York antiquarian solves the difficulty and explains that it is by the old English poet, Nat. Lee, and occurs in his play of "The Rival Queens." The correct reading is, however, as follows:

"When Greeks joyn'd Greeks, then was the tug of war."

The whole passage reads as follows:

*Clotus.* Your Father, *Philip*—I have seen him march,  
And fought beneath his dreaded banner, where  
The stoutest heart at the table would ha' trembled.  
Nay, frown not, sir; you cannot look me dead.  
When Greeks joyn'd Greeks, then was the tug of war.

The labor'd Battle sweat, and Conquest bled,  
Why should I fear to speak a truth more noble  
Then e'er your father, *Jupiter Ammon*, told you!  
*Philip* fought men; but *Alexander*, women."

SEAL OF WASHINGTON.—S. A. Washington, of Darnestown, Md., has offered to sell the Massachusetts Historical Society a seal, with the coat of arms and motto of Gen. Washington, which the writer said was not lost to history, as had been supposed by Mr. Everett, but was in his possession. He inherited it from his father, Bushrod Washington, Jr. A description of the seal will be found in the Historical Magazine for May, 1863.

R.

**AUTOGRAPHS OF WASHINGTON.**—As these are becoming scarce, and more valuable every year, it becomes collectors to scrutinize sharply, in future, all on the market. The writer of this has reason to believe that some pretty successful attempts at counterfeiting them have already been made. R.

**REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS.**—There are but two survivors of all those who participated in the War of the Revolution now on the Pension Rolls, viz., Wm. Hutchings, of Penobscot, Hancock Co., Me., aged 101 years (and who took part in the celebration of the last national anniversary), and Lemuel Cook, of Clarendon, Orleans Co., N.Y., aged about 99 years. R.

**CURIOUS EPITAPH.**—In the old burying-ground at Concord, Mass., will be found the following epitaph on a colored man, who had been a slave under the old colonial customs of Massachusetts. It is said to have been written by Daniel Bliss, a lawyer of that place :

God wills us free—Man wills us slaves ;  
I will as God wills ; God's will be done.

Here lies the body of

JOHN JACK,

A native of Africa, who died  
March, 1773 ; aged about sixty years.

Though born in a land of slavery,

He was born free ;

Though he lived in a land of liberty,

He lived a slave ;

Till by his honest, though stolen labors,

He acquired the source of slavery,

Which gave him his freedom.

Though not long before

Death, the grand tyrant.

Gave him his final emancipation,

And put him on a footing with kings.

Though a slave to vice,

He practised those virtues

Without which kings are but slaves.

**BRITISH COMMANDERS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.**—It is a curious fact, that of the Commanders in Chief of the British Army employed to put down the American Revolution, every one lived to see our cause finally triumphant and our independence established, viz., General Gage, who died in 1787 ; General Howe, in 1814 ; Sir Henry Clinton, in 1795 ; and Sir Guy Carleton, in 1808.

**THE HUGUENOTS.**—It is a curious fact, that of the seven Presidents of Congress, who managed the affairs of the American Revolution, three of them were of Huguenot parentage, viz. : Henry Laurens, John Jay and Elias Boudinot, noble descendants of a noble race of immigrants.

ISAAC ROYAL (Vol. ix., p. 369) was a large land owner in Maine, under the Pejepscot Company, who owned an extensive tract on the Kennebec and Androscoggin rivers. His possessions were in Topsham and Brunswick, and also in a township called Royalsboro', lying west of the last-mentioned town, but afterwards and now called Freeport. His name has been more successfully connected with a valuable stream of water, flowing through the region called Royal's River, and has nearly displaced the aboriginal name Wescustogo, which was probably Was-koos-tog-oke, indicating a "pine woods stream, abounding in trout." It may be that the name of the town was changed because of his Tory proclivities, as indicated in the previous article. BRUNOVICUS.

## QUERIES.

**THE FIRST LEARNED SOCIETY IN THIS COUNTRY.**—In the "Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather," by his son, the famous Cotton Mather, will be found this paragraph :

"As a sort of *Parenthesis* unto these Designs of PIETY, it may not be amiss to observe that Mr. *Mather*, being a Person Polished with an *Erudition* beyond what was Ordinary ; among other Symptoms and Effects of it, a little after this [the Synod which met at Boston, Sept. 10, 1679], he formed a *Philosophical Society* of Agreeable Gentlemen, who met once a Fortnight for a Conference upon Improvements in *Philosophy*, with Additions to the Stores of *Natural History* ; From which the Learned *Wolferdus Senguerdius*, a Professor at Leyden, had some of the Materials wherewith his *Philosophia Naturalis* was Enriched ; and in part from their Collections also One that had a share in that Combination, and is now a Fellow of the ROYAL SOCIETY in

London [no doubt Cotton Mather himself], afterwards transmitted Communications thither. But the Cairnity of the Times anon gave a fatal and a total Interruption to this Generous Undertaking."—p. 86.

Was not this the first Learned Society in this Country? BOSTON.

ARCTIC DISCOVERY.—In 1743 the British Parliament offered a reward of £20,000 to the first navigators who should discover a "North-west Passage" to China and the East Indies. It is stated in Parton's charming biography of Franklin, that at the writer's suggestion the merchants of Philadelphia, in 1753, and again in 1754, dispatched the ship *Arago* to the Polar Seas, for the purpose of making this discovery. Were any other attempts made by the colonists before the Revolution for this object? I have reason to think that one or more vessels were fitted out from Virginia for this purpose. R.

On page 819 of the last edition of *Allen's Biog. Dict.* appears the following:—*Ward, Samuel*, governor of Rhode Island, died in Jan., 1851;" &c. &c. *Samuel Ward King* was the name of the governor referred to. Again, on page 369, Dr. Allen gives a sketch of Timothy Fuller [son of Rev. Timo. Fuller], who was "a member of Congress from 1817 to 1825;" informs us further that "Madame D'Ossoli was his sister," and also states that "he died at Groton, Mass., Oct. 1, 1835, aged 57." Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, pp. 494-5, contains a sketch of the same gentleman, which differs in several respects from that given by Dr. Allen. Mr. Loring gives the dates of Mr. Fuller's birth and death thus: "born \* \* \* July 11, 1778"—"died on the 1st day of October, 1833;" which dates, if correct, show Mr. F. to have been aged 45 at the time of his decease. Further, Mr. L. informs us that *Mr. Fuller* "had seven children, one of whom was Margaret, who married the Marquis Ossoli, of Italy."

Now, who can reconcile the above statements? M. S. Y.

Boston.

BOOKS FOR INDIANS PRINTED IN ENGLAND ABOUT 1668.—What were the books printed

in England, for the Indians, which Governor Lovelace, of New York, sent to Long Island in 1668? SEX.

JOHN FUNDA (Vol. ix., p. 372).—Should not the name be *Fonda*?

The following original letter, from a person of this last surname, may possibly furnish some useful information.

*Brunswick, Me.*

"CAUGHNAWAGA, July 10, 1778.

"SIR:—At the request of Leut. Samuel Buffinton I now inclose you a Duplicate Letter from General Washington to General Gates, setting fourth the Advancement and Situation of the Armys at that time; and also the latest particulars of the Engagement; wherein you will perceive the Loss on both sides; please to show this to Major Clyde, Major Campbell, & the Rest of the Principal people at or near your Station; which will be a Satisfaction to them as the[y] have not an opportunity to get the news in that Quarter; you will also please to let your Commissary know that I have no orders to Supply your parts with Provisions.

"I am, Sir, your Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

"JELLES FONDA.

"To Capt. WILLIAM HUDSON BALLARD,  
"at Cherry Valley."

To what engagement does this letter refer?

BRANDT.—The following paper from the original MS., in my possession, relates to the times and needs of the celebrated Brandt. Where was "Patention," or "Palention," the place of its date?

*Brunswick, Me.*

B.

GEORGE CANOUTE'S DEPOSITION.

PATENTION, March ye 28th, 1779.

George Canotts Declereth upon oath that when he was Prisnor with Brant, Last Summar, at old Mr. Tunecliff's, that the said Tunecliff suplaid all Brant's party with Provision freely and that Brant Maid Bargaen with Tunecliff for three oxen for Thirty Six Pounds and give said Tunecliff a writeing under his hand for them and that a servant Lad of Tunecliffs Told said Canoutts that

his Master had Let Brant have five hundord wait of chees and ten or twelf Cows But a

little Before that time and that the Said  
Tuneciffs Son was at his Leeberty when he  
saw him there and wore the Same Token  
[token] on his hat that Brants own men wore  
which was a pees of Yello Lees [lace] and  
farther Sayeth Not his

GEORGE ✕ CANOUTES  
mark

Sworn Before me the Day  
above Menchoned

Peter S : Deggert: Justus

The date (Patention) may be Patent-Ion;  
but it is written as I have copied it. I should  
like to know what it is. B.

INDIAN ELIZABETH-TOWN RIGHTS.—I shall  
be glad to know if any of your readers have  
a pamphlet of about twenty pages, relating  
to the "Indian Elizabeth-Town Rights." It  
was printed about the year 1760. I should  
like to procure or borrow a copy.

JOSEPH SABIN,  
84 Nassau street.

PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.—I have in my  
possession an engraving of "*Christopher  
Columbus and his sons Diego and Ferdin-  
dand.*" Wilson, sculpt. From an ancient  
Spanish picture in the possession of Edward  
Howe, Esq., of Bevis Mount, near South-  
ampton.

Columbus, in the foreground, is seated at a  
table, upon which his hand rests; a dog  
stands at his feet looking up in his face; a  
woman with a basket of fruit in her arms  
stands behind his chair. On the other side  
of the table (upon which is a book, a globe,  
and several charts) the two sons are seated,  
as though engaged in perfecting the maps  
which lie under their hands. Through a  
double arched doorway another room, also  
containing a table, may be seen—and beyond,  
out of the open windows a glimpse may be  
had of trees and shrubbery.

I am anxious to ascertain the history of  
this print. It is apparently forty or fifty  
years old, and is rare, at least in this country.

Albany, N. Y.

J. M. R.

(A photograph of the above print may be  
seen on application to the Editor of this  
magazine.)

## REPLIES.

SYDNEY SMITH'S EIGHTEEN MODERN IM-  
PROVEMENTS.—(Vol. iv., p. 279.)—The fol-  
lowing article, cut from the Boston *Transcript*  
of Sept. 7, 1865, furnishes a very good answer  
to the query of B.

Boston.

M. S. Y.

THE GOOD OLD DAYS.—The following  
amusing description of things in the last gen-  
eration, is given by Sydney Smith :

"A young man, alive at this period, hardly  
knows to what improvements of human life  
he has been introduced; and I would bring  
before his notice the following eighteen  
changes which have taken place since I first  
began to breathe in it the breath of life—a  
period amounting now to nearly seventy-three  
years.

Gas was unknown. I groped about the  
streets of London in all but the darkness of a  
twinkling oil lamp, under the protection of  
watchmen in their grand climacteric, and  
exposed to every species of depredation and  
insult.

I have been nine hours sailing from Dover  
to Calais, before the invention of steam. It  
took me nine hours to go from Taunton to  
Bath, before the invention of railroads, and  
I now go in six hours from Taunton to London.  
In going from Taunton to Bath I suffered be-  
tween 10,000 and 12,000 severe contusions  
before stone-breaking M'Adam was born.

I can walk, by the assistance of the police,  
from one end of London to another without  
molestation; or, if tired, get into a cheap and  
active cab, instead of those cottages on wheels  
which the hackney coaches were at the begin-  
ning of my life. I had no umbrella; they  
were little used, and very dear. There were  
no water-proof hats, and my hat has often  
been reduced by rains into its primitive pulp.

I could not keep my small-clothes in their  
proper place, for braces were unknown. If  
I had the gout, there was no colchicum. If  
I was bilious, there was no calomel. If I  
was attacked by ague, there was no quinine.  
There were filthy coffee-houses, instead of  
elegant clubs. Game could not be bought.  
There were no banks to receive the savings  
of the poor. The Poor Laws were gradually  
sapping the vitals of the country; and, what-

ever miseries I suffered, I had no post to whisk my complaints for a single penny to the remotest corner of the empire; and yet, in spite of all these privations, I lived on quietly, and am now ashamed that I was not more discontented, and utterly surprised that all these changes and inventions did not occur two centuries ago.

I forgot to add that, as the baskets of stage-coaches, in which luggage was then carried, had no spring, your clothes were all rubbed to pieces; and that even in the best society one-third of the gentlemen, at least, were always drunk."

NEPHEW.—(H. M., Vol. i., p. 153; Vol. ii., p. 314). A correspondent of the Historical Magazine for May, 1857, inquires how late the use of the word *nephew*, in its original sense of a grandchild or other lineal descendant, can be found in this country.

The word was thus used as late as June, 1719, in some verses addressed by a grandson of Rev. Increase Mather, D.D., of Boston, to him on his entering the 80th year of his age, which verses are preserved by Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, in his "Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather," published in 1724, pp. 199-200. They commence—

"To my Grandfather in all Good so Great  
His *Nephew* doth his Age Congratulate."

BOSTON.

LACO.—(H. M., Vol. ix., p. 311.) "Among the most tenacious political opponents of John Hancock was Stephen Higginson, a nervous writer of great spirit, whose articles signed 'Laco,' in Russell's Centinel effected a strong feeling. Mr. Higginson was a merchant on Long Wharf, and passed down State street to his store. The truckmen who stood in State street used great efforts to teach a parrot, that hung in a cage at the corner of Merchants' Row, to recognize 'Laco,' and to curse him, relates Thomas; and so completely successful were they, that pretty Poll no sooner saw Mr. Higginson approach, than she began to 'Hurrah for Hancock!' 'Down with Laco!'—and continued to do so until he was out of sight."—*Loring's Hundred Orators of Boston*, art. *John Hancock*, p. 110.

Boston.

M. S. Y.

PAINTINGS BY COPLEY.—(Vol. viii., pp. 345, 397; Vol. ix., pp. 128, 186, 224, 314.)

Samuel Adams, owned by City of Boston, in Faneuil Hall.

Joseph Warren, owned by City of Boston, in Faneuil Hall.

John Hancock, owned by C. L. Hancock, Boston.

Governor Shirley, owned by E. S. Erving, Boston.

Mrs. Shirley, owned by E. S. Erving, Boston.

Judge Langdon, N. H., owned by Madame Eustis, Roxbury, Mass.

Mrs. Langdon, owned by Madame Eustis, Roxbury, Mass.

Mr. Allen, owned by I. Sargent, Brookline, Mass.

Mrs. Allen, owned by I. Sargent, Brookline, Mass.

Silvester Gardiner, owned by W. H. Gardiner, Boston.

RIVINGTON'S INDEPENDENT JOURNAL, OR GENERAL ADVERTISER (Vol. ix., p. 375).—J. J. G. must be mistaken. Rivington's editorial labors ended Wednesday, December 31, 1783. The following advertisement, from the *Royal Gazette*, November 15, 1783, No. 745, will be of interest to him:

To the PUBLIC. ENCOURAGED by a Number of the most respectable Inhabitants of this State, the Subscribers propose publishing on *Monday* next, the 17th Instant, a *Weekly Newspaper*, entitled the INDEPENDENT JOURNAL; or, the GENERAL ADVERTISER.

ADVERTISEMENTS, Articles of Intelligence, &c., will be gratefully received at their PRINTING-OFFICE, No. 32; MAIDEN LANE, where all Manner of Work, in the Printing Line, will be executed in the neatest and most expeditious Manner, and upon the most reasonable Terms,

By the Public's most obedient humble Servants

CHARLES WESTER.

JOHN McLEAN.

NEW YORK, November 15, 1783.

W. K.

FIRST AMERICAN NEWSPAPER (H. M., vol. i., p. 228; vol. ix., p. 368).—The first newspaper in America was printed at Boston in September, 1690, upwards of thirteen years before the *Boston News Letter* appeared. Only one number was printed, as the Colonial authorities of Massachusetts suppressed

the publication. A single copy was preserved, which is now in the British State Paper office. A transcript of this was made by Samuel A. Green, M.D., now of Boston (who has served as a surgeon in the United States volunteer service), from which transcript the entire paper was reprinted in the *Historical Magazine* for August, 1857. Another transcript, made for Daniel N. Haskell, Esq., editor of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, which had been ordered some time before, arrived in this country about the time Dr. Green's copy was placed in the printer's hands.

DELTA.

## Societies and their Proceedings.

### AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL.

THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY held their December meeting at the residence of Dr. John Torrey, who was called to the chair.

The death of two corresponding members was mentioned with deep regret, viz.: the Rev. Fitch W. Taylor, the oldest chaplain in the U. S. Navy, and President Stephen A. Benson, ex-president of Liberia.

Letters were read from Dr. E. Berchon, a surgeon in the French Navy, long among the Pacific Islands, and a member of the Société d'Anthropologie of Paris; from Messrs. S. B. Buckley and B. A. Gould, of the Sanitary Commission, proposing to the society to enable the Commission to continue the physical examination of Indians, &c., which they had commenced; from Messrs. I. N. Wilson, Rev. W. Bower, Wm. F. Cooper, J. Buckingham, Jacob M. Shrook and others, of Newark, O., and from Gen. A. Dille, of Washington, D. C., and Rev. Dr. Fischel, of Amsterdam, all on the subject of the two small carved stones, engraved with Hebrew characters, taken from an ancient mound in that vicinity last season. The stones themselves were exhibited to the society, having been brought from Ohio by Mr. Shrook for that purpose.

A letter was read from Mr. Herman Burneister, director of the Public Museum of Buenos Ayres, accompanying the first volume of the "Annals" of that institution, a publication designed to make known the rare objects of history contained in it, with lithographs.

The "Annals of Iowa" were received from Mr. T. S. Parvis, secretary of that society.

The librarian reported the receipt of twenty-one volumes of the quarterly reports of the Geographical Society of Brazil. A resolution was passed, expressing thanks to the persons who have favored the society with the communications and donations above mentioned.

Dr. Torrey stated some interesting facts relating to the Pah-yutes and certain other Indian tribes, obtained during his recent visit to California, made at the request of the Government, and described some of the gigantic trees, of which he exhibited fine photographs.

Dr. Macgowan read a notice of a practice which he had discovered during his service as medical member of the U. S. Commission to the Western Indians, existing among the Camanches, or some of their tribes, of disusing the names of such animals and other objects as have been applied to distinguished chiefs. Other words, sometimes borrowed from other languages, are used in their stead after the death of the chiefs. Dr. M. remarked that Mr. Hale has noticed such a custom in the Society Islands, and Max Muller in two African tribes.

Professor Rau read a translated notice of the annual banquet of the Paris-American Ethnological Society, in which respectful notice was taken of the American Ethnological Society of New York.

Dr. Davis communicated printed accounts in the *Hull Packet*, of the opening of tumuli at Castle Howard, England, and the supposed discovery of the grave of King Canute.

A pamphlet on Tattooing in the Marquesas Islands was received from the author, Dr. Berchon, of Paris.

An extract was read from the address of Sir R. J. Murchison, at the opening of the last meeting of the London Geographical Society, in which he eulogized M. Du Chaillu, for the zeal and courage with which he had commenced his expedition from Fernando Vaz across Africa, to strike the Nile.

The series of ten photographs of curious earthen and golden relics, from the graves of Chiriqui, presented by M. Zeltner, French Consul at Panama, was exhibited. A wish was expressed that a paper should be prepared, embracing the numerous interesting facts and suggestions relating to these graves or *huacas*, and the different classes of relics found in them, as no such work has been published by any other society.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

#### NEW ENGLAND HISTORICO-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

—The regular monthly meeting of this society was held on Wednesday, December 6, 1865, president Winslow Lewis in the chair.

Wm. B. Trask, the recording secretary, read sketches of the lives of the following members lately deceased: Col. Charles E. Griswold, of Boston, who was killed in the battle of the Wilderness in May, 1864; Hon. Wm. Baylies, who died at Taunton, Sept. 27th last, in the 90th year of his age; and George Adams, publisher of the Boston Directory, who died Oct. 4 last, aged 58 years. The librarian reported the following donations since the last meeting: 21 bound volumes, 194 pamphlets, 8 manuscripts, 77 newspapers.

Samuel G. Drake, Esq., read a valuable paper on the maritime state of Europe just previous to the settlement of this country, from material copied by

himself at the State Paper Office in London a few years since.

Rev. H. M. Dexter read a transcript of six memorial inscriptions of Englishmen, buried in the chapel once occupied by the Scottish church at Leyden, Holland, which he copied during his late visit there. The first was James, Earl of London, who, being greatly persecuted in Scotland under prelacy, chose Leyden as the place of his exile, and died there. Henry Hickman was the fifth pastor of the church, from 1675 to 1692. John Lloyd, of London, 1736. Edward Paige, only son of Nicholas and Anna Paige, born at Boston, in New England, Feb. 22, 1622, and died at Leyden, Nov. 1, 1680. Thomas Allen and Alexander Stewart. The Scottish church was established in connection with the University of Leyden in 1609. At this university students from England and Scotland were often educated, and therefore the establishment of the chapel where these inscriptions were taken.

Mr. Sheppard, the librarian, read extracts furnished by Col. Swett from Rev. John Murray's discourse, delivered on the appointment of Thanksgiving, Dec. 11, 1783, by the United States Government.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—This society held its annual meeting on Wednesday, January 3d—Winslow Lewis, M. D., president, in the chair.

Rev. Washington Gilbert reported that since the last meeting letters accepting membership had been received from Rev. Andrew Crosswell, of Cambridge, and Franklin C. Warren and Samuel W. Creech, Jr., of Boston, as resident members, and from Benjamin Fish, of New York, as corresponding member.

The librarian reported that since the last meeting the additions had been 13 bound volumes and 158 pamphlets, making the whole number of bound volumes in the library 7,073; newspapers, 82; volumes pamphlets 21,546.

Rev. E. F. Slafter, chairman of the nominating committee, reported the following list of candidates for officers the current year:

*President*—Hon. John A. Andrew, LL.D., of Boston.

*Vice-Presidents*—Massachusetts, Hon. Geo. B. Upton, of Boston; Maine, Hon. Israel Washburn, Jr., of Portland; New Hampshire, Hon. Samuel D. Bell, LL.D., of Manchester; Vermont, Henry Clark, of Poultney; Rhode Island, Usher Parsons, A. M., M. D., of Providence; Connecticut, Prof. Calvin E. Stowe, D. D., of Hartford.

*Honorary Vice-Presidents*—Same as last year, except the election of Mr. Duane, of Philadelphia, in place of Nathaniel Chauncey, as V. P. for Pennsylvania, and of Hon. Increase Lapham, of Milwaukee, as V. P. for Wisconsin.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D.D., of Boston.

*Recording Secretary*—Edward S. Rand, Jr., A. M., of Boston.

*Treasurer*—Wm. B. Towne, of Brookline.

*Historiographer*—Wm. Blake Trask, of Dorchester.

*Librarian*—John H. Sheppard, A. M., of Boston.

*Directors*—Same as last year, with exception of

Hon. George B. Upton, of Boston, in place of Rev. Martin Moore.

*Committee on Finance*—Frederic Kidder, of Boston; Hon. George W. Messinger, of Boston; John M. Bradbury, of Boston; John W. Candler, of Brookline.

*Committee on the Library*—Jeremiah Colburn, of Boston; E. R. Humphreys, LL.D., of Boston; George Mountfort, of Boston; John K. Wiggin, of Boston.

*Committee on Lectures and Essays*—William Reed Dean, of Brookline; Rev. Washington Gilbert, A. M., of West Newton; Hon. Charles Hudson, A. M., of Lexington; Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A. M., of Boston; Rev. Dorus Clarke, A. M., of Waltham.

*Committee on Heraldry*—William H. Whitmore, of Boston; Abner C. Goodell, Jr., of Salem; Augustus T. Perkins, A. M., of Boston; William S. Appleton, A. M., of Boston.

*Trustees of the Cushman Genealogical Fund*.—Col. Almon D. Hodges, of Roxbury; Frederic Kidder, of Boston; Thomas Waterman, of Boston.

A ballot was taken, and the whole list unanimously elected.

Wm. B. Trask, the historiographer, reported that twenty-one members had died during the past year.

Wm. B. Towne, the treasurer, reported that the ordinary receipts of the society during the past year had paid the ordinary expenses, leaving a small balance in the treasury from this source; that during the same period the permanent funds of the society had been increased \$500, and now amounted to about \$4,200, most of which was invested in government securities.

Wm. R. Deane, chairman of the committee on papers and essays to be read before the society, reported that there had been read before the society during the past year twenty-three papers, essays and addresses, more than half of which have been published; among them were eulogies upon the Hon. Edward Everett and the late lamented President Lincoln.

Col. Almon D. Hodges, chairman of the trustees of the Bond Fund, reported that during the year \$100 had been received and invested in United States funds. The chairman of the trustees of the Barstow Fund reported that during the past year there had been bound from the income of this fund 279 volumes, and that there remained the further sum of \$105.54 of income unexpended. Hon. Charles B. Hall, in behalf of the trustees of the Towne Memorial Fund, reported that no income from this donation had ever been expended, but was reserved in accordance with the wish of the donor for the purpose of publishing a memorial volume of deceased members whenever the society may deem it expedient.

John Ward Dean, chairman of the publishing committee, reported that during the last year the 19th volume of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* had been completed, and the first number of the 20th volume had been issued. The last volume, edited by Wm. B. Trask, will bear comparison with any of its predecessors. The editor of the present volume is Rev. Elias Nason, under whose care the character of the work is sure not to deteriorate. Three other publications have been issued by

the society during the past year—the Annual Address of the president, Dr. Lewis; the Tercentenary Celebration of the Birth of Shakespeare; and the Memorial in Commemoration of Hon. Edward Everett, who was a resident member of the society from near the time of its organization to the day of his death; these last two were specimens of book-making which will compare favorably with the best English typography.

The chairman of the committee on the biography of deceased members reported that the work was in progress, and it was the intention and expectation that at no distant day the society would possess within its archives properly prepared memoirs of all or nearly all their deceased members.

Wm. H. Whitmore, chairman of the committee on heraldry, reported that the *Heraldic Journal*, containing sixteen pages each number, had been published monthly during the past year, containing monumental inscriptions of several towns and cities; that the labors of the committee are receiving attention here and in England, and that it will be continued the coming year in quarterly numbers of forty-eight pages each.

John H. Sheppard submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"Winslow Lewis, M. D., having, from ill health, declined to be a candidate for reelection as president of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, the following testimonial of our respect and affection is offered:

"*Resolved*, That the officers and members of this association sincerely sympathize with our honored and beloved president, who feels compelled to relinquish an office which, for five years, he has so ably filled.

"*Resolved*, That the harmonious manner with which he has ever conducted our meetings, his liberal donations to our library, his valuable addresses in promoting historical pursuits and genealogy, the deep interest he has taken in the welfare of our institution, the classic taste and love of literature which have distinguished a life devoted to professional avocations, and the flattering success which has accompanied the progress of this society, since it has been under his care, will be held in lasting remembrance.

"And while we lament that ill health has compelled him to retire from stations where he did much good, we are assured it must be a consoling reflection to him to know that this society has been advancing to more and more usefulness, and already enters upon its twenty-second year with the most auspicious prospects dawning upon it in the departments of literature, history and genealogy."

Dr. Lewis replied to these resolutions at some length, and in a manner which showed how deeply he was affected by the cordial expression of esteem on the part of his coadjutors.

Wm. R. Deane offered the following vote of thanks to the retiring vice-president, which was also unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That our sincere thanks be presented to Rev. Martin Moore for his unceasing efforts to promote the prosperity and advance the usefulness of the society; for his punctual presence at our meetings;

for his abiding and faithful services during the past five years as vice-president of the society, and particularly for his strict attention to the duties which devolved upon him during the absence of our respected president the last year in Europe."

Rev. Mr. Moore made some pertinent and feeling remarks, expressing his thanks for the honor shown him during the last five years, and an assured confidence in the future success and usefulness of the association.

**BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY ANNUAL REPORT.**—The thirteenth annual report shows that during the year ending August 1st last, there was added to the library 6,082 volumes and 1,516 pamphlets, making 123,016 volumes and 32,558 pamphlets then in the library. There were lent out during the year 194,627 volumes, or 707 a day on the 275 days it was open; and 13,000 volumes have been consulted in the upper hall. An average of 1,058 visits a day (290,000 a year) have been made to the hall. In thirteen years the library has risen from a collection of a few thousand volumes to above 120,000, and from a circulation of about 7,000 a year to above 190,000. Since the 1st of December last, forty-six numbers of different valuable journals have been stolen; many more have been mutilated and defaced. In the library during the year ending August 1, 489 books were lost beyond recovery. Some legislation is called for on this point. During the last year 5,324 persons have received cards to take out books. The whole number of signers is at present 40,563. About one book out of every 200 lent is lost or worn out, principally novels and books for the young.

**BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.**—*Boston, January 4, 1866.*—At the annual meeting of this society, the following gentlemen were elected officers for the ensuing year: *President*, Jeremiah Colburn; *Vice-President*, J. Phelps Putnam; *Treasurer*, Henry Davenport; *Secretary*, William Sumner Appleton.

## OHIO.

QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE FIRELANE'S HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

### Morning Session.

The second quarterly meeting of the society for the current year was held in the Methodist Church, at Bellevue, on Wednesday, Dec. 13th, at 11 o'clock A. M.

The venerable president, Platt Benedict, Esq., of Norwalk, was in the chair, assisted by vice-presidents John H. Niles, Esq., of Norwich, Judge Z. Phillips, of Berlin, Geo. H. Woodruff, Esq., of Norwich, and E. Bemiss, Esq., of Groton.

The minutes of the last quarterly meeting were read by the secretary and approved.

Moved by D. H. Pease, Esq., that the Board of Directors be authorized and directed to make the proper arrangements for the publication of the next volume of the "*Pioneer*." Adopted.

Twenty-two names of new members were added to the roll of the society.

#### *Afternoon Session.*

The society met, pursuant to adjournment, at 1 o'clock P. M., Vice-President Judge Z. Phillips in the chair.

Several relics were presented to the society by Seth Jenning, Esq., of Milan, and B. P. Smith, of Oxford Township.

The Rev. John Safford, of Bellevue, then delivered an interesting and eloquent address upon "The Social and Moral Condition of the Firelands."

The roll of Township Committees was then called by the secretary.

D. H. Pease, Esq., committee for Norwalk Tp., made an interesting report of the first shipment of wheat from the Firelands, and the first manufacture of threshing machines, which were made at Monroeville, by C. W. Manahan, Esq., present treasurer of Huron county. John Seymour, committee for Lyme Tp., made a highly entertaining report of his early experience in Lyme Township and vicinity.

Remarks were made by Vice-President E. Bemiss, embodying early reminiscences. Mr. Ruggles, of Margaretta, son of Alfred Ruggles, was then introduced by Vice-President Bemiss, and related the early history of the family of his father, who settled near the mouth of the Huron. Vice-President Z. Phillips addressed the meeting upon the pleasure derived by the Pioneers from meeting together. Vice-President George H. Woodruff made a few remarks upon the subject of early life in Norwich Tp., stating during the course of his remarks that in a few months he will have been a resident of Firelands fifty years.

D. H. Pease, Esq., announced the death of Mrs. Polly Pierce, and moved that G. H. Woodruff be a committee to prepare, for publication in the *Pioneer*, a suitable notice of her death. Adopted.

The death of Mrs. Eliza Barker, on the 3d of September last, was then announced. She was born Jan. 27, 1800, at Athol, Worcester Co., Mass., and was the third of twelve children, and second daughter of Marshall and Elizabeth Barker, both born in Worcester county, Massachusetts. She was married to D. G. Barker, September 13th, 1829; came to Ohio in the same fall, and settled in Ripley, Huron county, where she resided on the same farm upon which her death occurred, until that event.

On motion of Judge G. Q. Adams, a vote of thanks was tendered to Rev. Mr. Safford for his excellent address, and a copy of the same was requested for publication in the *Pioneer*.

On motion, the thanks of the society were returned to the citizens of Bellevue and the committee of arrangements for their hospitality and the excellent arrangements they had made for the meeting.

On motion, the meeting adjourned to meet in Plymouth on the second Wednesday in March, 1866.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

**HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.**—The stated monthly meeting was held January 8th, Prof. CHARLES D. CLEVELAND, LL. D., in the chair. The librarian announced donations to the library since the last meeting, amounting to one hundred titles and sixteen articles donated to the museum. The treasurer made his report for the year 1865. The receipts were \$3,080.86. The expenditures, including an investment of \$1,010, were \$2,664.06. The finances of the society during the past year have been prosperous, far beyond any previous experience. The life membership contributions were \$855, against \$260 in 1864, and the annual subscriptions of members were \$2,010, against \$1,161 of the year before. The investments of the society, exclusive of the special funds which are held by trustees, whose accounts are rendered independently of the treasurer, amount to \$3,600."

The trustees of the three special funds of the Society, viz.: the publication, building and binding, made report of their condition. The principal of the publication fund is \$16,335. The receipts during 1865, including a large amount of arrears of interest on one of the investments, was \$1,699.67, and the expenditures \$2,600. The whole number of subscribers to the fund, to the date of the report, have been 745, of whom 112 have deceased. Two volumes—the history of Bethlehem and the autobiography of Mr. Du Ponceau, are being prepared for publication. Meanwhile, the trustees propose to reprint the second volume of the society's collections. The book has long been out of print, and numerous applications have been made for it. "The trustees, believing that the society has in its archives manuscript papers relative to the Revolutionary war, sufficient to form a volume, suggest that the publication committee be requested to make a proper selection for the purpose." At a subsequent stage of the meeting, the society resolved that such a selection should be made.

The building fund has received an accession of \$1,000 since the last annual meeting, and the whole amount on hand is \$3,500 invested in United States bonds. By the terms of subscription the interest is payable to the publication fund interest account, until the amount of subscriptions to that fund reaches \$20,000; the accruing interest of the last year is therefore included in the receipts of that fund, given above. The binding fund, \$1,110, is invested as directed by its donor, the late Dr. Thomas B. Wilson. Owing to the high prices of binding, it was deemed best to allow the accumulation of interest until lower rates prevail. \$300 have been invested on account of interest. A donation of \$1,000 to the principal has recently been made by a member of the society, on condition that the interest alone be used, under the direction of the library committee.

The librarian's report shows accessions to the library, in 1865, of 800 books, 3,798 pamphlets, 74 numbers of magazines and other serials.

Twelve complete or nearly complete volumes of newspapers, and 56 numbers, 43 manuscripts, and 380 articles, added to the museum. Of the pamphlets 1,378 are almanacs, ranging from the year 1617 to

the year 1865. These have been arranged into 115 volumes, and are ready for binding. 137 volumes of magazines and other serials have been arranged for binding, and 183 imperfect volumes are waiting completion. The library now contains 9,425 books, and 9,045 unbound pamphlets, exclusive of the perfect and the imperfect volumes of magazines and serials. There are also the following duplicates—books 248, pamphlets 1,580, magazines 234. One of the books was received by the exchange of a duplicate, five by purchase, and the balance, 794 volumes, by donation. The donors of books and pamphlets were in all 170. Of these 53 gave books alone, 86 gave pamphlets alone, and 31 gave both books and pamphlets. The donors of magazines and newspapers number 36; of manuscripts 26, and of additions to the museum 39. Cases, to be numbered as volumes, have been prepared for the unbound pamphlets, and it is proposed to arrange them for the shelves of the library, and to catalogue and index their contents. A catalogue of the books, on what is known as the slip plan, has been commenced, all the additions of the past year, and several hundreds of others, having been disposed of in accordance with it.

An amended Constitution, and a new code of By-Laws, which had been previously considered, passed to a final reading and adoption. If approved by the Court, as they probably will be, these introduce some important changes in the society, giving it power to hold property, securing the interest of the special funds for the benefit of their respective objects, reviving the original plan of putting the business of the society into the hands of a Council, and making the librarian the appointee of the Council, instead of being, as now, an officer elected by the society.

After nominating officers for the ensuing year, the society adjourned to the second Monday in February, at which time the annual election will be held.

## WISCONSIN.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—*Stated Meeting, August 5, 1865.*—Gen. S. Mills in the chair. The librarian reported the following additions to the Library—three volumes, and seven hundred and thirty-three pamphlets and documents donated. Also, from the State of Wisconsin, had been received for exchanges one hundred and twenty volumes, from Hon. D. J. Powers one hundred and eleven volumes, Gen. Gaylor twenty-eight volumes, etc. Seventeen volumes, all rare and valuable, had been purchased, including five volumes, bound, of Dr. Franklin's *Gazette*, 1728-9, 1739-40, 1753-55, Wakefield's *Hist. of Black Hawk War*, very rare; Lea's *Notes on Wisconsin Territory*, 1836. Also, from Col. W. Chapman an unbound consecutive file of the *National Intelligencer*, nineteen volumes; a small map of Wisconsin from I. A. Lapham; an ancestral

family register from Levi Burnell; three Wisconsin county maps from the Hon. D. Worthington; file of Racine papers, 1844, *River Times*, 1850; drawing of the battle-field of Chattanooga, from Capt. W. F. Goodwin, of New Hampshire; annals of 40th Wisconsin Volunteers in newspaper, from E. Stevens; an oil portrait of Joseph Crelic, purchased; a piece of the apple-tree under which General Lee surrendered to General Grant, from General L. Fairchild; six ancient Roman coins, and twenty-seven more modern ones of various countries, from General J. Watts De Peyster; together with fifty-five other articles of natural history, Confederate currency, war relics, &c., from various donors. Several amendments to the constitution were submitted, and ordered upon record, for final action at the next annual meeting.

A list of rare works on American history, and an early collection of maps on America, were submitted for purchase, on the part of the society, and on motion referred to a committee.

After electing General N. F. Lund, Wm. P. and Frank A. Powers, and James F. and Geo. Bodtker, honorary members, the meeting adjourned.

*Stated Meeting, Dec. 21st.*—General G. P. Delaplaine in the chair. Among the letters received by the secretary and submitted, were communications from I. A. Lapham, intimating that the society may hope for the final reception of the historical collection being made for his History of Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion, by Rev. W. Deloss Love; from John P. Roe, of Waukesha county, tendering a valuable collection of autograph letters of the generals who served in the late civil war, and also a number of the rebel leaders; from Major J. C. Mann, offering to make a collection of war trophies and rebel literature while he may remain at Wilmington, North Carolina.

*Additions to the Library and Cabinet.*—Donations, eighty-seven volumes, among which are several volumes of newspaper files, now bound and added to the library, from the publishers; valuable government publications; three rare and valuable old volumes on Spiritualism and Witchcraft, printed in 1668, 1705, and 1718, from Mrs. Governor Tallmadge; Recommendations of Rev. Dr. William Smith (grandfather of General W. R. Smith, of Mineral Point), reprint, quarto, an anti-revolutionary vindication of the Habeas Corpus, from H. W. Smith.

Among the 151 volumes purchased are many exceedingly rare and valuable works, among which are: Discovery of New Britain, in Southern Virginia, MS. copy from the British Museum, 1650; Lederer's Discoveries in Virginia, MS. copy, 1672; French Colonies on the Mississippi, 1720; Lancaster Indian Treaty, 1744; Present State of Louisiana, 1744; eleven different works on the old French and Indian War, and Paxton Massacre, from 1755 to 1764; British Empire in America, 1741; Cox's Carolina, 1741; Bartlam's Travels, 1751; Wynne's America, 1770; Bossu's Travels in America, 1771; Burke's European Settlements in America, 1765; Pownall's Colonies, 1768; Pownall's Three Memorials, 1784; Mante's History of the French and Indian War, 1772; Major Robert Roger's Ponteach, 1776; Franklin on the Ohio Grant, 1772; Chalmers' Amer-

ican Annals, 1780; Jeffrey's Natural and Civil History of America, 1760; General Howe's Narrative, 1780; Sir H. Clinton's Narrative, 1781; Articles of Association of the Ohio Company, 1787; Brackenridge's History of the Pennsylvania Insurrection, 1794; Findlay's History, do., 1796; Major George Washington's Journal of the Ohio Expedition, 1753; and Franklin's Pennsylvania Gazette, January to August, 1764. Also, Farmer's Map of Wisconsin, on rollers, 1836, the first of the kind ever published, very rare and valuable, from Silas Farmer, of Detroit; a shingle from President Lincoln's log cabin; a very rare and valuable collection of eighty-two maps on various parts of America, Revolutionary battle plans and charts, ranging from 1626 to 1829, but mostly in the last century, purchased; twenty-three maps of Harbor Surveys and twenty-five military maps, from Colonel Wm. Chapman; plaster medallions of Governors Randall, Farwell, and Lewis, presented by those gentlemen respectively; the sword and scabbard of General Henry Dodge, worn by him during his command of the United States mounted riflemen, from General Dodge; the draft-wheel used at Fond du Lac, with ballots, from General C. S. Hamilton; war relics and curiosities, from Colonel S. V. Shipman and others; also, seventy-three pamphlets from various donors. The special committee appointed at the August meeting, to examine an invoice of rare books and maps offered to the society, reported that they had performed the duty assigned to them, and consummated the purchase—one hundred and thirty-five volumes of books, and eighty-two maps.

A large collection of books in the Holland, French, Latin, and other languages, tendered the society on certain conditions. The matter was referred to the library committee.

The propriety of securing proper eulogies on the lives and services of Governors Doty and Barstow was referred to the committee on obituaries.

Tuesday evening, January 2d, ensuing, was appointed for the annual meeting of the society.

Messrs. M. D. Miller, H. N. Moulton, Wayne Ramsay, J. C. Ford, George R. Cook, and Carl Habich, were elected active members, General C. S. Hamilton and others corresponding members, when the meeting adjourned.

We learn, also, from the Madison, Wis., *Daily Democrat*, of Dec. 27, 1865, that the second floor of the new extension of the State Capitol is being prepared for the State Historical Society. It comprises two rooms, of 47 by 22 each, with alcoves and offices, with a hall of 57 by 12 feet. These rooms are admirably arranged for the use they are to be put to—well lighted, commodious, and suited for a satisfactory display of the paintings, maps, &c., of the society, and the shelves for books and records are all inclosed within glass doors, and under lock. We most heartily congratulate the society upon having attained, at last, the convenient quarters which they have so long needed, and which they richly deserve. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, under the management of Lyman Draper and the present librarian, Mr. Durrie, have accomplished a work which may well serve as a model to historical societies in some of the older States.

## Notes on Books.

*Genealogy of the McKinstry Family, with a Preliminary Essay on the Scotch-Irish Immigrations to America.* By William Willis, of Portland, Me. Second Edition: Corrected and Enlarged. Portland, 1866.

This handsome pamphlet of forty-six pages is the second expansion of an interesting family history, which originally appeared in the *New England Hist. and Geneal. Register* (vol. xii. and xiii.). We are glad to see that the author has taken especial pains to notice, in this new edition, the "heroic record" of those of the name who have honorably served their country, either by land or sea, during the recent war. The "Preliminary Essay on the Scotch-Irish Immigrations" is of much value to the general historical student; and the carefully prepared Index (which some writers do not think it worth while to add to a pamphlet) is but an additional evidence of the careful preparation which Mr. Willis bestows upon all his historical productions.

*Responsibilities of the Founders of Republics: an Address on the Peninsula of Sabino, on the 258th Anniversary of the Planting of the Popham Colony, Aug. 29, 1865.* By Hon. James W. Patterson. Boston: John K. Wiggan, 1865. 8vo, pp. 38. Edition, 250 copies.

This handsome pamphlet, from the press of John Wilson & Sons, contains a full and well prepared account of the proceedings at the Commemoration, the Address, etc., and is highly creditable to the taste of the committee who had it in charge. We are glad to see that the Pophamites, if so we may call them, throw down the gauntlet with such gallant earnestness in behalf of the claims of the enterprising, but ill-fated, second colony under the Colonizing Charter of James I., in 1607. All earnest attempts, as this certainly was, although they may be at the time unsuccessful—are yet certain to exert more or less influence upon subsequent efforts of a similar nature. This is a law of nature, and applicable both to man and to society. And we must not, therefore, allow the subsequent brilliant success of the Plymouth Pilgrims in 1620 to obscure one jot or tittle of the claim which Popham, and his companions of 1607, have upon our honorable regard in the matter of New England colonization.

*The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, for January, 1866, makes its "best bow" to its many friends, at the commencement of its twentieth year. During the coming year it will be under the editorial supervision of Rev. Elias Nason—a sufficient guarantee of its continued interest and value to all who consult its pages. A Pepperell Genealogy, illustrated with a portrait of Sir William Pepperell; an Antiquarian Almanac, of ex-

ceedingly great *practical* value to every historical student; a Memoir of the Rev. Giles Firmin, by that modest but reliable antiquarian, John Ward, Dean of Boston—since reprinted in pamphlet form—and a host of other interesting matters, make this number a “feast of good things.”

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## Book-Gossip.

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*The Sot-Weed Factor; or, a Voyage to Maryland;* forming the second number of Mr. J. G. Shea's series of Early Southern Tracts, has been issued from Munsell's press. It is a fac-simile reprint of a curious satirical poem, published at London, in 1708, and republished at Annapolis, Md., in 1731, in which “the Laws, Government, Courts and Constitution of the Country, and also the Buildings, Feasts, Frolics, Entertainments and Drunken Humours of the Inhabitants of that Part of America,” are burlesqued by one “Eben Cook, Gent.,” who purports to have been a “sot-weed” or tobacco factor. The present edition is enriched with an interesting Preface by Mr. Brantz Mayer, and also with Notes and a Glossary, and is elegantly printed on excellent paper.

*Anecdotes of the American Revolution.* By Alexander Garden. The first and second volumes of Mr. T. W. Field's handsome limited edition of this work (150 copies, of which 30 are on large paper) is now in course of distribution to subscribers, the third volume having been issued some months since. Mr. Field, with commendable painstaking, has added largely to the value of the original work, supplementing each of these volumes with thirty-two pages of “Additional Anecdotes.” A sketch of the author's life, which is given in Mr. Field's preface, and careful indexes to the volumes, make this a valuable acquisition to our historical libraries.

MR. H. B. DAWSON, whose discriminating, and sometimes caustic, book-notices have given the weekly paper, the *Yonkers Gazette*, a remarkable literary value, is publishing in its columns by far the

most complete series of *Andreana* which has yet appeared. His historical sketches, entitled “Rambles in Westchester County,” are rich in historic material, and form another most interesting feature in the same paper. And, as if that was not enough, he has opened his columns, with no stinted hand, to the three-cornered controversy between Messrs. Cochran, Brodhead, and Wm. A. Whitehead, on the “New Jersey Boundary” question. Having furnished them unlimited facilities of space for its discussion, he has finally “entered the ring” himself with a “Review,” which is the most complete argument on the subject yet presented by any one, and which has been pronounced by competent legal opinion his best effort. The question itself is an old one, and of the greatest importance, and its discussion in the *Gazette* has attracted the attention of some of the best intellect of the country, and of those high in official position in this State and New Jersey.

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*The Round Table*, a popular literary journal of New York, is now publishing a series of Sketches of the Publishers of New York, and the other large cities of the Union. The Harpers, Appletons, and Ticknor & Fields have thus far been described. These sketches are historical, biographical, anecdotal, and literary, are evidently prepared with great care and accuracy, and, if continued, as they undoubtedly will be, in the same style, will form the most complete and valuable record of the publishing trade in this country ever attempted. Our readers would do well to procure and preserve the series in their scrap-books.

The same advice may be given in relation to Mr. William L. Weaver's series of “*Windham (Conn.) County Genealogies*,” which are now being published in his paper, the *Willimantic Journal*. This carefully prepared series was commenced in that journal in 1862; and in 1864, that portion relating to the families whose names commenced with A, B and C, was republished in a pamphlet form, with a hope, on the part of the author, that the remaining part might also be issued in similar style. But, although the series is yet continued regularly in its newspaper form, we regret to learn that there is little encouragement that they will be re-issued in collected form. The

series has now reached the family of *Elderkin*, and is rich in very full and interesting biographies of various worthies of the name.

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WE have lately had the pleasure of seeing the advance sheets of an elegant reprint, by Mr. J. G. Shea, of a folio pamphlet printed at London, in 1790, entitled "*An Address from the Roman Catholics of America to George Washington, Esq., President of the United States.*" Mr. Shea has added to this edition, which is a strictly privately-printed work of some eight pages, an Introduction, General Washington's reply to the address, with a portrait of Washington and those of two of the principal signers of the document.

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Among the many *Lincolniana* which have appeared since the tragic death of the late President, there have been few issued which surpass or even equal, in typographical elegance, the "*Tribute of Respect of the Citizens of Troy to the Memory of Abraham Lincoln,*" from Munsell's press at Albany. It forms a most interesting and attractive volume of 362 octavo pages, creditable alike to the loyal sympathy and to the taste of the Trojans.

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The HAMILTON CLUB, which certainly does not seem to aim at glorifying the distinguished statesman whose name they bear, have just issued the third number of their beautiful series: "*The Hamiltoniad; or, an Extinguisher for the Royal Faction of New England, with Notes, etc., being intended as a High-heeled Shoe for all limping Republicans.*" This celebrated political poem, by "Anthony Pasquin" (John Williams), is one well worthy of preservation in this new form and dress. It forms an octavo of 122 pages, with an extremely fine portrait of Hamilton, as also a portrait-head-line, both India proofs, and the edition is limited to sixty copies, of which twenty are in quarto form. One of the Notes in the original of this volume has been omitted in the reprint, having been published by itself as No. 2 of the series. It is the well known "Observations on Certain Documents in the History of the United States, for the year 1796," by Hamilton himself. The Club announce, as in press, No. 4,

being Callender's "Letters to Alexander Hamilton, King of the Feds., etc."

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In the Brooklyn (N. Y.) *Standard* there has been in course of weekly publication, for some two years past, a series of agreeable articles, by the editor, Mr. Robert Burch, entitled "*Long Island, a Series of Sketches relating to its settlement, incidents in the history of its City, Towns and Villages, and characteristics of its inhabitants.*" These sketches, though unpretending to any great research, and somewhat loosely written, are of considerable interest and value—embracing sketches of the early historians of the Island, its authors, prominent citizens, antiquities, natural history, sports, etc., etc. Written in newspaper form and style, they easily accommodate a wider scope of subject than could be properly included in any more stately and legitimate history, and, being *au courant* of the times, embrace many matters of recent occurrence and facts furnished by the recent development of historic material. This series has now reached its ninety-sixth number, and, we understand, will probably be discontinued at its one hundredth.

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For those who frequent book-auctions there seems to be a good prospect ahead. We have seen advance sheets of catalogues of the following sales by J. E. Cooley & Co.: the Library of Mr. JABEZ FISHER, of Philadelphia, noticeable for the number of its rare Indian Narratives, State Histories, copies of rare books illustrated by autographs, etc.; the Library of the late HENRY LESLIE, of Philadelphia, containing some American history, a large collection of Greek and Latin Classics, Dibdin's Works, in fine order, and some "unique" copies of great beauty; also, a large number of recently reprinted books in large and small paper; the Library of the Mr. DANIEL EMBURY, of Brooklyn (described in Dr. Wynne's *Private Libraries of New York*), rich in early Spanish works on America, Kingsborough's Mexico, with colored plates, an extensive collection of Mathematics, curious books on the Occult Sciences, etc.

Bangs, Merwin & Co. announce an extensive collection of Theology and General Literature, belonging to a distinguished clergyman of this city, in which will be found a few rare tracts on American History.

The interesting sketch of the Hon. Rip Van Dam, read by Mr. Frederic Depeyster before the New York Historical Society in 1862, on the occasion of the presentation of the portraits of the Governor and his wife; and published in Valentine's *New York Corporation Manual* for 1865, has been reprinted in an elegant (crown) octavo pamphlet, with rubricated title and borders to the page, and engravings of the portraits. The size of the edition we do not know, although it seems to be "hard to get."

Speaking of Corporation Manuals, reminds us of the *Brooklyn Corporation Manual* for 1865, by Mr. Henry McClosky, City Clerk. Its size (octavo) is a great improvement upon the plethoric and unwieldy form of the *New York Manual*; and in external appearance, illustration, and the collection of historic material, it is (as far as the limited appropriations made for the purpose) not unworthy of comparison with its metropolitan rival. Its most noticeable historical articles are the "Mysterious Burglaries of 1840," by Hon. N. B. Morse; a biography of Cornelius Heeney (with portrait); a sketch of Jacob Patchen, the "Last of the Leather-Breeches," and of Augustus Graham, Esq., both extracts from Dr. Stiles' forthcoming History of Brooklyn, and both illustrated with portraits; and a Description of Guy's Picture of Brooklyn in 1816-17, with a large colored engraving from the original painting; View of Brooklyn in 1840, and a map of New York, Long Island and Staten Island during the Revolution, etc., etc. Typographically, the volume is handsome, but it is loosely put together, and the numerous tinted lithographs are, like those of the *New York Manual*, decidedly too "loud" in color to be agreeable to the cultivated eye. This is the third issue of the Manual under Mr. McClosky's supervision, and it is but just to him to say that he has largely improved upon his predecessors in raising the work to a standard of mechanical excellence, and of statistical and historic value, worthy of the third city of the Union. Sets of the Manual are now exceedingly scarce.

T. H. Morrell's reprint of *Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations*, with notes by J. G. Shea, will be

ready for delivery to subscribers on the 28th or 30th of this month. Edition limited to 125 copies, of which 25 are in imperial octavo.

The same publisher's proposals to publish the "Records of the New York Stage, Historical and Biographical, from 1750 to 1860," have met with such a favorable response from the public that it has been already put to press. Mr. Joseph Norton Ireland is now the acknowledged author of this most interesting work, the nucleus of which was a series of sketches which appeared, some years ago, in the "*Evening Mirror*," over the signature of H. N. D.

## Miscellany.

THE PEOPLE of Southampton, Long Island, celebrated, on the 13th December, 1865, the 225th anniversary of the day (in 1640) when their ancestors first obtained legal possession of the township. An excellent and exceedingly interesting historical discourse was delivered by Rev Geo. R. Howell, at the meeting of the citizens in the morning; and, at a social meeting in the evening, at the church, letters from some gentlemen who had in former times labored here in the church and the academy, were read by the pastor, Rev. Hugh N. Wilson, D. D., and were followed by interesting addresses from several gentlemen, among whom were Mr. Alden J. Spooner, and Dr. Henry R. Stiles, of Brooklyn, former librarian of the Long Island Historical Society, both well known for their success in historical research in the early history of our country. A spirited ode, written for the occasion by Mrs. Maria Cooper Howell, a descendant of John Cooper, one of the original proprietors, was rendered by the choir in a superior manner, as indeed were all their performances during the day and evening. An interest was awakened by the exercises of the day bringing to light the antiquities of this ancient town. There is no doubt that at least four, perhaps five, houses now standing were erected in the middle of the seventeenth century by the first settlers. Tombstones nearly as old are still standing, their inscriptions yet legible, and some bearing the arms of the families, in one of the old burial-grounds. Some of the records written in the seventeenth century are as fresh as on the day they were recorded; and although written by a splendid penman, Henry Pierson, would puzzle any one but an antiquarian to decipher them until he had learned almost a new alphabet.

Mr. Howell was requested by the committee of the celebration to give a copy of his address for publica-

tion, but having a history of the town ready for the press, containing all the substance of the discourse, and other historical and genealogical matter, this was accepted as a substitute.

Mr. Howell's work will be issued from the press of John F. Trow, of this city, and will comprise about 250 pages, at \$1.50 subscription price.

A detailed account of the celebration, with a full report of the address, was published in the *Brooklyn Union* for December 16th.

HON. JAMES S. THOMAS, Mayor of St. Louis, celebrated the fortieth anniversary of his arrival in that city, recently, by giving a banquet at his office. One hundred and eighty persons were invited, and over one hundred present. Among the guests were sixteen of the oldest inhabitants, whose united ages amount to one thousand one hundred and three years—an average of about sixty-nine years. They were seated at a table by themselves, and after the supper wrote their names, ages and date of their arrival, in a photograph album, in which their portraits will hereafter be inserted. The oldest person present was Daniel Hough, born at Lebanon, New Hampshire, December 29, 1787, and a resident of St. Louis since December 1819. The oldest resident of the city was James Clemes, Jr., born at Danville, Kentucky, October 29, 1791, who went to St. Louis in April, 1815. The *Democrat* says that there are several older men and older St. Louisians in the city than the above, who were prevented from being present on the occasion. Among them it mentions Dr. Robert Simpson, the father-in-law of Major-General A. J. Smith, who is over eighty years old, and has resided in the city for half a century. There is also J. B. Hortiz, nearly seventy, believed to be a native of the city.

LONGEVITY.—The following is from the *New York Times* of December 5, 1865:

"James McCormick died at Newburgh on the 11th inst., at the age of one hundred and fourteen years three months and five days, said to have been the oldest man in the United States. He was remarkable for his health and strength, and temperate habits. He was not married until he was forty-five years old, and was the father of fourteen children."

THE *Hartford Daily Courant*, with the present year, enters upon the one hundred and second year of its uninterrupted publication.

MRS. MARY WILLIAMS, aged one hundred and five years nine months and thirteen days, died near White House, Hunterdon County, N. J., on the 28th ult. She never had a sick day, so as to be confined to her bed, until the last few weeks of her life. It is said that her eyesight continued good as usual (she was always a little near sighted), and any one who chanced to visit her, even after she passed her one hundredth year, would find her assisting her daughter in the domestic affairs. Her faculties were retained during her whole life. Her husband died seventy years ago. She had five children, two of whom died before her.

JOSEPH M. SANDERSON, one of the authors of the Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, afterward publisher of the Philadelphia *Aurora*, a famous Jacksonian paper, and of the Philadelphia *Price Current*, and finally a hotel proprietor in that city, died in New York on January 2d, 1866, aged seventy-four.

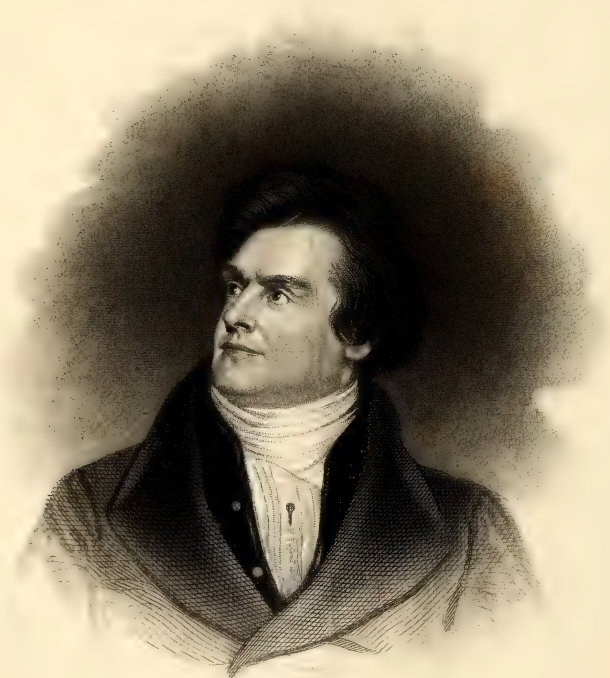
A REMARKABLE FAMILY.—Twelve children of Moses and Rebecca Fitz, formerly of Gloucester, Mass., are now living in Maine, all enjoying excellent health. The *Lewiston Journal* says their united ages are 748 years and 7 months. Not a member of this family of children has died. The oldest is 75, and the youngest 50 years of age. The dozen consists of six males and six females; the latter are all married. They had a family gathering in Danville, Me., on Monday last.

THREE venerable ladies still survive who were of the choir of young ladies that, dressed in white, greeted Washington as he entered Trenton in 1789, on his way to assume the Presidency, and who strewed his pathway with flowers. One yet lives in Trenton, another is the mother of the Hon. Mr. Chesnut, formerly senator from South Carolina, and the third, Mrs. Sarah Hand, resides in Cape May County, N. J.

A VERY important collection of Mexican antiquities has lately arrived in France. It was formerly the property of M. Joseph Durand, the companion, guide and friend of Humboldt during his travels on the American continent. M. Durand died in 1853, near Guaymas, and his collection was purchased a few months ago by a French officer, and has been forwarded to France.

CENTENARIANS IN EUROPE.—A French journal has made a list of the number of deaths in the year 1865 of persons who attained the age of one hundred years and upwards, France not included. England holds a respectable place in the list, having five names out of only nineteen collected from the whole world. The following is the list, which might be added to by further investigation: Mrs. Burchell, 100 years, Brighton; Mrs. Isabella Ross, 105 years, Market Weighton; Mrs. Mary Flinn, 100 years, London; Mrs. Margaret Curteis, 103 years, Shalton Rectory, Norfolk; Mrs. Sarah Englefield, 101 years, Wakefield; E. Nauwelaers, 103 years, Brussels; Isabella Somer, 100 years and eight months, Destelbergen, Belgium; Catherine Van Welle, 101 years, Alost; Lorenzo Risso, 100 years, Rossighone, Liguria; M. Agathange, formerly Abbot of the Russian Convent of St. George, Crimea, 108 years; the Austrian General, Count Civalart De Happancourt, 100 years; the Indian Warrior, Bloody Hand, 100 years, at Cattarangus; Madame Angélique Doyer, 113 years, at Quebec; Widow Caggero, 106 years, at Genoa; Luisa Marie De Oliveira, 107 years, Arrondissement de Louza, Portugal; Jean Schlagentweitt, 117 years, Vienna; Madame Daniel Couture, 102 years, Levis, Canada; Rabello De Pennafeld, Portugal, 106 years.





*William L. Stowe.*

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General Department.

THE MOUND-BUILDERS OF THE  
MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

Who were the mound-builders? When did they flourish? Whence did they come, and whither did they go?

In the rather limited sphere of Vesperic archæology no inquiries are more attractive than these. Various replies have been proposed. One group of antiquaries hold that they were a race long anterior to and radically distinct from the known Indian tribes; a second believe them to have been simply their ancestors. Mr. Schoolcraft, the champion of the latter view, refers them to the "Allegans," a nation whom he supposes to have extended from the Appalachian ridge to the Mississippi, but which he does not identify with any known tribe (Ind. Tribes, vol. v., p. 133). Elsewhere (vol. iv., p. 147) he regards these enigmatical monuments as "the result of that impulse toward civilization commenced by the Toltecs." Both parties agree that their builders were dispossessed and driven south not later than the thirteenth century. The arguments in

favor of this opinion merit a closer criticism than they have yet received.

First and most important are those derived from the *age* and *species* of trees found upon the earthworks. Undoubtedly in Ohio, as well as in Florida, Georgia, and West Virginia, the annual rings of growth carry us back in some instances to the thirteenth, even to the twelfth century; but does this show that their constructors were driven from their ancient seats at those periods? Not at all. It is well known that some tribes of American Indians planted trees on the graves of their dead for religious reasons, and on their fortifications, and building mounds to strengthen the loose soil (La Vega, lib. iii., cap. xx., Laudonnière, p. 138); occasionally, through superstition, villages were suddenly deserted and the forest permitted to cover their sites while the tribe removed to an adjacent spot (Letts. Ed. et Cur., iv., p. 262); in Florida, where the trees on the mounds date from 1145 (Arch. Am., vol. i.) we know that tribes resident at the period of discovery built and occupied such works and cultivated trees upon them (Notes on the Florid. Penin., p. 169). It is an obvious error, therefore, to date the

disappearance of a race from the age of the oldest tree on its works. It would rather point to the era of its erection.

What is called "the succession of forests" has likewise been supposed to vouch for the extreme antiquity of these remains. It is asserted that the second growth of trees is of a different species from the primeval forests, and that the recovery of their ground by the original species requires ages. This is another fallacy. Dr. Cooper, who has studied for years the trees and forests of North America, declares that this succession is "more apparent than real," and that at most it never requires beyond fifty years for cleared land to regain its original wooding (*Pat. Off. Agric. Rep. for 1860*, p. 440).

Many antiquarians have imagined that the osseous deposits found in the mounds indicate a race either specifically distinct from the Indians or separated from them by a vast interval of time. The bones have been said to be smaller in size, the zygomatic arches less prominent, the inferior maxillaries more massive but less projecting, the occiput flattened and the frontal bone more arched. It is well known that these peculiarities have been denied by Dr. George Morton, the distinguished craniologist, and although not subscribing in full to his views, Dr. Daniel Wilson, one of the latest and best authorities, confesses that any final decision in favor of a separate type would be premature (*Phys. Ethnology*, in *Smithson. Rep. for 1862*, p. 248).

The entire ignorance manifested by the tribes resident in the Mississippi Valley of the date or purpose of these earthworks has also often been commented upon. But was tradition thus silent, and if it were, does it prove anything? The more sedulously the student applies himself to Indian traditions, the more cautious he will become in adducing them in evidence. The most important occurrences in tribal history were lost sight of in a few generations. Even the comparatively recent date of the coalition of the Five Nations is uncertain. But tradition is not silent about these monuments. The Delawares spoke of them distinctly as the labors of a nation whom they had assisted in driving south (*Heckewelder*, chap. i.), the Kaskaskias claimed them as the work of their ancestors (*Schoolcraft*, *Ind. Tribes*, v., p. 116), the Iroquois bore them in memory as the monuments of a powerful nation whom they had fought and conquered. (*David Cusic*, *Hist. Six Nations*, pt. ii.), and a late writer professes to explain in detail their uses and history from existing traditions in the Elk Nation (*Wm. Pidgeon*, *Ant. Res.*, 1858). Much of this is fancy, but is it at all probable that even such reminiscences could have been handed down through six centuries? All verisimilitude is against it. If true of a later date, say the fifteenth century, then corresponding traditions should exist in tribes dwelling south of the Ohio when the country was first explored. If such traditions are found among tribes

6291  
who can be shown to have been accustomed to live in villages, to cultivate the ground, and erect earthworks of similar character, then the solution of the queries at the head of this article is near at hand.

Such traditions are numerous and well authenticated. The Natchez, the most civilized nation of the Mississippi Valley, not only had current traditions that they numbered at one time eight hundred sub-chiefs and covered the ground to the Ohio river, but always looked upon the Iroquois as their hereditary enemies, who had driven them from their northern strongholds (Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, p. 37, Nuttall, *Travels*, pp. 275, 283, Letts. Ed. et Cur. Tom. iv., p. 265); the Kaskaskias are proven of northern descent by their language, yet were found by De Soto in lat. 36°; the Arkansas, according to their most ancient relations, had at a remote epoch descended the Mississippi following the Kaskaskias (Nuttall, p. 82); the Mandans, who long retained a remarkable skill in the arts, referred to the upper Ohio as their former place of abode (Catlin, vol. ii., App. A); and the Cherokees (Isallakee, Talligewi, Allegewi, Alleghans), by their most trustworthy traditions were driven from their former homes in the north "before the end of the fifteenth century," by a more barbarous race, and were irreconcilable enemies of the Iroquois (Schoolcraft, ii., p. 344). No doubt can exist concerning a general migration from the Ohio and upper Mississippi valleys toward the

south not long before the Columbian discovery of the continent. Did these wanderers carry with them any of the arts that they there exercised?

When the whites first visited the territory now embraced in the Gulf States they found there many nations of diverse language dwelling in fortified towns, cultivating abundantly maize and beans, and at least two varieties of fruit trees, erecting tumuli as the sites of temples and dwellings, sometimes surrounding them with moats, occasionally mummifying their dead, owning a limited quantity of gold, silver, and copper, spinning vegetable and animal fibre from a distaff shaped like a cross, and in their religious observances cultivating a heliolatry not dissimilar except in degree from that rife in Mexico and Peru. This is so well known that it seems unnecessary to adduce authorities. Spanish, French, and English observers vary immaterially in their statements, and it was especially among the nations whose traditions pointed to the north as their former homes, the Natchez and Cherokees, the Arkansas and Kaskaskias, that these arts were discovered in the highest development. As far as can be judged from the exhumed relics, the mound-builders were advanced in no degree beyond these nations (Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, Tit. x., *passim*), and their monuments, except in point of size, are in no respect superior to those that Laudonnière found in use among the accolents of the St. Johns or De Soto saw on the Mississippi. Lest

such an assertion should be supposed to be derived from a study of written records only, I may be permitted to add, that personal examination of these remains, extending from the peninsula of Florida through all the intervening States to northern Illinois, has converted me from the opposite opinion.

In reference to their magnitude, is it incredible that the largest earthworks of the west could have been the work of a people no nearer civilization than the Natchez? The large mound at Miamisburg, Ohio, contains 11,500 cubic yards of earth, the tumuli and embankments at Clarkworks, three miles in extent, 330,000 cubic yards, and the enormous truncated pyramid of Cahokia, Illinois, 450,000 cubic yards, approximatively. Compared in cubical measurement, the latter, probably the largest in the Mississippi Valley, is less than one third of the Pastoucheka, one of the tumuli of western Russia. Yet this latter was constructed by barbarous and nomadic hordes, and, according to local tradition, is a gradual accumulation by the hands of maidens (Dubois de Montpereux, *Des Tumulus et des Forts de la Russie Oc.*, *Ann. des Voy.* 1845, pp. 189-192). If we allow to each workman a quotum of three cubic yards per diem—little enough when we remember they used only the loose surface soil immediately adjacent—then five hundred would have raised the mound of Miamisburg in a week, the erections at Clarkworks in about seven months, and the pyramid of

Cahokia, "to heap up which," says Brackenridge, "must have required years and the labor of thousands," in something under eleven months! Again, works comparable in size to these are universally attributed to later tribes, nowise remarkable for unity of purpose. Ossuaries or bone mounds frequently contain 30,000 to 40,000 cubic yards. They were the accumulation of generations, and frequently waxed to colossal dimensions. A shell heap at the mouth of the Altamaha "of exclusively artificial origin" measures over 80,000 cubic yards (Sir Chas. Lyell, *Second Visit to the U. S.*, vol. i., p. 252).<sup>\*</sup> The Lower Creeks are said on one occasion to have erected a burial mound covering two acres (Nar. of Ocoola Nikkanoche, pp. 71, 72). We know that a single village of the Natchez, the Uchees, or the Cherokees, often numbered five hundred fighting men, their wives and children subject to a despotic chieftain; what mystery, then, about the accumulation of such masses of earth?

Signs of mining in the Lake Superior region and the so-called "garden beds" of Indiana and Michigan have been alleged to display "European or Asiatic skill" (Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v., p. 396). But the oldest tree found on the garden beds took root in 1502 (*Ibid.* i., p. 57), and the early Indians reported them to have been cultivated by natives like themselves, while the latest and most accurate observers of the ancient explorations of the copper veins are of the belief that they were the labors of

the ancestors of the present Indians about the period of the discovery (Foster and Whitney, *Rep. on the Cop. Lands of Lake Superior*, p. 162), and we have evidence that the custom and art of working the native copper was retained to a far later date (see Henry's *Travels*, p. 195). We may well suppose these to have been the results of the labors of those same tribes, who, about the date of the abandonment of the mines, in the fifteenth century, were driven south of the uninhabited and debatable ground of Kentucky.

To find the origin of this approach to semi-civilization we have no occasion to call in an external Toltecan or European impulse. The marvelous productiveness and facile cultivation of the ze<sup>a</sup> mais and bean on the fertile bottom lands of the Ohio and Mississippi offered an easier means of sustaining existence than the chase, and led tribes without linguistic or political ties to adopt a like sedentary and agricultural life. Such surroundings nourished an independent germ of civilization, similar to those that arose on the alluvial plains of the Rio Gila, the Euphrates, and the Nile. The anxiety to trace all civilizations to a common source finds no favor in exact history (Humboldt, *Cosmos*, vol. ii., p. 114). Rugged northern races drove in upon and extinguished this feeble glimmer of light. Whether these invaders were another wave of a vast migration from the north-west, of which the more cultivated tribes were the forerunners, or whether they were the hardy pioneers of

an efflux of nations from the south-west, who had passed over the fertile valleys of the south, and, having gathered strength in the inhospitable forests of the north, recoiled with crushing weight on their followers, who in the mean time had developed an embryo civilization, is a question, full of allurements, indeed, but which carries us back to remote ages where all historical light fails us.

D. G. B.

## PIONEERS OF FRANCE IN THE NEW WORLD.\*

BY FRANCIS PARKMAN.

Our historic students, in themselves and in their writings, form two classes, not perhaps recognized, but real. There are those who devote themselves to the investigation of a period of history, and by patient research, solid judgment, and a more or less artistic arrangement of the matter, present to us the result of their labors, seeking no fame but that of having added a useful and important volume to our historical libraries. These are the many, and none can gainsay their merit and usefulness. Beside these are the few who, taking an historic subject, do not disdain research—extensive, patient, and wider even, in grasp and spirit, but who bring to the telling of the story a high order of talent, a philosophic spirit, literary taste, thorough culture, a style ornate and melodious, with

\* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1865. 8vo, pp. 420.

the various minor graces, which give their works a place in the literature of their time and country.

Such writers are few. In our own country, when we name Prescott, Bancroft, Irving, Motley, we in a manner close the list; if, indeed, the last will permanently hold his position. Yet, to this class, by every claim, justly belongs Francis Parkman. He has, perhaps, unfortunately chosen for his theme scenes in our own land; for one of the essentials of success, here and in England, seems to be a foreign subject, and Spain has given an immortality not conceded to domestic annals. The reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Charles V., of Philip II., are classics; while in no work of the highest merit can we trace the career of Elizabeth or Cromwell.

Mr. Parkman has all the merit of style, all the research, a knowledge of the continent and its various inhabitants, gathered not from books, but from personal observation, and a power of description more than usually felicitous. His themes are of our land. His Conspiracy of Pontiac was to us, at least, a work entitling him to a place in the very highest rank, and we have never been able to explain the neglect with which it was received. To many, perhaps, Pontiac was a sort of mythical personage, and a conspiracy no very attractive subject for an historic work, but the world of letters should have judged on higher grounds, and the work can well await the rank justly due it.

He has now entered upon the French empire in America, and in this volume gives the opening scenes. His periods are to be separate pictures. The Pioneers of France whom he takes up are Ribaut and Laudonnière in Florida; Cartier and his successors to Champlain, in Canada.

The history of the ill-fated French colony in Florida is a most attractive theme. The material is rich, the country in itself delightful in its tropical beauty, the heroes in the terrible drama well defined and distinct. Mr. Parkman enters into the subject with evident zest; the ground is familiar to him; he has threaded the same streams, admired the same beauties of scenery and vegetation as those of whom he writes, and feels a reality in his subject that no closet study can give.

His sympathy, as that of all generous men must be, is with the unhappy French; and as his glowing narrative leads us on from Ribaut's first settlement at Port Royal to the vengeance of Dominic de Gourgues, we feel but one doubt. While all the statements of fact are borne out, has not the author been led away, by the ardor of his sympathy, to throw around his heroes a halo not their own? The colony was, in its origin, religious, the creation of the mind of Coligni, the master-spirit of French protestantism; but it was the French protestantism of the day, to our mind a political party rather than a creed adopted from deep conviction, followed in reverent fidelity,

made the ennobling rule of life and action, of thought and judgment, it was destitute of enduring life. The savage bigotry of Menendez made the French martyrs to their religious creed: whether the labels were ever affixed or not, they died for their protestantism. But while we deplore their fate, and admire their heroic clinging to the faith of their choice, we cannot place them on a level with the settlers of Plymouth or Philadelphia. The colonists came avowedly to establish a religious colony, but we look in vain for any trace of religion in it. Neither Charlesfort nor Caroline had chapel or minister, and the only trace we find is that some of the piously-inclined mechanics gathered their humbler fellow colonists to exercises of devotion. They impress you as a band of rattling French adventurers, the gentlemen not over scrupulous or particular, the soldiery and sailors very questionable material, the artizans here and there pure-minded, heaven-fearing men. The ease with which they mutinied and killed a commander, the facility with which they took to piracy against the Spaniards, their total neglect of all industry, and especially of agriculture, their thirst for gold, and bad faith with the Indians—all this, when calmly looked at, undazzled by the enticing style of our author, makes us regard the picture as too highly colored. In themselves they were a colony that could not prosper. Religious but in name, idle adventurers, they courted a speedier destruction by attacks on

the Indians and the Spaniards. The latter had pronounced their doom years before. With her rich argosies sailing out from the gulf of Mexico, Spain could tolerate no nation in Florida ready to pounce upon her treasures. Religion gave but a pretext, such as the intolerance of those ages required for a policy dictated by mature deliberation. England, under similar circumstances, would have pursued the same course, though she would have told the victims that they were not executed for their religion but for high treason. A century later she enacted the part of Menendez in Ireland.

The sixteenth century was a carnival of blood. Not in one land alone, or for one faith, did man fall in the name of God; the friar in Spain, or France, or Netherland, was no more guilty than his contemporary Anglican bishop or Genevan doctor. It is an illusion to represent one party, then, as battling for the enlarged because careless views of the nineteenth century, and the other as alone imbued with the narrow and fierce, but sincere feeling of the sixteenth. When a struggle for life and death ensues, high-minded men, with every grace of culture and refinement, nay, woman herself becomes fierce, intolerant, bloody. We need not go beyond our land for recent and terrible examples.

These principles must underlie any really impartial account of scenes where the two systems came into collision, and it is the privilege of few minds to avoid

all bias and partiality. Mr. Parkman seems to us, with all his sincere endeavor, not to have escaped some bias. His contrast, in the introduction, between New England and New France, is not new, but is one that he elsewhere almost refutes. "Liberty and Absolutism—New England and New France," are taking words, but as the foundation of a theory of history most fallacious. Differing utterly in origin, New England and New France had the characteristics of their century. New France, beginning with religious toleration, abandoned it when it had once given up the colony to England: New England, claiming its own right of dissent from the Church of England, as England had from Rome, denied it to all within her borders. New France, preserving her loyalty to the mother country, was content with her political system: New England, cut aloof from the home government, established not a system of civil liberty, but an ecclesiastical aristocracy. There was really more personal freedom in Canada than in New England. At this day New England retains little of the spirit of her first century, but the most striking feature she retains is the length to which she carries opinions, and the pertinacity with which she endeavors, often with wonderful success, to force them upon others.

The work of Mr. Parkman begins with the efforts of Coligni to settle in Brazil, efforts which show the inherent weaknesses of the party. His sketch of the brilliant leader Villegagnon is admira-

ble. The expedition, with its zealous ministers, sailed amid martial music and the thunder of cannon, from Honfleur, but, says our author, "they were no sooner on the high seas, than the piratical character of the Norman sailors, in no way exceptional at that day, began to declare itself. They hailed every vessel weaker than themselves and plundered her from stem to stern." The brief and stormy career of the colony in Brazil is then described. Its close would seem to discourage further effort, but Coligni persevered. Ribaut planted the arms of France at Fort Royal. A chapter gives the fate of this colony as unwise in the material selected as the first. Undismayed by these reverses, Coligni made a third attempt. Laudonnière made a settlement near the mouth of the St. John's river, in Florida. It had no element of success; there was no deep, religious feeling, no industry, not even a trader's capacity. Wild adventure alone ruled, and those who tired of fighting the Indians thought only of plundering the Spaniards. It was not a day when international rights were closely defined. Spain's rich vessels, crossing the Atlantic, were a bait that attracted the French and English cruisers of the day, whom it is not very easy to distinguish from pirates. What quarter they gave their captives does not appear; clergy certainly met none.

Misery at last came on, after Laudonnière had subjected to death the leaders of a party of mutineers who had gone

on a piratical cruize. Then came events with startling celerity, which Mr. Parkman describes with great power. The unfortunate arrival of Hawkins enabling them to stay, the arrival of Ribaut with reinforcements, only to swell the number of victims, and the advent of Menendez, sent to exterminate the whole colony. Ribaut lost all head; against advice he pursued Menendez, leaving Laudonnière in Fort Caroline well-nigh defenseless. Had not Menendez so cruelly used his victory, we could not but rank him high for his energy, skill and fortitude. He sent away his ships after landing at St. Augustine, and with five hundred men marched on Fort Caroline, taking it by surprise, and cutting down all relentlessly, sparing, according to his own account, only about seventy women and children. As many more probably escaped, the rest were butchered. A place taken by assault often shows similar scenes of blood: but when the victorious general returned in triumph to St. Augustine, and deliberately, with evasive words, lured to his hands the shipwrecked force of Ribaut to butcher them, we shrink back with shuddering horror. The vengeance of de Gourgues closes the drama of blood. Such is the story which Mr. Parkman draws with singular descriptive beauty, with a close adherence to authorities, and a symmetrical grace in the treatment of the whole subject.

His second part, "Samuel de Champlain and his Associates, with a view of

earlier French Adventure in America, and the Legends of the Northern Coasts," while it has all the charm of his preceding narrative, does not seem to us so happy. The unity of subject is in a manner lost, and Champlain does not stand out distinctly enough to be the centre figure in the shifting scene. The numerous episodes were difficult to handle, and they withdraw our interest from the founder of Canada. They were attractive subjects, and, drawing from the yet untouched mine of French memoirs Mr. Parkman gives this portion an interest entirely his own. His portraits of the principal personages are gracefully drawn, full of life and character. The settlements of the French in what is now Nova Scotia and Maine, that of Quebec, swept away with the rest by the English, furnish a theme which will long be read with the deepest interest. Bancroft has rapidly and well drawn the picture; here it is developed with all the minor details accurately made out. The difficulties of De Monts, the romantic chapter of Madame de Guercheville's colony, the settlement of Quebec and its capture by the French cognac merchant, Kirk, sailing under an English flag, Champlain's recovery of his colony and later labors—these are no subjects of ordinary interest, when we think of the adventurous Frenchman surveying Lake Huron, fighting his Indian battles on Lake Champlain while New England was a wilderness, or his siege of an Indian town on the shore of a lake in the heart

of Western New York, when a trader's shed or two at best represented the city that now occupies with its swarming myriads the island of Manhattan. The subject will not be handled by one better able by every qualification to give us a picture of French colonization at the North. The work is thoroughly and exhaustively done, and takes a permanent place in American literature.

The circumstances under which it has been written lend an additional interest to the volume. Disease, complicated and terrible in its strain on the system, sight at times entirely lost, periods when all study was forbidden, seclusion and darkness are a sad visitation. To carry out through these a literary project, and leave imprinted on the style no sign of the pain that strung every nerve, no fretfulness of temper or unguarded tone, is wonderful. But in these narratives all comes on with fresh beauty and harmony, the sobered and sententious spirit alone, perhaps, telling us of one on whom suffering has wrought the effect of age.

J. G. S.

### A SCRAP OF NEW JERSEY HISTORY.

The following letter, from LEWIS MORRIS, Governor of New Jersey from 1738 to 1746, to the Speaker of the Provisional Assembly of Pennsylvania, as far as we have investigated, has never appeared in print. It is furnished to us from the

interesting Autograph Collection of Mr. T. BAILEY MYERS, of New York.

Trinton Novemb<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1736.

SIR: Yours of the 5<sup>th</sup> current come to hand posterior to my writing of what goes by this & w<sup>ch</sup> I designe the greatest part for the presse. I believe with you that it will not be prudent to call the Assembly at this time for the reasons you give. the appearing on the side of Mr. Hamilton may possibly be excused on ye Score of the Supposed Ignorance of a Young Country & for aught I know may go far to Excuse him but it is not very probable y<sup>t</sup> Such a Conduct will meet with so favorable a treatment or that those about the court will not make use of the advantages that will put in their power.—the proclamation they have emitted either shews strong inclinations to Embroyle matters or is a piece of bullying and as such an argument of feare & I cant help thinking that their own report to Mr. Hamilton is not convicting to themselves but that their still remain doubts which they would gladly clear up if they knew how—but be y<sup>t</sup> as it will if I am rightly informed the prudence or fear of the generallity is such that nobody will venture to go the length they seem willing to desire. Esteeming that proclamation a rash act as for my own part I am far from being inclined to use Violent measures & hope they will lay me under no necessity of having any recourse to them—the play not being worth the candle

nor ye profit or hon<sup>r</sup> of ye station worth the expense of any one mans life and the fatal consequences to a Young Country of deciding a controversy by force w<sup>ch</sup> a few months will more effectually decide: without too many people on the other side of the water too willingly embrace an opinion of the great disposition of the northern collonies to a revolt & I shall be well pleas'd if the present conduct doth not confirm them in that opinion or at least make them think it imprudent to trust a people with a separate government who while they are upon the point of obtaining it and in a manner under the present Enjoyment of it Shew An Open or rather give an open and avowd opposition to the Orders of the Crown on pretense of ye sense they put upon the King's Instructions contrary to the apparent determination of that point by the Queen. I should think some declaration of as many of the members as can be got to do it (w<sup>ch</sup> I believe will be the majority) disclaiming such a procedure & that of the proclamation Issued by them & advising the declining of all Violent measures & directed both to him and myselfe as their advice may be of use to screen themselves and the people they represent from any imputation, prevent Hamilton & his advisers from running into those Violent measures they have given such a specimen of their being inclined to take—and Justifie or at least Excuse me for not making use of force to put the Queens orders in Execution. & I submit to you whether during the recess of

ye assembly this matter having hapned it be not proper for you to direct the publick agent to apply to the King to determine this affaire in Order for the future direction how the Assembly shall govern themselves I believe this will be well approved of at home and merit the thanks of the House when they meet as an acceptable piece of conduct, but this I submit to your Judgment.—if you approve of what I mention concerning the declaration above there may arise some difficulty concerning the direction which to avoid disputes may be to L M &c stiled by the Queen President of the Councill & commander in chief of the Province of &c: & to I Ham: &c eldest councill: residing on the spot at the time of the death of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> I Anderson &c or in such other manner as you shall judge more fit I here enclose an adjournment according to the present usage. The argumentative letter designed in part for the presse I submit to your correction, it being done in great hurry & I believe more may be said on the same thing more to the purpose which I wish you may have opportunity and inclination to do. If I had more time to spare than I have at present I should write to your assembly of Pennsylvania and thank them for the honor they did me in making me one of their agents. I wish it had been as much in my power as it was in my inclination to have done them any reall service. they have a potent adversary at present in Lord Baltimore but I believe not potent Enough to to hin-

der a decree in their favour but of this You have allready fuller accounts than I can give. I beg you'll make my acknowledgements acceptable & believe that I am with m<sup>ch</sup> truth

Sir

Your sincere friend &

Servant

LEWIS MORRIS.

P S—I made an Omission in ye proposed direction to myself w<sup>ch</sup> was intended to be to L M Esq<sup>r</sup> Eldest councell<sup>r</sup> & the person first named in the generall Instructions to Collo Cosby & by a late additional Instruction from ye Queen directed to himselfe styled President of the Councill & Command<sup>r</sup> in Chief of the Province of Nova Cæsaria or New Jersie.

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The claims of Col. Morris to the government of New Jersey do not appear to have been generally recognized at this time, probably from the pacific policy indicated in this letter as pursued by him. Mr. Whitehead, in his valuable "Early History of Perth Amboy," says "Mr. Anderson died on the 27th March, 1736, and on the 31st the proclamation of Mr. Hamilton was issued confirming in office the incumbents of all civil and military posts in the Province; and he continued to administer the government—*acceptably to the people, we may believe, in the absence of any testimony to the contrary*—until the summer of 1738, when he was relieved by the arrival of a com-

mission appointing Lewis Morris Governor of New Jersey, apart from New York. Governor Morris resided most of his time near Trenton. He died in 1746, and again did Mr. Hamilton become invested with the chief authority; but he had for a long time been very infirm, and before the year closed he also died;—being succeeded by the next oldest councillor, John Reading." This letter may be viewed as the "testimony to the contrary" of at least one of "the people," and he the one most interested. Neither Mulford or Gordon allude to this controversy, but in the Analytical Index of Colonial Documents of New Jersey may be found references to many documents bearing upon it, by which it appears that Col. Morris, on his arrival from England, found Col. Hamilton in possession of the office, basing his claims on the absence of Col. Morris, whose right does not seem to be otherwise questioned. That the Council were divided, James Alexander, after his congratulating Hamilton on his elevation, sustaining Morris, and Messrs. Reading, Van Horne, Provoost and Farmer, Col. Hamilton. Both issued proclamations as governors; Hamilton in one of his (Oct. 29th) ordering that no regard should be paid to Morris's proclamations, but that he should be apprehended and conveyed to the common jail. The result of the controversy was the final success of Morris in securing the full appointment, which he retained until his death, and a separation of the government from New

York. He was a man of mark in the Colony, and held many positions of consequence and trust.

### BIOGRAPHY OF THE BOSTON COURIER.

THE *Boston Courier* ceased to exist on January 13th; on the 15th its proprietors commenced a new paper under the title of *The Daily Evening Commercial*. The demise of a journal which has so long occupied public attention, and had such a peculiar history, seems to call for some special notice. The *Boston Courier* was started March 2d, 1824, by Joseph T. Buckingham, who had won considerable fame as editor of the *New England Galaxy*, an independent and very able weekly paper. The *Advertiser* was then the only daily in Boston. The *Courier* at first took no side in politics, but was the strenuous advocate of protection to American manufactures—then popularly known as “The American system.”

Mr. Buckingham drew around him many able writers, and the *Courier* was the favorite Boston journal with a wide circle of influential persons. Its editor visited Washington in 1827, and his letters from the National capital, including, as they did, sketches of prominent politicians and statesmen, were the best that had been written up to that time. During his absence, his son, Mr. Joseph

H. Buckingham, acted as editor. Mr. Ferdinand E. White reported the markets and made up the prices current. Many other leading merchants furnished commercial, manufacturing and other business intelligence; and the paper was an authority among traders of all classes. One of the earliest political movements of the *Courier* was to urge the nomination of Edward Everett to Congress, in October, 1824. Mr. Webster found in the *Courier* an able and constant defender through the whole editorial career of Mr. B., who was greatly disappointed at his rejection as a Presidential candidate by the Whigs in 1848. His refusal to support General Taylor for the Presidency induced him to dispose of his entire interest in the paper.

The *Courier*, through forty years of its career, had a very valuable list of contributors. Among the earliest may be mentioned Silas P. Holbrook, Charles Sprague, Rev. Leonard Withington, S. G. Goodrich, John Pickering, John Pickens, Wm. Foster, William Sturgis, C. G. Pickman and Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D. Among the later, John H. Warland, George S. Hillard, William J. Snelling, William W. Story, James Russell Lowell, Charles Francis Adams, A. C. Spooner and Samuel Kettell.

Edwin Buckingham, one of the most promising young writers of our country, was associate editor from 1831 to 1832. His early death was mourned by his father with a depth of sorrow rarely equalled. Mr. Sprague's beautiful tribute to

"E. B." is one of the most tender and touching productions of his muse.

The business department of the *Courier* during these years did not receive proper attention, and it was embarrassed, while tens of thousands of dollars were due the establishment. In 1837, on account of financial difficulties, Mr. Buckingham disposed of one third of his interest to Mr. Eben B. Foster, who managed its business affairs for many years.

After an editorial career of twenty-four years, Mr. Buckingham, in 1848, was succeeded by Mr. Samuel Kettell; associated with him was Mr. Isaac W. Frye, who had long been in the office, and for many years had occupied a chair in the editorial room. After the retirement of Mr. Buckingham, and until Mr. Webster's Seventh of March speech, the *Courier* had advocated the policy of the Whig party of Massachusetts, particularly the anti-slavery planks of its platform. On the third day after the reception of that speech, it came out in defense of its doctrines. From that time forward it was a conservative paper of the most "hunker" description, and of course lost the patronage of the great mass of the party upon which it had hitherto relied for support.

Mr. Kettell died in 1855, and was succeeded by Mr. Frye, as chief editor, who in turn was succeeded by Mr. John Clark, in 1857. At the transfer of the paper at this last date, six gentlemen purchased the establishment, namely: John Clark, E. W. Foster, E. H. House, John F. Fel-

lows, George S. Hillard and George Lunt. At this time the circulation had fallen to 1,600 copies daily; under the charge of Mr. Clark, it rose to 4,700. The advertising patronage increased in about the same proportion. Several of the new proprietors shortly withdrew, on account of the want of harmony in the management of the paper, and their disagreement with its political principles. After the retirement of Mr. Frye it was hardly a paying concern, and its proprietors sent South for its support, on the ground that our community would not sustain a "conservative" journal of its ultra character. The *New York Journal of Commerce*, maliciously, as it was then thought, revealed the fact of this appeal.

The paper was beginning to lose its popularity among its friends, when the Southern war broke out. A few fitful spasms of loyalty led to a quarrel among the proprietors, and induced the withdrawal of Mr. Clark, hundreds of subscribers, and \$18,000 worth of advertising patronage.

Mr. George Lunt was its editor during the war, but its financial affairs went from bad to worse.

About 1845 the *Courier* was appraised by two of the most competent persons in the city to be worth \$45,000, at which rate a portion of it was sold. In 1857, after it had lapsed into hunkerism, the whole concern was disposed of for \$9,000, and the purchasers were not many months in learning that they had made a bad bargain. Since that date up to within a

very short time, it has been kept alive by gratuities, assessments and extra subscriptions.

Some months since the *Courier* passed into new hands, and has been published by Messrs. Libby & Dennison.—*Boston Evening Transcript*.

### WASHINGTON'S TEXT BOOK.

HIS AUTOGRAPH COPY OF THE YOUNG MAN'S  
COMPANION.

There is in this city one of the most interesting books in the world. It is the one that formed the intellectual, the business and moral character of Washington, the Father of his Country. It lifts up the mystery of his early training, and explains much which before seemed unaccountable. He early lost his father. He enjoyed but few advantages of education; yet it is said of him that at a very early age he had a knowledge of the forms of business, proofs of which are left in his own handwriting. Washington Irving says of Washington that "before he was thirteen years of age he had copied into a volume forms of all kinds of mercantile and legal papers, bills of exchange, notes of hand, deeds, bonds, and the like; that he had a lawyer's skill in drafting documents, and a merchant's exactness in keeping accounts."

The book we have referred to was the architect of his character. It is a small octavo volume of 472 pages. The name of George Washington is written upon

it in boyish chirography, but large, bold, with every letter distinct as in his maturer days, to which the year 1742 is added in same handwriting. Washington was then ten years of age. The title of the book is this: "Young Man's Companion or Arithemetek Made Easy, with Plain Directions for a Young Man to Attain to Read and Write True English, with copies of Verses for a Writing School. Instructing of Letters to Friends. Forms for Making Bills, Bonds, Releases, Wills, &c. Likewise Easy Rules for Measuring Board and Timber by the Carpenter's Plain Rule, &c. Also Directions for Measuring, Guaging and Plotting out of Land, &c., and Taking the Distance by Quadrant and Triangle, together with a Map of the Globe and Water. Also, a Map of England, together with Choice Monthly Observations for Gardening, Planting, and Inoculating Fruit Trees. Written by W. Mather in a Plain and Easy Style that a Young Man may Attain the same without a Tutor. Thirteenth Edition. London, Printed for S. Clark."

The Young Man's Companion opens with instructions in spelling, punctuation and composition. Selections for practice are presented from hymns, prayers, and prose. Easy copies for writing, with instructions how to sit, hold the pen, and to make ink follow. Rules are laid down for writing letters on love, business and friendship, and how to begin and end a letter, with the different styles to be addressed to people of rank and plebeians. Forms for all kind of mercantile and

legal papers are presented, with Powers of Attorney, Deeds and Wills. Arithmetic comes next, Surveying, Mensurations, Navigation, Building, Gauging, Taking Observation, and Architecture, accompanied by rude drawings, have their place. Rules for behavior in company are then given, how to enter and leave the presence of nobility and rank, with the order of precedence, so that a young man's manners may be well formed. Banking and Exchange follow, with rules for farming and gardening, with Inoculating, as grafting was then called, the raising of flowers and fruits, and instructions for each month in a year. Receipts are given for the making of cider, wine and preserves. The book holds a medical department, and household games, tricks and pastimes are not overlooked.

Here Washington formed his first acquaintance with the writings of Sir Matthew Hale. Washington Irving says that Sir Matthew Hale's *Contemplation, Moral and Divine*, was the favorite volume of Washington's mother. Out of it she daily read him lessons of religion and morality. His "mother's manual, bearing his mother's name, Mary Washington, written with her own hand, was ever preserved by him with filial care, and may still be seen in the archives of Mount Vernon." To those Contemplations he was first introduced by this book. Copious extracts from Hale's celebrated *Manual* are inserted under the title of "Judge Hale's Contemplations in his Account of the Good Steward."

This remarkable book, "The Young Man's Companion," came into Washington's hand when he was ten years of age. It taught him just what he wished to know. He became his own tutor under this master. That he read it, studied it, and made the treasures his own, his subsequent life proved. Not content with the reading, before he was thirteen years of age he copied all the business forms into a book and mastered all its teachings. It made him the surveyor, the exact business man, the legislator, the ruler, the finished gentleman, while its lessons of religion and morality formed his character and guided his life.

This book was found in Virginia during its occupation by our troops. It is in a remarkable state of preservation. It is in the possession of a gentleman of this city. In a recent visit to New York the Lieutenant-General examined it with profound reverence, and expressed his belief that its silent, eloquent, and instructive pages were the architect of the practical, symmetrical, and finished character of the great Washington. The book was presented to Gen. Grant. But with that delicacy which distinguishes all that he does, he refused to receive it as a gift, but was willing to take it in trust to hold it till the owner should appear. Should none apply for it, it will be placed among the archives of the nation—a precious legacy.

*N. Y. Tribune, Jan. 27.*

THE OMNIBUS;  
OR,  
A SERIES OF ESSAYS  
ON  
MATTERS IN GENERAL  
AND  
THINGS IN PARTICULAR.

BY A RETIRED PHYSICIAN.

*Omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis.*

CONTINUED FROM LAST NUMBER.

THE OMNIBUS.—NO. III.

"The clouds dispell'd, the sky resum'd her light,  
"And Nature stood, recover'd of her fright."

DRYDEN.

As I knew my friend Groesbeck to be as regular as clock-work in his movements, I felt pretty sure of finding him on the Battery at twelve. Accordingly I arranged my appointments so as to leave me at leisure at that hour. Upon entering the gate opening from Greenwich street, we met unexpectedly, to our mutual agreeable surprise. "Well, where now?" said he. "Where you please," said I. "Suppose, then," he replied, "we take a tower along shore, on the North River side. I used to be better acquainted there, than over in the *Vly*." So "we went on our way rejoicing;" and as we turned into Marketfield street, and passed up Washington street, he said that he had caught streaked bass, white perch, porgies, and weak-fish where we then stood, and considered them larger and sweeter than they were now. He told

me, too, that at the end of Greenwich street there rose a high bluff from the water; the whole of Washington street having since been filled in. This bluff or hill extended to the Spuyten Tuvvel Creek, where Harlem Creek empties into the North River: that he lay one day on that bank, under the shade of the old Lutheran Church, when the Asia man-of-war began firing on the town; but the shot fell so thick and heavy that he soon put the old stone building between himself and the enemy. He saw Trinity Church catch fire, and watched it until the steeple fell into the body of the Church, which was immediately after the clock struck 12. The sight and the sound, he said, were grand. The flames extended along Broadway, below the Lutheran Church on one side, and the Vertettenburgh on the other, to Beaver street; and then down Whitehall, and along Queen and Little Dock streets, to the Coffee House Slip.

The fire companies had been disbanded, and the citizens, as had been their practice, voluntarily formed themselves into ranks for passing the buckets from the pumps to the fire engines. But the military interfered, and perhaps intending well, aided in fact the work of devastation. The fire had hardly been subdued, when a violent thunder-storm arose, in the course of which, the house where my friend was billeted, and a powder vessel lying under Brooklyn Heights, were struck by lightning. The front of every house fronting the East River was

thrown down by the shock: their inhabitants were exposed not only to the violence of the storm, but to the severity of the cold; for the winter of 1779-80 is still remembered as the hardest winter ever known. Gen. Washington ordered a detachment of 2,000 men to attempt the surprise of 1,200 of the enemy quartered on Staten Island; but the Tories in the neighborhood did not allow their friends to be caught; and it was found that a passage for boats remained open from New York, through which the British troops were reinforced. The cold weather caused much suffering to the army and more to the inhabitants; wood was cut by the soldiers on all the islands in the Bay; and few trees on Manhattan Island escaped the axe; but neither fuel nor provisions were to be purchased by the wealthiest inhabitants of the city and in many instances their household furniture was broken up to be burnt.

We had now arrived at the foot of Warren street, when my companion exclaimed: "Aha! here used to be the Fox (Vaux) Hall Garden, and tea-house, only about fifty feet above us; and here, below the bluff, were the stairs where Andre embarked to go on board the Vulture. I was one of the boat's crew that rowed him from the ship to Robinson's house." "You!" cried I. "Why, I thought you were attached to the American army." "So I was," says he, very coolly, and I thought with some embarrassment; "but I was *detached* then, as Andre was, to procure information. We took old Bev-

erley Robinson and him both on board in the Highlands; and as we rowed down along the river, we saw the West Point barge just rounding the Point, when Arnold sung out, 'Give way, boys, don't let the barge beat us.' As we passed Fort Clinton, they fired upon us; and we saw the shot strike the waters; so, says Arnold, 'D—n those fellows, they forgot to take the shot out of their guns before saluting the General'—just right off-hand, as natural as possible. We landed at Josh Smith's, in Haverstraw Bay; and there Andre and Arnold had their conference. While this was going on, I thought I'd have my *conference* too; so I left the boat and went a little way up the *Clove*, where I found a couple of lads of the name of Colquhoun, who had been told, not by Arnold nor by Josh, to be at that place when the boat came off. I handed them a letter for General Washington, from one of his friends in New York; and as soon as I could stow away the despatch I got from them. I returned to the boat just in time to be too late. The General asked me where I had been. I told him 'a little way up the Clove there, behind that rock.' 'What business had you there?' says he. 'Oh! General,' says I, 'you must excuse me. I should be ashamed to tell.' He seemed to *take*, and dropped the subject as quick as I had done; and he was fairly taken in, you may depend."

My curiosity was now awakened upon a theme of much deeper interest than any that had preceded it, and I asked

Mr. Groesbeck if he had seen any more of Andre. "Why, to be sure," said he. "I went back to his trial, as a witness and was afterwards one of the detachment that guarded him at Tappan. He was a nice man, and I never was so sorry in all my days, as when the news came that Sir Harry refused to give up Arnold in exchange for him. But that they said was *Politics*. Now, if that's the case, my notion is, Doctor, that there is no such thing as honesty in politics." "Tell me more," said I, "of Andre." "Why, he bore the news better than anybody else; shut himself up in his bed-room, and, as his own servant himself told me, *went to prayers*. There were no dry eyes in the house that night—but his own; and the next morning he came out as cheerful as if nothing had happened; and yet he looked grave and quiet. He was disappointed though, when he was told that he could not be shot, instead of hung; but he marched to the gallows with a firm step, head up, and *eyes right*. After the rope was fixed round his neck, and before his arms were pinioned, he took a small picture of a woman from his shirt-bosom, and gave it to his man, and told him, I suppose, what to do with it. Our platoon was drawn up before him, and when he dropped his pocket handkerchief, our pieces, some how or other, were all pointed almost as high as the top of the gallows. 'As you were,' says the Lieutenant. The second time we pointed to his heart, and sent him to Heaven with as little pain as possible."

#### THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND CONGREGATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

[We feel certain that many of our readers will thank us for inserting the following list in the Magazine. On no subject, perhaps, is there more misapprehension and lack of accurate information, than in regard to the different Roman Catholic orders now established in this country. In these days, when our historical students are waking up to a better appreciation of the labors of the Catholic missionaries and teachers in connection with the earlier history of this land, a brief *resumé* such as we here present, is valuable for reference.—EDITOR.]

##### ORDERS OF MONKS.

*Benedictines*. Founded about 500, by St. Benedict (born at Narni, 480; died 543). Devoted originally to contemplation and manual labor; afterwards to missions, science, &c. Introduced into the United States in 1846. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Kansas, and Indiana.

*Cistercians*. Founded in 1098, by St. Robert of Molesme (born 1018; died 1110). Rule confirmed by Pope Calixtus II., in 1119. The monastery of La Trappe reformed in 1662 by the Abbé de Rancé, who became first abbot of the Trappists. Introduced into the United States in 1803. In Kentucky and Iowa.

##### ORDERS OF CANONS REGULAR.

*Pemonstratensians*. Founded in 1119, by St. Norbert, Abp. Magdebourg (born 1082; died 1134). Confirmed by Pope Honorius II. in 1126. Introduced into the United States in 1846. They have a house in the diocese of Milwaukee.

*Canons of the Holy Cross*. Founded in 1241, by Father Theodore de Celles (born 1166; died 1244-6), Confirmed by Innocent III. and Honorius III. First house in the United States in Wisconsin, established in 1850.

##### ORDERS OF FRIARS.

*Franciscans*. (Friars Minor.) Founded in 1209, by St. Francis of Assisi (born 1182; died 1226).

Approved in 1210, by Pope Innocent III. Instituted to inculcate the practice of Christian virtues, and the Evangelical counsels by word and example. They form various branches. I. The Conventuals, who mitigated the rule. II. Reformed or Recollects, founded in 1484. III. The Capuchins, founded by F. Matthew Bassi, in 1525. Besides the Friars Minors, St. Francis instituted a second order for women, and a third order for persons living in the world. Under this last rule, communities of both sexes have been formed. The Franciscans first entered the United States in 1528. There are Recollects now in the dioceses of Buffalo and Alton; Capuchins in Texas and Wisconsin; Conventuals at Syracuse, N. Y.; Brothers of the Third Order in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

*Dominicans.* Founded in 1215, by St. Dominic de Guzman (born 1170, at Calaruega; died 1221). Approved in 1216 by Pope Honorius III. Instituted for the preaching of the gospel and the conversion of heretics. First entered the United States in 1539. They have houses now in Ohio, Kentucky and Wisconsin.

*Augustinians.* Founded by B. John Bon (born 1168; died 1249). His congregation joined with others, and subjected to the rule of St. Augustine by Pope Innocent IV. in 1244, and by Pope Alexander IV. in 1256. They entered the United States in 1790, and have establishments in the dioceses of Philadelphia and Albany.

*Carmelites.* Founded or organized by Blessed Albert, Bishop of Vercelli, in 1209. Had missions in Louisiana during French colonial times. Some members began a house of the Order in the West, in 1865.

#### REGULAR CLERKS.

*Jesuits.* Founded in 1534, by St. Ignatius Loyola (born 1491; died 1556.) Confirmed in 1541. Established to oppose heresy and infidelity by preaching and the instruction of youth. Entered the United States in 1566. They are divided in the United States into, 1, the province of Maryland, having establishments in the dioceses of Baltimore, Philadelphia, Portland and Boston; 2, the vice-province of Missouri, having houses in the dioceses of St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Chicago, Milwaukee; 3, the mission of Canada and New York, having houses in the dioceses

of New York, Albany, Buffalo, Quebec, Montreal, London, and Hamilton; 4, the mission of Louisiana, with houses in the dioceses of New Orleans and Mobile; and 5, the mission of California.

*Lazarists, or Priests of the Mission.* Founded in 1617, by St. Vincent de Paul (born 1576; died 1660). Approved of by Urban VIII. in 1632. Established to give missions to the poor. Introduced into the United States in 1817.

*Redemptorists.* Founded in 1732, by St. Alphonsus Liguori (born 1696; died 1787). Confirmed by Pope Clement XII. Intended for home missions. Introduced into the United States in 1841. They have houses in the dioceses of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Buffalo, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and New Orleans.

*Passionists.* Founded in 1737, by Blessed Paul of the Cross (born 1694; died 1775). Confirmed by Pope Benedict XIV. in 1741. Introduced into the diocese of Pittsburgh in 1852.

*Oblates of Mary Immaculate.* Founded in 1815, by Rev. Charles Joseph Eugene Mazenod, now Bishop of Marseilles, to evangelize the prisoners and the poor. Confirmed by Pope Leo XII. in 1826. They have establishments in Texas, Washington Territory, and the dioceses of Albany and Buffalo.

*Congregation of the Holy Cross.* Founded in 1834, by the Abbé Moreau, and including the Brothers of St. Joseph, founded about the same time by Very Rev. M. Dujarier. Rule of the congregations united into one; approved by Pope Pius IX. in 1856. First establishment in the United States in 1842. Now in the dioceses of Fort Wayne and Chicago.

*Congregation Pretiosissimi Sanguinis.* Founded in 18—, by the Ven. Caspar Buffalo (died 1837). Founded in the United States in 1844, by the late Rev. F. de Sales Brunner. They have establishments in the State of Ohio.

*Priests of Mercy under the title of the Immaculate Conception.* Founded by Mr. Rauzan, in 1815, as Missionaries of France, approved 1833. In New York and Florida since 1840.

#### CONGREGATIONS OF PRIESTS.

*Sulpitians.* Founded in 1842, by Rev. M. Olier (born 1608; died 1657). Devoted to the direction of Ecclesiastical Seminaries. Baltimore since 1790.

*Missionaries of St. Paul.* Recently founded at New York.

#### BROTHERS.

*Brothers of the Christian Schools.* Founded in 1679, by Ven. John de la Salle (born 1651; died 1719). Introduced into the United States in 1846. They have schools in the dioceses of Baltimore, New York, Brooklyn, Albany, St. Louis, New Orleans, and Detroit.

*Brothers of Christian Instruction.* Founded at Puy, in France. Introduced into the United States in 1846. They have houses in the dioceses of Dubuque, Mobile, Natchez.

*Christian Brothers of the Society of Mary.* Founded by Rev. William Joseph Cheminade, at Bordeaux, and approved by Pope Gregory XVI. in 1839. Established in Cincinnati in 1852, and later in the diocese of Galveston.

*Brothers of the Christian Doctrine.*

*Xaverian Brothers.* In Louisville since 1854.

*Brothers of the Third Order of St. Francis.* (See Franciscans.)

*Brothers of the Holy Family.* Houses in the diocese of St. Paul.

#### ORDERS OF NUNS.

*Benedictine Nuns.* A reform of the Columbanian Nuns which adopted the rule of St. Benedict. Introduced into the United States from Germany, in 1853. They have houses in the diocese of Erie and that of Newark.

*Poor Clares, or Second Order of St. Francis.* A convent of this Order was established in Pennsylvania, at the close of the last century, driven from France by the Revolution. The Nuns soon left the country.

*Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis.* Rule given by St. Francis. The Sisters in community follow the Statutes of the Council of Lateran, confirmed by Pope Leo X. Introduced into the United States in 1848. They have houses in the dioceses of Vincennes, Milwaukee and Saut St. Marie.

*Dominican Nuns.* Founded by St. Dominic in 1206. The first convent of the Order in the United States organized by Father Thomas Wilson, in Kentucky, in 1823. Other houses have since filiated from it, in the dioceses of Cincinnati, Nashville, and San Francisco; and there are also Dominicanesses in the dioceses of Milwaukee and Brooklyn.

*Carmelites.* Founded by the B. John Soreth, 26th General and first Reformer of the Carmelites. Instituted by a bull of Pope Nicholas V. in 1542. Reformed by St. Teresa, 1562. Convent in diocese of Baltimore, founded in 1790.

*Ursulines.* Founded in 1535, by St. Angela Merici (born 1474; died 1540). Confirmed by Pope Paul III. in 1544. Introduced into the United States in 1727, when the convent of New Orleans was founded. They have convents also in the dioceses of Galveston, Cleveland, Charleston, St. Louis, New York, Alton, and Saut St. Marie.

*School Sisters of Notre Dame.* Founded in 1597, by Mother Alice Le Clerc (born 1576; died 1622), under the direction of the B. Peter Fourrier (born 1565; died 1640). Revived in Ratisbon in 1832, confirmed by Pope Pius IX. in 1854. First established in the United States in 1847. They direct schools in the dioceses of Milwaukee, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and Detroit.

*Visitation Nuns.* Founded in 1710 at Annecy, by St. Jane Frances de Chantal, under the direction of St. Francis de Sales. Approved by Pope Urban VIII. in 1626. Order established in the United States in 1808, by Mother Teresa (Alice Lalor). They have convents in the dioceses of Baltimore, Mobile, Brooklyn, St. Louis, and Wheeling.

*Ladies of the Incarnate Word.* Founded in 1625, by Mother Jane Mary Chezard de Matel (born 1596; died 1670). Approved by Pope Urban VIII. in 1633. They have houses in the diocese of Galveston.

*Sisters of our Lady of Charity.* Founded by Rev. John Eudes in 1641, at Caen, in France. Introduced into the United States in 1855. They have a house at Buffalo. In 1835 the Holy See approved a modification of the rule adopted at Angers, and instituted a new community, the *Sisters of our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd*, Mother Mary Euphrasia Pelletier being Superior. Introduced into the United States in 1842, by Bishop Flaget. They have houses in the dioceses of Louisville, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and St. Louis.

*Ladies of the Sacred Heart.* Founded in 1800, by Mlle. Magdalen Sophie Louise Barat (born 1780), under the direction of Rev. Joseph D. Varin, of the Society of Jesus. Approved by Pope Leo. XII. in 1826. Introduced into the United States in 1819, by Bishop

Dubourg. They have convents in the dioceses of St. Louis, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Kansas.

*Sisters Pretiosissimi Sanguinis.*

#### SISTERHOODS.

*Sisters of Charity.* Founded in 1633, by Madame Le Gras, under the direction of St. Vincent de Paul. Established in the United States in 1809, by Mother Elizabeth Seton, with a distinct rule followed in the dioceses of New York, Brooklyn, Newark, and Halifax. In 1850, the Sisters in the dioceses of Baltimore, Albany, New Orleans, &c., abandoned Mother Seton's rule and united with the Order in France.

*Daughters of the Cross.* Founded by Madame de Villeneuve, in France, in 1640, under the direction of St. Vincent de Paul. Confirmed by Pope Clement IX. Entered the United States in 1854; and established themselves in the diocese of Natchitoches.

*Sisters of St. Joseph.* Founded at Puy, in 1650, by Rev. John Peter Medaille. Introduced into the United States by Bishop Rosati, in 1836. Their establishments are in the dioceses of St. Louis, Philadelphia, Wheeling, St. Paul, Alton, Buffalo, and Brooklyn.

*Gray Nuns; or, Sisters of Charity of Montreal.* Founded in 1745, by Made. Mary Margaret du Frost de la Gemmerais, veuve d'Youville (born 1701; died 1772). Introduced into the United States in 1853. They have houses in the dioceses of Buffalo, Cleveland and Detroit.

*Sisters of Notre Dame.* Founded in 1804, by Madame Julia Billiard (born 1751; died 1816), under the direction of Rev. Joseph D. Varin, of the Society of Jesus. Introduced into the United States in ——. They have houses in the dioceses of Boston, Cincinnati, and San Francisco.

*Sisters of St. Bridget.* Founded in 1806, at Tullow, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Delany, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, Miss Mary Catherine Dawson being the first Superioress. Rule confirmed by Pope Gregory XVI. Introduced into the United States in 1853. They had a house in the diocese of Buffalo.

*Sisters of Loretto; or, Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross.* Founded in Kentucky, in 1812, by Rev. Charles Nerinecx (born 1761; died 1824).

They have houses also in the dioceses of St. Louis, Little Rock, Kansas, and New Mexico.

*Sisters of Charity of Nazareth.* Founded in 1812, by Rt. Rev. John B. David, D. D., Coadjutor Bishop of Bardstown. They have houses in the dioceses of Louisville, Covington, and Nashville.

*Sisters of Providence of the Holy Childhood of Jesus.* Founded in 1821, by the Rev. James Fr. Dujaré and Mlle. Zoe de Roscoät. Approved in 1826. Introduced into the United States in 1839. Established in Indiana.

*Oblates, Sisters of Providence.* Founded at Baltimore, in 1825, by Rev. H. Joubert. Confirmed by the Holy See in 1831.

*Sisters of Providence of Montreal.* Founded in 1828, by Madame Emily Tavernier, veuve Gamelin, canonically erected in 1844. First established in the United States in 1852, but house removed to Chili. They have a community in the diocese of Burlington.

*Sisters of our Lady of Mercy.* Founded in 1229, by Miss Mary and Miss Honora O'Gorman, under Rt. Rev. John England. They have houses in the dioceses of Charleston and Savannah, and the Vicariate A. of Florida.

*Sisters of Mercy.* Founded at Dublin in 1830, by Mother Catherine McAuley. Confirmed by Pope Gregory XVI. in 1841. Introduced into the United States in 1843. They have convents in the dioceses of Pittsburgh, Portland, Hartford, New York, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, and San Francisco.

*Sisters of the Holy Cross.* Founded by the Abbé Moreau, at Mans, about 1834. Rule approved in 1857. First came to the United States in 1843. They have establishments in the dioceses of Fort Wayne, Philadelphia, &c.

*Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin.* Dubuque. Founded by the Rev. T. C. Donaghoe.

*Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.* Detroit.

*Congregation of Our Lady of Mount Carmel,* in the diocese of New Orleans.

*Sisters of Charity of St. Augustine,* in the diocese of Cincinnati.

*Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Mary,* in the diocese of Cleveland.

*Sisters of the Propagation of the Faith.* Founded at Pembina, Minnesota, in 1855.

## Notes and Queries.

### NOTES.

OLD HICKORY.—The Americans are familiar with this *soubriquet* of General Andrew Jackson; yet very few know how it was earned by the old hero. I happen to be able to inform your readers.

In 1836 I was intimately acquainted with Col. John Allen, United States Agent of the Chickasaw Indians, residing in Pontotoc; and with his brother, Capt. Wm. Allen, then a merchant in that town. I learned from Captain William Allen that his father was a near neighbor and devoted friend of General Jackson, and that he and his brother John served as soldiers in his escort, in all his campaigns, and camped at the same fire, and messed with him during the Creek war. They were certainly great favorites with him; and he rewarded them for their friendship by giving them lucrative appointments in the Chickasaw nation while he was President. In conversation with Captain Allen about General Jackson, on one occasion, I asked him how he acquired the name of "Old Hickory?" I give his reply as well as I can remember, in his own words:

"During the campaign which included the battle of Emuckfaw creek, the army was moving rapidly to surprise the Indians, and we were without tents. In the month of March a cold equinoctial

rain fell on us, mingled with sleet, which lasted several days. The General was exposed to the weather, and was suffering severely with a bad cold and sore throat. At night we bivouacked in a muddy bottom, while it was pouring down rain, which froze as it fell. My brother John and I, finding that he was very unwell, became uneasy about him, although he did not complain, and laid down upon his blanket by the camp-fire with his soldiers. Seeing him wet to the skin, stretched in the mud and water in his suffering condition, we determined to try and make him more comfortable.

"We cut down a stout hickory tree, in which the sap was rising, and peeled the bark from it in large flakes; cut two forks and a pole, laid down a floor of bark and dead leaves, and roofed it, and closed one side, or rather one end of the structure against the wind with bark, and left the other end open. We then dried our blankets, and made him a pallet in the tent we had constructed. We woke up the old General, and with some difficulty persuaded him to crawl in. With his saddle for a pillow, wrapped up in our dry blankets, and his feet to the fire, he slept snugly and soundly all night, well cased in hickory bark.

"The next morning, an old man from the neighborhood came into camp, with a jug of whisky, with which, after imbibing quite freely himself, he gave us all 'a treat' as far as the liquor would go. He seemed to be a kind-hearted,

jovial and patriotic old fellow—a sort of ‘privileged character’ in his county. While staggering about among the camp-fires, full of fun and whisky, he blundered upon our little hickory-bark tent, which immediately arrested his attention. After eyeing it for a moment, he exclaimed, ‘What sort of an outlandish Indian fixin’ is this?’ and gave it a kick which tumbled down the queer-looking structure, and completely buried the old hero in the bark. As he struggled out of the ruins and looked fiercely around for the author of the mischief, the old toper recognized him and exclaimed: ‘Hello! Old Hickory! come out of your bark and join us in a drink.’

“There was something so ludicrous in the whole scene, that respect for his presence and rank could not restrain our merriment. He very good humoredly joined us in laughing at the mishap. As he rose up, and shook the bark from him, he looked so tough and stern, we all gave him a *viva*, ‘Hurrah for Old Hickory.’ This was the first time he ever heard these words, which were afterwards shouted by the millions of his countrymen whenever he appeared among them.”

I will only add that Captain Wm. Allen, of Davison County, Tennessee, who died in Pontotoc, in 1837, was distinguished for courage, integrity and strict veracity; and the above may be regarded as a true account of the origin of the nickname of General Andrew Jackson.—*Jackson News, Miss.*

NORRIDGEWOCK TOWN.—In connection with the place of the Indian Fort, given in another article (p. 17), it may be proper to furnish a copy of a sketch found on a copper-plate engraved map of the Kennebec from the ocean, as far as the ancient “Penobsquesumquesaboo,” a beautiful stream now better known by the true translation of this long, euphonious word, “Sandy River.” This sketch appears on the map, made by compilation from several maps, one of which is by Joseph Heath, in 1719, and all from actual surveys, to determine a long-contested controversy between the rival Pejepscot and Kennebec Land Companies. It may be fair to infer that it was taken by some one of the surveyors, and perpetuated by the engraver. The correctness of the map is attested by “Thomas Johnson.” The present copy is in the ownership of a gentleman of Bath, Me.

#### Norridgewock Town



The church was “4 perch without y. East Gate” of the fort, which was not large enough to contain, for ordinary residence, a population of which the fighting force was “about three Score men able to Bear Arms.” Hence came the dwellings near the church.

It is not known that any other sketch of the village, or a part of it, is in being; whether this be actual or not, it shows at least what was the opinion in regard to the church and its location relative to the wigwams, and as such is worthy of preservation.

B.

*Brunswick, Me.*

**BEEF AT ONE PENNY PER POUND.**—George Morgan's circular, "put into the hands of confidential persons in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, for the purpose of procuring followers," Oct. 3, 1788, sets forth this tempting statement:—"And as buffaloes and other game are very plenty in the neighborhood, there can be no want of provision, *contractors being ready to engage to deliver fresh beef and venison throughout the year at 1 penny per pound.*"—(*Vide* "Letters and other Writings of James Madison," Vol. I., p. 456.) J. F., JR.

*New Rochelle, N. Y., Jan., 1866.*

**CORRECTIONS.**—In an article on American Baronets, in the January number of the *Historical Magazine*, it is stated that the title of Sir Wm. Johnson "is now borne in Canada by his grandson, Sir Adam Gordon." This, however, must be an error. None of Sir William's descendants are now living in Canada. Sir Adam Gordon died several years since. The title is now borne by George William Johnson, of Twickenham, England, a grand-nephew of the old Baronet.

W. L. S.

**BRANDT** (Vol. x., p. 20), should be spelled *Brant*. Brant himself, who was a well-educated man, and should have known how his own name was spelled, always wrote his name without the *d*.

W. L. S.

#### QUERY.

**CORRESPONDENCE** between the Governor of Canada and the Governor of New

Netherland, about 1642. Where can the correspondence be found? It related to the arms furnished by the Dutch to the Mohawks. J. G. S.

#### REPLIES.

**FULLER.** (Vol. X., p. 20).—Dr. Allen, in his *American Biographical Dictionary*, when he notices the Hon. Timothy Fuller, a personal friend of Hon. John Quincy Adams, in less than five lines, must have "drowssed upon his couch," with reverence be it expressed, to state that Margaret Fuller Ossoli was his sister. On turning to her memoirs, prepared by Clarke, Hedge, and Emerson, it is related that she was the daughter of Timothy Fuller. She states that her father was a lawyer and a member of Congress. He was familiar with the French language, and in English was a Queen Anne's man. He personally educated her, and many interesting allusions to him appear in her autobiography. Madam Ossoli was a lady of extraordinary abilities, the first conductor of the *Dial*, and a transcendentalist. Frederika Bremer characterizes her as the "Feminine Emerson;" indeed, her mind was peculiarly masculine. Your correspondent, M. S. Y., alludes to another supposed discrepancy, by a misquotation, between *Allen's Biographical Dictionary* and the *Hundred Boston Orators*, in reference to Timothy Fuller. If he recurs to the fourth edition of the *Hundred Orators*,

he will find it stated that Mr. Fuller was born at Chilmash, July 11, 1778, and died at Groton, Oct. 1, 1835, not in 1833, as he misquotes, making his age correspond to the statement of Dr. Allen, that he was 57 years old. Dr. Allen has not given the town nor the date of his birth—the *Hundred Orators* has done it. The hands of Briareus cannot prevent the entrance of errors in works like these, containing such a mass of facts and dates. May the mantle of Charity protect them.

SHAWMUT.

INDIAN NAMES. The late Mr. Marcoux, of Sault St. Louis, a good Mohawk scholar, gave me the following definitions:—Saratoga—Seitake; on thy heel. Kaptucky—Kentake Kowa; in the Prairies. Schoharie—Ioskoaro; driftwood in the river. Skaneatares—Long lake. Cayuga—Kaonhiokwen; one or several canoes pulled out of water. Canada—Canata; village. Canajoharie—Kanatsiohare; a kettle on a pole. Caughnawaga—Kahnawake; at the rapid. Cataraqui—Potter's clay in the water. Schenectady—Skanetate; at the other side of the pines. [Bruyas, however, *Radical Words*, p. 29, says: "Skannatate, on the other side;" omitting all allusion to pines.] Ontario—Ontarüo; beautiful lake.

J. G. S.

REGISTERS OF SAULT ST. LOUIS.—The parish registers of Sault St. Louis, in Canada, are not without interest in New England genealogy, many New England

men, women and children having been carried off by the Caughnawagas. It may therefore not be uninteresting to give a few notes of those that exist. The oldest register of the mission begins in 1732, being F. F. Jaques Quentin de la Bretonniere, and Luke Francis Nau, who served till 1741. Their successors and assistants are :

- |           |                              |
|-----------|------------------------------|
| 1736      | F. de Gonnor; also, in 1754, |
| 1740-1    | F. Peter de Lauzon,          |
| 1741-6    | F. John B. Tournois,         |
| 1753-6    | F. Gordon,                   |
| 1755-6    | F. Billiard,                 |
| 1756-9    | F. de Neuville,              |
| 1758      | F. Joseph Huguet,            |
|           | F. Roubaud,                  |
| 17...-82  | F. Huguet,                   |
|           | F. Well,                     |
| 1784-93   | Rev. Mr. Duharme,            |
| 1794-1802 | Rev. Mr. Rinfret,            |
| 1802-1808 | Rev. Mr. Vanfelson,          |
| 1808-1814 | Rev. Mr. Rinfret,            |
| 1814-1817 | Rev. Mr. Dufresne,           |
| 1819-185* | Rev. Joseph Marcoux,         |
|           | Rev. F. Antoine, O. M. I.    |
- J. G. S.

## Societies and their Proceedings.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

THE DORCHESTER ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held their twenty-fourth annual meeting on Thursday evening, the 18th of January, at the residence of one of their members. The following officers were elected for the year ensuing: Hon. Edmund P. Tileston, President; Edward J. Baker, Samuel Blake and Henry G. Denny, Esqrs., Curators; Ebenezer Clapp, Esq., Corresponding Secretary; Edward Holden, Librarian; Samuel Blake, Assistant Librarian;

Nathaniel W. Tileston, Esq., Chronologist. The annual financial report represented the society to be in a healthy and prosperous condition; and the librarian's report gave evidence of a large increase in the library and cabinet of the society. The business of the meeting having been completed, the company were invited to partake of the hospitalities of their generous host, and the pleasures of social intercourse closed the observance of the anniversary.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—*Boston, Jan. 19.* The annual meeting of this society was held this afternoon, the president, Dr. Jarvis, in the chair. Mr. Walley read an extract from a letter lately written by him, in which was given a statement of the mercantile indebtedness of the United States in 1865, as compared with that of 1860. He also made some remarks upon other points of the finances of the country, concluding with the cotton question.

Mr. Walker read a brief paper upon the question, What would be the effect of an export duty on cotton?

Dr. Jarvis followed with statistics showing the effect of intemperance on the value of life.

Resolutions of respect for the memory of the late Corresponding Secretary of the Association, Joseph E. Worcester, LL. D., who had held the office since the organization of the Society in 1839, were offered by Dr. Jarvis, and unanimously adopted.

The annual election of officers then took place and resulted as follows:—President, Edward Jarvis, M. D.; Vice-Presidents—Hon. Amasa Walker, A. M., and J. Wingate Thornton, A. M.; Corresponding Secretary—Rev. Rufus Anderson, D. D.; Recording Secretary—John Ward Dean; Treasurer—Lyman Mason, A. M.; Librarian—Wm. B. Towne; Counselors—Hon. Samuel H. Walley, A. M., Ebenezer Alden, M. D., and Hon. George S. Hale, A. M.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY.—At the recent annual meeting of the Board of Overseers of the University, the committee on the library, after stating its present condition, recommended a new building for its accommodation. The report of the librarian, Mr. John L. Sibley, states that the prosperity of the library, though not so great as in preceding years, has exceeded anticipations. The small in-

come from library funds, the high price of books, the rate of foreign exchange, and the termination of William Gray's annuity, have rendered it impracticable to make many purchases, but there have been numerous additions by gifts. These gifts are enumerated by the librarian. There have been received during the year about 5,500 pamphlets, of which about 5,350 were gifts. The number of books added was 2,176, of which 1,839 were donations. This enumeration does not include duplicate books or pamphlets, nor periodicals. 260 volumes have been bound, 4 repaired, 25 have disappeared, 10 have been recovered.

The number of pamphlets in Gore Hall exceeds 80,000; the number of books is about 110,000; the total number of volumes in all the libraries of the University is about 165,000.

#### NEW YORK.

SONS OF RHODE ISLAND.—The last annual meeting of "The Sons of Rhode Island," was held in the city of New York, on the 29th of May, 1865, when the following resolutions were adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That, inasmuch as the national peril which occasioned the formation of this Association has now happily terminated in the suppression of the Great Rebellion, and as the New England Society embraces all those who feel disposed to fraternize as New England men, we deem it inexpedient longer to continue this organization, and therefore declare that when we adjourn it shall be *sine die*.

2. *Resolved*, That the banner, books, records and papers of the Association be deposited with the New York Historical Society, provided that Society will receive them, subject to reclamation should this Association resume its functions.

3. *Resolved*, That the money now on hand in the Treasury, and that may hereafter be collected for unpaid dues, &c., after settling all indebtedness of the Association, to be paid over to the New York Historical Society, to constitute a fund to be known as "The fund of the Sons of Rhode Island, in New York," to be kept permanently invested as such, the income arising therefrom to be appropriated by said Society to the purchase of materials for the history of Rhode Island.

At a final meeting of the Executive Committee, on the 2d of January, 1866 (the founders of the Historical Fund being present by invitation), the President of the Association reported the following letter, which he had prepared, in accordance with the foregoing resolutions, and based upon the Treasurer's report, for presentation to the President of the New York Historical Society:

NEW YORK, January 2, 1866.

DEAR SIR: In conformity to the resolutions, of which you have a certified copy herewith, I now hand you six hundred dollars, in bonds of the United States, payable in 1881, bearing 6 per cent. interest.

It is paid over to the New York Historical Society, as "*the fund of the Sons of Rhode Island, in New York,*" the income arising therefrom to be appropriated by the Historical Society to the purchase of materials for *the History of Rhode Island*.

I trust, sir, that the fund now set apart for historic purposes, connected with the State of Rhode Island, may be faithfully preserved and fitly applied to perpetual deeds of the Sons of Rhode Island, at home and abroad, which may be deemed worthy of record, in time to come.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,  
J. E. WILLIAMS,

*President of the Sons of Rhode Island.*

To FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, Esq.,

*President of the N. Y. Historical Society, N. Y.*

This letter was read, and ordered to be engrossed upon the minutes.

The Recording Secretary reported that the resident members numbered about 115; and read brief biographical sketches of the deceased members, to wit: William B. Ballow, Alfred G. Peckham, Benjamin Cozzens, and Henry B. Cleveland, which he was requested to enter upon the minutes.

In conclusion, Mr. Cross submitted the following communications for record, which was adopted unanimously in Committee of the Whole:

"The Committee having met to close their labors for an indefinite period, deem it a suitable occasion to record their profound gratitude to the Ruler of the Universe for the manifold mercies vouchsafed to our beloved country, as well from its existence as a nation,

so especially during its recent struggle against treason and rebellion; and it is their humble prayer that everything may be so ordered and settled in the councils of the nation, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations."

In accordance with the resolutions of the Executive Committee of the "Sons of Rhode Island," at the foregoing meeting, the banner, books, records, &c., of the association, were presented to the New York Historical Society, at its annual meeting on the 2d of January, 1866. The presentation was made in appropriate and eloquent terms by Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton, and after the reading of the resolutions, the Hon. George Bancroft responded and submitted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, "That this Society accepts with great satisfaction the gift and trust confided to them by the Sons of Rhode Island, in the city of New York, a recognition of the objects of their institution, as possessing a national interest, and commending themselves to the liberality of all the States, and not confined to the field of a single State, however ample, and look forward with pleasure to the results in such future additions to the materials for the history of Rhode Island as will make the fund and its founders gratefully remembered in all time to come."

Dr. Peter Wilson, Chief of the Six Nations, and Mr. Erastus C. Benedict, made some remarks on the subject of the donation, and the resolution was adopted unanimously.

Mr. E. C. Benedict submitted the following resolution, and made some remarks thereon, and was followed by the Rev. Dr. Vinton, when it was adopted unanimously:

*Resolved*, "That in tendering the thanks of the Society to the associated 'Sons of Rhode Island,' for their enlightened and patriotic liberality in establishing the special fund for the collection of materials for the history of Rhode Island, it is eminently fit and proper that the society should recognize and acknowledge the earnest, zealous, and able services of Mr. Henry T. Drowne, to whom they are principally indebted for the happy thought, and excellent result."

The last Executive Committee and Officers of "The Sons of Rhode Island, in New York," were:

JOHN E. WILLIAMS, *President*.

GEORGE S. COE, *Vice-President*.

BENJAMIN G. ARNOLD, *Treasurer*.

GEORGE WM. CURTIS, *Corresponding Secretary*.

HENRY T. DROWNE, *Recording Secretary*.

WILLIAM J. HOPPIN, CHARLES CONGDON, NEHEMIAH KNIGHT, PHILIP W. ENGS, JOHN H. ORMSEER, JOSEPH J. COMSTOCK, JEREMIAH P. ROBINSON, CHARLES F. BLODGET—*Executive Committee*.

The following is the list of those enrolled as the Honorary Members of the Association:

George Bancroft, LL. D., William Sprague, Samuel G. Arnold, William R. Staples, LL. D., George H. Calvert, John Russell Bartlett, Henry B. Anthony, Usher Parsons, M. D., Ambrose E. Burnside, William C. Cozzens, John Carter Brown, George Henry Moore, Isaac P. Rodman. [In Memoriam.]

## Notes on Books.

*The History of the Five Indian Nations depending on the Province of New York.* By Cadwallader Colden. Reprinted exactly from Bradford's New York edition (1727). With an Introduction and Notes by John Gilmary Shea. New York: T. H. Morrell, 1866. 8vo, pp. 199. Portrait. Edition, one hundred and twenty-five copies octavo, thirty copies imperial octavo.

This is in every respect a complete book, creditable alike to publisher, printer, and editor, and must be—what so many of this class of works fail of being—perfectly satisfactory to the subscribers. Mr. Shea has done his part of the work with that faithfulness of research which so eminently characterizes all his historic labors, and in his introduction has given the first and only complete memoir of Gov. Colden, "a man whose scientific and philosophical mind, insuring him fame in any field of life that he might have selected, was devoted for nearly half a century to the development, interests and government of the colony of New York." A man "whose labors are almost forgotten, his learned works accessible to few, his manuscripts, though safe in the New York Historical Society, accessible to still fewer, and, except to antiquaries and collectors, his existence almost a myth. No public monument, no college or seminary of learning, recalls the memory of one who, in electricity and

other branches of natural philosophy, was the valued associate of Franklin; who corresponded with Linnaeus, Gronovius, and Bartram, on botany; with eminent physicians, in both hemispheres, on the science of medicine; with the Earl of Macclesfield on astronomy and philosophy; whose reports to government stand out amid the mass of tedious official documents by the freshness, vigor, and originality of their views, no less than by their scientific value as treatises."

In the course of this memoir Dr. Shea has furnished us with a most valuable collation and history of the previous editions of the work, clearly substantiating the superior value of the American edition of 1727 (which he follows as the basis of the present reprint), over the English ones of 1747 and 1755, disfigured as they were by unauthorized changes, amendments and extensions, which originated in the stupidity and parsimony of the printer. For this interesting contribution to our bibliographical literature historical students will feel greatly indebted to the editor, as well as for the notices of Colden's numerous other literary productions, and for the excellent notes, eighty-seven in number, illustrative of the text.

The book, in its external "getting up," is among the best of the many elegant issues of the press of Messrs. J. M. Bradstreet & Son, and, as a specimen of *fac-simile* printing, is almost perfect.

*The Bergen Family; or, the Descendants of Hans Hansen Bergen, one of the Early Settlers of New York and Brooklyn, L. I.* With Notes on the Genealogy of some of the branches of the Cowenhoven, Voorhees, Eldert, Stoothoff, Cortelyou, Stryker, Suydam, Lott, Wyckoff, Barkeloo, Lefferts, Martense, Hubbard, Van Brunt, Vanderbilt, Vanderveer, Van Nuyse, and other Long Island families. By Teunis G. Bergen. New York: Bergen & Tripp, 1866, 8vo, pp. 298.

We have known, for some time past, that our old friend, Hon. Teunis G. Bergen, was engaged upon a Genealogy of his family; and from his well-known abilities in delving among old records we expected something very thoroughly done. And the result, as contained in the volume before us, far exceeds our anticipations. Mr. Bergen had already established his reputation as the best local antiquarian in Kings County, and this Genealogy stamps him as an excellent genealogist. Dutch genealogies are the toughest and most "twistified" affairs that can well be imagined; and Mr. Bergen's work may well rank with Mr. Riker's *Annals of Newtown, L. I.*, as the only really good Dutch genealogies which have yet been produced. We are glad to see, also, that he has worked up the biographical sketches with very considerable fullness; has been careful to give authorities for his statements, and has supplemented the whole with a good index. The work cannot fail to be of great interest and value to the many old Dutch families of Kings County, and their descendants elsewhere. It is illustrated with maps, autographs and many portraits, which latter, engraved on wood by J. H. Richardson, are, almost without exception, excellent likenesses. The volume is handsomely printed, and on excellent paper.

*History of Lake Champlain, from its first exploration by the French, in 1609, to the close of the year 1814.* By Peter S. Palmer. J. Munsell, Albany, N. Y., 1866. 8vo, pp. 276.

This volume, dedicated to one of our New York book-collectors, T. Bailey Myers, Esq., is a good specimen of clear, well written and very readable historical narrative. It seems, as far as we have examined it, to be careful, accurate and reliable in its statements, and a fair presentation of the many facts and incidents connected with that most romantic region. That portion relating to the history of the Lake Champlain country from the close of the Revolution to the close of the war of 1812, including the record of settlements on the borders of the lake, personal sketches, trade and commerce, &c., is particularly interesting, and has evidently been worked up with great care by Mr. Palmer.

The typographical and mechanical execution of the volume is exceedingly fine, equalling, we think, even the best of Mr. Munsell's previous issues.

*The Heraldic Journal: recording the Armorial Bearings and Genealogies of American Families.* No. XIII.: January, 1866. Boston, 1866. 8vo, pp. 48.

This magazine commences its second year with marked improvement in its general appearance, with a profusion of well engraved and printed illustrations of seals, arms, etc., and with a very agreeable table of contents, for those who delight in heraldic lore. Its contents are, "The Norton Family," "Suffolk Wills," "Monumental Inscriptions," "The Brinley Family," "Official Seals," "Hall-marks on Plate," "Connecticut Seals," and "Christopher Kelly." The magazine, we need hardly say, is a valuable and almost indispensable adjunct of the veteran *Historico-Genealogical Register*, and has a rich and hitherto unoccupied field of usefulness and pleasure before it.

*Random Recollections of Albany, from 1800 to 1808.* By Gorham A. Worth. Third Edition; with Notes by the Publisher. Albany, N. Y.: J. Munsell, 1866. 8vo, pp. 144.

This is a handsomely printed volume, copiously illustrated with well-engraved and carefully printed wood-cuts, as well as with four or five steel-plate portraits. The first edition, printed in 1849, and the second, in 1850, have both been out of print for many years past; and the present edition is very much enlarged, as well as enriched, by the numerous notes which Mr. Munsell has added from his own apparently inexhaustible sources of information. "These notes," says the publisher in his preface, "have been prepared to illustrate the personal history of the characters mentioned by the author, and to note the time of their respective deaths." The animadversions made by an octogenarian critic on the original work, have also been inserted as notes, with his initials attached. In short, the "*Aldi discipulus Albanensis*" has made this, as he does anything relating to his adopted city, a "labor of love."

*The Perpetuity of National Life.* A Sermon delivered on Thanksgiving Day, Thursday, Dec. 7, 1865, in Christ Church, Pelham, N. Y., by the Rev. E. W. Syle, A. M., Rector. Printed by request. New York: 1865. 12mo, pp. 22.

The above is the title of an excellent and eminently patriotic discourse, well worthy of permanent preservation by the aid of type.

*Memoir of Rip Van Dam, by Frederic De Peyster, President of the New York Historical Society.* New York: 1865. Royal 8vo, pp. 26. [We have recently had the opportunity of examining this pamphlet, noticed in our book gossip last month.]

The sketch is slightly constructed, but, as far as it goes, well fortified by references to original sources of information, and is quite interesting. The paper is tinted, but not as good as it should have been in a work evidently intended to be a choice thing, and the otherwise clear and handsome face of the page is disfigured by the poor printing and inexact "registry" of the double lines which surround each page. The edition is limited, we believe.

*Poems relating to the American Revolution.* By Philip Freneau. With an Introductory Memoir and Notes, by Evert A. Duyckinck. W. J. Widdleton: New York, 1866. 8vo, pp. 288.

Philip Freneau, the popular poet of the Revolutionary period, whose ready rhymes did good service, in their way, to the patriot cause, has received, at hands of publisher and editor, an extension of his literary fame. The four previous collections of his poems, viz., that published by Francis Bailey, at Philadelphia, in 1786 and in 1788, that printed at the author's own press, at Morristown, N. J., in 1795, and that from the press of Lydia R. Bailey, at Philadelphia, in 1809, form the basis of the present selection, which comprises merely the Revolutionary Poems, by which Freneau's reputation was established, and which he himself thought worthy of republication. The author's latest revised text has in all cases been followed, and where changes of any interest were made by him, the variations have been pointed out in a note. The volume is handsomely printed and illustrated with a portrait of Freneau, the first ever engraved, and which, though made up from a recollection of a number of relatives and neighbors, is pronounced by them a satisfactory likeness. A good index of names completes this well-edited and pleasant book. We hope that the publisher will feel encouraged by the reception which the public may give this volume, to carry out his intention to issue a second collection in the same style, containing Freneau's Indian, Humorous, Sentimental, and Miscellaneous poems.

A large-paper subscription edition, of only 100 copies, has been issued, uniform with the large-paper copies of Dr. Francis' "Old New York," issued by the same publisher. It is illustrated with portraits (in India proof) of Freneau and John Paul Jones, engraved from a miniature in the possession of the Naval

Lyceum, Brooklyn, L. I. We regret to see that the presswork of this large-paper edition is far below that standard of perfection which the book-public have a right to expect in works of this class.

*Old New York; or, Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years.* By John W. Francis, M. D., LL. D., with a Memoir of the Author, by Henry T. Tuckerman. W. J. Widdleton: New York, 1866. 8vo, pp. 536.

A new and very neat edition of this gossipy, entertaining, and well-known book, with a full and appreciative memoir of its author. The handsome large-paper edition (100 copies) is, we believe, entirely exhausted by "large-paper men" and "illustrators." The same publisher also announces as in course of preparation Dr. Francis' *Reminiscences of Printers, Authors and Booksellers in New York*; to be printed in a superior manner, uniform with "Old New York." It will contain, besides the original paper bearing the above title, sketches from his pen of Irving, Cooper, Freneau, and other persons eminent in literature, and illustrated with an entirely new portrait, expressly engraved for the work. Edition (in any form) limited to 100 copies.

*The Expeditions of Captain John Lovewell; and his Encounters with the Indians; including a particular Account of the Pequauket Battle, with a History of that Tribe; and a reprint of Rev. Thomas Symmes' Sermon.* By Frederic Kidder. Boston: Bartlett & Halliday, 1865. 138 pages, 4to edition, 235 copies, of which 25 are on large quarto, and 10 are printed on drawing paper.

Mr. Kidder has here taken up a most interesting episode of early New England history, and has set it forth with a completeness of detail which leaves little to be added to the story. First we have a brief statement of the causes and commencement of Lovewell's War; then a sketch of his first and second campaigns against the Indians; a Biographical Sketch of the Rev. Thomas Symmes, his Historical Memoir of the Fight, together with his Sermon on the occasion; the Official Documents relating to the affair; cotemporaneous accounts of the Battle; carefully prepared Biographical Sketches of Lovewell, his officers and many of his men; a History of the Pequauket Tribe; Ballads on the Fight, etc., etc. It of course includes the most essential portions of the matter contained in Mr. Bouton's excellent little pamphlet of 1861; together with a large amount of additional material, now for the first time brought together; and bears evidence of that thorough and conscientious research which Mr. Kidder is accustomed to bestow on such matters. His arrangement of material is excellent, his notes sufficient and his own additions to the subject are judiciously made.

To the intrinsic interest of the book is also added the charm of rare typographical and mechanical excellence. It is the production of John Wilson & Sons' press; and, in its fine paper and type, head and tail pieces, initials, and especially its *fac-simile* printing, rivals the best issues of establishments which

have been hitherto deemed unapproachable in the matter of choice printing.

## Book-Gossip.

Mr. J. K. WIGGIN, No 13 School street, Boston, who has been issuing a series of early tracts on New England history, announces a new series, relating to Virginia. He has now in press, and will soon publish, a reprint of Captain John Smith's "*True Relation*;" a little black letter volume, printed in London, in 1608, being the earliest published work on the Jamestown colony. The volume will be largely annotated by Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge, who will also furnish an introduction. This series of tracts will embrace Captain Smith's "Map of Virginia," &c., the Oxford Tract of 1612, in which Smith's map of that country was first issued.

We notice that the *Boston Sunday Times*, a new enterprise, is publishing a series of antiquarian and historical articles, entitled "Suburban Sketches;" appended to which we find the initials "N. B. S.," which we suppose to be those of Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, of that city. No. 2, which is before us, takes the reader on an interesting ramble through the "Old Burying-Ground in Roxbury," and is full of quaint epitaphs and bits of biography.

The Librarianship of Columbia College, New York City, left vacant by the resignation of Mr. W. ALFRED JONES, is now filled by the Rev. BEVERLY R. BETTS, the pastor of an Episcopal parish at Maspeth, L. I.

Mr. FRANK NORTON, formerly of the Astor Library, has accepted the Librarianship of the Brooklyn Mercantile Library Association, in place of Mr. S. NOYES, who is now in the Congressional Library at Washington.

*A Correction.*—In the Librarian's report (Proceedings of N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Society, January No., p. 24) for "21,546 volumes of pamphlets" read "21,546 pamphlets," &c.

MUNSELL, of Albany, has lately issued a priced catalogue of ancient and modern books, new and second-hand, which he has on hand at his printing establishment. It is a pamphlet of thirty-six 12mo pages, comprising 738 titles, and is well worthy the attention of book buyers.

Mr. J. G. SHEA will shortly publish the "Voyages of Jacques Cartier," from Hakluyt's collection, with full explanatory Notes, a Memoir and a portrait of Cartier. Cartier's first and second voyages are to be found in the Italian, in Ramusio's collection, and his third and fourth only in Hakluyt.

Mr. Shea will also publish the "Voyages of Champlain," with all the maps, translated notes, &c.

*A Correction.*—We inadvertently spoke in our last number of the omitted Note in the last volume of the Hamilton Club Series as forming No. 2 of that series, and as being "Observations on certain Documents," &c. It is, however, No. 1 of the series, and is the "Life of Alexander Hamilton," by John Williams, *alias* Anthony Pasquin.

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## Miscellany.

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**A CURIOUS CLAIM BY INDIANS.**—The Harrisburg correspondent of the Philadelphia *Inquirer* gives the following particulars respecting a claim set up by Indians to some of the most valuable oil territory in the State:

Two Indians from the Indian Reservation in Erie county, New York State, have reached this place, and are about preferring claims to large bodies of land around the junction of Oil Creek and Allegheny river. Their names are Solomon Obril and Mark Pierce, and they hold powers of attorney from the heirs of the Indian Chief "Corn Planter." They allege that by act of Assembly, approved February 1st, 1791, the State of Pennsylvania granted to the Chief, "Corn Planter," six hundred acres on the west bank of the Allegheny, about three miles below the New York line, including Shadaglowen and two islands, six hun-

dred acres on the Allegheny, near Conerugaya, and three hundred acres on Oil Creek, including one oil spring near the Allegheny river.

This last tract includes a part of what is now Oil City, and extends thence up the creek. The Indians produced the patent for all the lands, under the seal of Governor Thomas Mifflin, dated March 16, 1796. They allege that while a nominal sale was once made by Chief, "Corn Planter," of a part of the lands, he never received the consideration money. The manner in which they design applying to the Legislature is not yet known.

Mr. ADAMS, our Minister to England, has been elected Honorary Fellow of the London Society of Antiquaries, in place of Mr. Everett. This is an honor rather grudgingly conferred, and therefore more highly prized than most similar honors are. The other Americans who are honorary members are, we believe, Messrs. George Ticknor, Jared Sparks, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, George Bancroft, Robert C. Winthrop, Joseph R. Ingersoll, and John Lothrop Motley.

**DEATH OF A CENTENARIAN.**—Mrs. Joanna McCarthy, widow of Michael McCarthy, died at her residence, No. 49 South street, Boston, on January 17th, of old age. She was a native of Ireland, a daughter of Eugene and Bridget Callagan, and reported her age to be one hundred and two years.

**THE OLDEST OFFICE-HOLDER IN THE UNITED STATES DEAD.**—Mr. Jacob Stickney, of this city, died on Saturday, 92 years old, we believe. He had been elected or appointed to some office in Newburyport for sixty-seven successive years—ever since 1799; and he had always accepted and taken the oath of office till this year, when he was too feeble to attend to it. We do not think there is a man left behind him who has held office so long.—*Newburyport Herald*, Jan. 23d.

**DEATH OF A VENERABLE CITIZEN.**—Mr. Edmund P. Dolbeare, a well-known shipwright of Boston, who for about forty years was engaged in this business at No. 258 Broad street, died quite suddenly on the 19th of January. The deceased was about 75 years old and a veteran of the war of 1812. He was a native of Boston, and his father was a member of the "Boston tea party."

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[No. 3.]

General Department.

MATTHEW SAGEAN AND HIS  
ADVENTURES.

AN article on Fictitious Voyages in America alluded to this worthy. Since then an extract from his Relation has appeared in French, and we here translate it.

Sagean was an illiterate man, but his account of what he had seen imposed on the French government, and a long narrative was taken down from his lips at Brest, in April, 1701. He was taken to Rochefort and again interrogated, and the affair verified as far as possible by Begon, intendant of the navy, who, forbidden by the court to make the whole public, sent the Extract to Mr. de Ville. Such is the story given with the manuscript Extract by a discalced Augustinian, Friar Leonard of St. Catharine of Sienna, who is said to have made a collection of documents on America, and with whom and his collection we should be glad of further acquaintance.

Father Leonard says he sailed from France in June, 1701, but this is evidently wrong, La Harpe announcing his arrival in Louisiana May 30, 1701.

HIST. MAG., VOL. X. 9

EXTRACT OF THE RELATION OF THE ADVENTURES AND VOYAGES OF MATTHEW SAGEAN.

The said Sagean is the son of John Sagean, in the Regiment of Carignan Salieres, and Mary Carraute; the father, a native of Bordeaux; and mother, of Rochelle: both Roman Catholics. They were married on the island of Montreal, about sixty leagues south-west of Quebec. Said Sagean was born in the village of Lachine; he is thirty-eight or forty years of age;\* can read a little, but not write.

About twenty years ago† he set out from Montreal in a bark canoe to follow the late Monsieur de la Sale in his discoveries. After some excursions of the Sieur de la Sale, he halted with his party in the country of the Illinois, an Indian nation on the banks of the Mississippi, which the Spaniards call El Rio de la Magdalena, where he built Fort St. Louis, on an island near the mainland, with which it communicates by a bridge, which is drawn into the fort.‡ This fort was built by the aid of the Indians, and the Sieur de la Salle, leaving the command to the Sieur de Tonty, returned to

\* No registers of Lachine and Montreal are accessible, or perhaps in existence, to test the dates of marriage and birth.

† La Salle started from Fort Frontenac in November, 1678 (Hennepin, *Description de la Louisiane*, p. 20.)

‡ Hennepin would have told Mr. Begon that La Salle's fort was Fort Crevecoeur; that it was built on a hill, which the river reached during the inundations and not on an island. (Ib., p. 67.)

Canada with nineteen men and the Recollect Father Francis, he left the rest of his people, to the number of 100 men, among whom was said Saguean.\*

Some time after said Saguean took a fancy to go on an exploration, and having obtained leave of said Sieur de Tonty, he took with him eleven other Frenchmen and two Mahegan Indians (also called Loups); they took three bark canoes to ascend the said river Mississippi, on which, having made about 150 leagues,† they came to a fall which obliged them to make a portage of about six leagues, after which they embarked on the same river, which they ascended for forty leagues‡ without meeting any nation, and having stopped about a month and a half to hunt and try some new discoveries, they found a river fourteen leagues off which ran south southwest,§ which made them think it emptied in the South Sea, its course being entirely different from those that go and discharge in the North Sea. They resolved to navigate it, and accordingly made the portage of that road, during which they met many lions, leopards and tigers, which did them no harm.|| They entered said river with their canoe, and after making about 150 leagues on it, they found the Acaaniba, a great nation, occupying at least 200 leagues of country, where they have several towns defended by earthworks, and many villages with houses built of wood and bark. They have a king who calls himself a descendant of Montezuma, and who

is generally dressed in human skins, which are common in that country—the people are also dressed in them.\* They are polished in their manners; they are idolaters, and have idols of frightful shape and enormous size, which are in the king's palace: there are two, among others, one of which is the figure of a man armed with lances, arrows and quivers, holding one foot on the ground and the other in the air, with his hand on the figure of a horse, as if wishing to mount him. They say that this human statue is the representation of one of their kings, who was one of the greatest conquerors of that country; and this statue holds in its mouth, and as it were between its teeth, a precious stone of square form, and as large as a goose's egg, which shines and lights up at night like a fire: he believes it to be a carbuncle. The other of these idols is the statue of a woman, who he believes was an empress or queen, mounted in a saddle on a figure of a horse or unicorn, having one horn in the centre of the forehead more than a fathom long, and around this horse or unicorn there are figures of four large dogs, and that of another unicorn, with also that of a man, who holds said unicorn chained. All the figures are of fine gold and massive, but very badly made and misshapen. They have no pedestal; they are placed on a kind of platform, which is also of gold, thirty feet square, for each of said statues, between which is a path leading to the King's apartment by a magnificent vestibule more than a hundred feet long, where there are lattices of caracoly. Here the King's guard is kept, consisting generally of two hundred men. At the four corners of this vestibule are four small open cabinets, with lattices of caracoly, where the King's music is kept,

\* There was no Father Francis in the party, nor did any missionary go with La Salle. There were but three, and all remained with Tonty.

† The only fall is the St. Anthony's Falls, which Hennepin makes 205 leagues from the Illinois.

‡ Forty leagues would bring them to about Crow Wing River.

§ It is needless to say that there could be no river there, and the French government should have known it.

|| The bison found here by later travelers have evidently eaten up Saguean's lions, leopards and tigers.

\* The natives of the parts hitherto explored are content to dress in their own skins, without robbing other people of that primitive covering.

which is very poor compared to that of Europe. All the people of this State come once amonth to render the same worship to these idols, having none a home.

The King's palace is of very great extent, and his private apartment is twenty-eight to thirty feet square, and three stories high; the walls, eighteen feet high, are of massive gold, in squares, laid one on another, and, like very large bricks, fastened together with clamps and bars of the same material; the floor of this apartment is also of very large massive gold bricks, made square.\* The rest of this magnificent apartment is of beams covered with wood. The King dwells here alone, and no one enters except his wives, whom he changes every night, and the one who has the honor of sleeping with him prepares his food in her apartment, brings it into his, and eats with him, without their having any to wait on them.

He promised (permitted) the French alone to enter the interior of his room, and was pleased to see them. These people carry on a great trade in gold. Sagean cannot say positively with what nation, unless it is the Japanese, as he believes, for they carry it very far in caravans, and he has often heard them say, in their way of counting, that there was six moons' journey from their country to that nation.† He saw one of these caravans set out while he was among them, composed of more than 3,000 oxen, all loaded with gold on their backs.‡ This caravan was escorted by

a like number of horsemen, armed with lances and arrows, with a kind of dirk. They make their trade at the point of the lance, and the nation they deal with gives them in exchange iron, steel, and edged arms.

They have no writing like ours. The said Sagean says that they gave each of the leaders of the caravan a piece of bark dressed like paper, on which is set down the quantity of gold confided to him, for which he gives an account on their return, in the same manner that they engrave their extraordinary events and epochs on stones and metals.\* The King of the Anniba is called Hagaaren, which means in their language *Great King*. He is at war with no nation, yet he has nearly one hundred thousand men, cavalry and infantry, on foot; but three-fourths of the cavalry are around the city where he resides. His troops have straight gold trumpets, which they blow very badly,† and a kind of drums, or, rather, cymbals, also of gold, and like great gold kettles, covered with deer skin, on which they beat with sticks, and these cymbals are carried by oxen, on which a man mounts to beat them. Their tents are made of leather or ox skins, dressed like chamois, which they cover with bark of trees, flexible as cloth, to keep off the rain.

He does not know whether they observe any military discipline—he only knows that one day in the week they practice shooting at a target with their arrows. The King presides at this exercise, and rewards those who hit the mark either with some office or one of his wives. These men are of dark complexion, and their faces seem hideous, and much narrower than natural, because, when children, their mothers

\* The phrase "You are a brick" may have originated here, and been applied to Sagean by his auditors.

† This overland route to Japan has been unfortunately lost, as well as Sagean's Acaaniba River. This and La Hontan's Long River seems to have done what these worthies forgot to do—alter their courses.

‡ It is a great oversight in the Secretary of the Treasury not to secure one of these caravans. Three thousand ox loads, say two million pounds of gold, at present rates, \$560,000,000, would be some help to the Treasury at this time.

\* The Grave Creek Stone and the Ohio Hebrew Stones are probably the work of some Acaaniba or Sagean.

† A man who could blow his trumpet so well was certainly a judge.

compress the head tightly, on both sides, between flat pieces of wood.\*

The women are as handsome and white as in Europe,† and are modest. Their deformity, shared by the men, is the extraordinary size of the ears, which is a mark of beauty among them, and to enlarge and lengthen them they pierce the ears and load them with gold and bones of animals; they also wear their nails very long, and it is not only one of their points of beauty, but also a mark of distinction, and the higher a person is in dignity, the longer the nails are, and so on to the King, who in this surpasses all others. They also let the hair grow on the face, stomach, and chest, and the most hairy are esteemed the most handsome.‡ Polygamy prevails among them, and every man takes as many wives as he wishes.

They do not trouble them as to the conduct of the young men and women, provided they are not engaged in childhood by their father and mother by a promise for the future, which is quite common; but for girls thus promised, and married women, it is a matter of life and death, as well as for their paramours, if they go astray to the knowledge of their husband or betrothed.

These people like enjoyment, are great dancers, great eaters, and have no rule or order in their meals, but are sober in drinking. They make wine from palms, and other kinds of drink from roots and herbs. They are great smokers, and their tobacco is good and very common, growing without cultivation.

They received the French very well, and they were the first Europeans that they had seen; during the five months that they remained among them, they were always feasted, so that they lacked nothing useful or agreeable. Girls were

even forbidden to refuse them anything, under pain of death, and six were stabbed on the complaint of one named Francis, when drunk with palm wine, that they had refused him. The country is fruitful in Europe.\*

The King made every effort to retain them in his service. He even wished to give said Sagean one of his daughters, aged fourteen, in marriage, and on his departure told him that he would keep her for him, having made him promise to return; and as each Frenchman had a gun and ammunition, fearing that the King or others of the nation might take a fancy to one, they made a great mystery of them, saying that they were familiar spirits, who killed all who approached, except themselves, just as they killed birds and beasts at the command of the French. To make it more mysterious, they took care never to load before them, and they were left in wondrous amazement at the sight of the effect of said arms, and so great was their fear of them that they durst not approach, and showed no desire to do so.

This country is very temperate, being neither too warm nor too cold, and the natives live to extreme old age. During the stay of the French in that country they saw no one sick or die, except with decrepitude and old age.

The country abounds in all sorts of fruit, both European and Indian; apples, pears, peaches, figs, almonds, walnuts, chestnuts, mulberries, hazelnuts, gooseberries, strawberries, raspberries, melons of all kinds, courges, giraumons, potatoes, oranges, citrons, sweet and sour, very large olives, bananas, grapes, much larger and better than in Europe. They have also Indian corn, and wild rice as good and white as rice. They make bread of both, cultivating only the maize. Verdure reigns the whole year, and fruit is found all the year, and the woods and

\* This custom was common. The Choctaws from whom we were known to the French as the Têtes Plates, a name given still later to the Selish.

† This is contrary to all Indian ideas, hair on any part of the body being a disgrace.

\* Not intelligible in the French.

plains are the most beautiful that can be seen, and where affording the best pasturage, are full of all kinds of beasts and birds, particularly wild oxen, larger than those in Europe. They tame them, and use them to carry burdens and for caravans. There is an animal called pitou,\* in fact, smaller than ordinary cattle; it is large and round, with short legs, and cloven hoof like an ox. It has no horns, and long pendant ears; the tail is like a sheep's, covered, not with hair, but with a very fine black wool, curly like a negro's hair. The women spin it very neatly, and make it into pagnes and blankets. Its flesh is delicious, and resembles mutton. The rivers are very well stocked with fish, and the woods full of India fowl, wild pigeons, turtle-doves, partridge, common and painted hens, ducks, swans, all of extraordinary size, which they take in a kind of nets. There are also many parrots, strangely formed animals, and monkeys.

These nations live in wonderful concord and harmony, although they have no form of justice but what they make for themselves. Yet there is a kind of pillory where the luckless maltraiteurs are exposed.

The capital of the Acaanibas, where the King resides, is about six leagues from the river, which is called Milly, in the language of the country; it signifies gold river, or river from the north-west.

The French obtained the King's leave to depart only on the promise, which he exacted of them by the heavens, which is their ordinary oath, that they would return at the end of thirty-six months and bring coral, wampum, beads, and others from Canada, trifles exchanged with that nation for gold, which they have so abundantly, and esteem so lightly, that the King gave them liberty to take what they pleased; they

accordingly loaded themselves with it, and each took sixty bars, about a palm long, and weighing four pounds. The two Indians who were with them would not take any, and wondered to see our Frenchmen burden themselves with it. They told them that it was to make kettles, which they believed, the kettles of the Acaaniba, as well as all their dishes and cooking utensils, being of that precious metal.

The said Sagean says that he did not see the mines which gave this prodigious quantity of gold, but he says that they could not be far from the town, as two of his comrades, with one of that nation, took only three days to go and return; that his comrades, who died subsequently, told him that this gold was in crevices of several mountains and hills; that in the inundations, which are frequent in those parts, the waters separate the gold and carry it down, and when the dry season comes great heaps are found in the former bed of the rivers, which remain dry four months of the year, and here the people gather it.

Sagean assures, on his life, that if they will send him to the Mississippi, no matter at what point on the river, he will easily find the road, and conduct any one to the Acaanibas, with canoes which he will build himself, provided there are tools, and men with arms and ammunition to hunt, and that they will be well received by these people on giving them presents of the things already mentioned, being what they most esteem. The King, having taken leave of them, gave them also more than two hundred horsemen, more to honor than to protect them, there being no risk among a people who loved them to adoration. The horsemen, besides a quantity of all kinds of provisions, carried their gold even to their canoes, which followed, coasting the shore of the river, for five days, after which they bade them farewell with frightful howls.

\* The Illinois called the bison pisikion, which gave Sagean his foundation here.

. And the sequel of this relation contains the extraordinary adventures of said Sagean, and the massacre of almost all who accompanied him on the river St. Lawrence, near its mouth, where they were taken by an English pirate, his imprisonment, and of some of his comrades who remained, and of the last voyages in which he found himself engaged, to the West and East Indies, and to China, and his return to Brest, where necessity drove him to enlist as a marine. He has here given this relation, having been unwilling to disclose his secret either to the Dutch or English, among whom he was employed during the long stay he was obliged to make with them. This is confirmed by his replies to the interrogatories made by Monsieur Dechoureaux.

He adds that on this river of the Acaaniba, which they call Milly, which means River, he saw much gold dust on the banks, and gives positive assurance of the fact."

Here endeth the extract, being all that the French Government allowed to go forth. What has become of the original appears not. But, from the wonderful sights witnessed by Sagean beyond the Mississippi, we regret deeply that we have not the details of his return, and of all that befell him between the Rocky Mountains and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where he fell into the hands of English filibusters.

Bernard de la Harpe, in his journal (p. 34) gives some light on the further history of our worthy :

"On the 30th of May, 1701, the ship *Enflammée* (King's frigate of twenty-six guns) arrived at the island, under the command of M. de la Ronde; he brought as a passenger Matthew Sagan,

a Canadian voyageur, who had given pretended memoirs to M. de Pontchartrain, in which he pretended to have explored the Missouri country and discovered very abundant gold mines on that river; he declared that the Indians of those parts used it. The Minister, yielding credence to these stories, granted him relief, and sent him to Mr. Savol, whom he ordered to build twenty-four periaguas, and to man them with one hundred Canadians, to take Sagan to Missouri. Several persons who are acquainted with him, and know that he has not explored the Mississippi, assured Messrs. De Savol and Bienville of his impostures; this expedition was not pressed, but they proceeded to make the periaguas according to the Count de Pontchartrain's orders."

The Savol here referred to was M. de Sauvolle, one of the famous Le Moynes family of Canada, and brother of Iberville and Bienville. We have, fortunately, some of his writings, and these throw a little more light on Sagean. In a letter to Pontchartrain (Aug. 4, 1701), he says :

"As to Mathieu Sagan, whom you order me to keep in this fort, he seems greatly embarrassed. He finds plenty here who knew him as an employee in Canada, but they do not know him as the son of a sergeant named Duplessis, as he tried to persuade me. They contradict him as to the voyage he says he made twenty-two years ago; he cannot name one of the ten Frenchmen who were with him, yet it is impossible to spend three years with men and lose all recollection. Still he never stops talking of the Canibas nation, where he says he saw such abundance of gold. He pretends that he will reach it by the Missouri. He shows great impatience at the delay of the boats. He is sure that if he does not start in September

they will run the risk of wintering on the Illinois on account of the ice."

Here we lose all trace of Sagean. A few days after this letter the fever began its ravages at Biloxi, and swept away Sauvolle and most of the French, and Sagean doubtless closed his career in the fort.

### INDEXES TO BOOKS.

*To the Editor of the Historical Magazine:*

Upon the value of indexes enough, perhaps, has already been said in the Historical Magazine. I now propose not only to say a few words upon the importance of an index, but to make a few remarks upon *making* an index.

Publishers and authors who issue new books and reprints of old ones, do not heed what has been said upon the value of indexes, and perhaps not one in ten of them even know that the subject has been mentioned in the Magazine, though they may take and own the work. I will, therefore, in the outset refer them to the volume and page. (On examining the indexes of the volumes, I find no reference to it, and, therefore, conclude I am mistaken about its being there, and therefore must refer to the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. xv., p. 216; where everything necessary to be said will be found.)—That article, Mr. Editor, should be kept constantly before the patrons of every historical periodical, that there may be

no excuse for the neglect of so important a matter by authors and publishers.—And I will suggest that, *in my opinion*, if it be not already printed in the Magazine, you give it an insertion in your next issue. No apology will be required for its insertion, especially when it is known to have been written by S. Austin Allibone, Esq.

When there were but very few books in the world, indexes were not so important; but they were long since so multiplied that their value, if they have any, is lost to the student, because no student can, in these days, give his time to the reading or examining, page by page, a hundredth—yea, a thousandth part of what is printed in almost every department of literature. When there were but few books, and these few were in possession of the educated, those few books were read and re-read until the possessor had become so well acquainted with every page and its contents that he could open to any particular detail without loss of time.

At this time there is a great propensity among publishers to issue reprints of old works, especially works having connection with our (American) history. This is a laudable enterprise, but like many other useful enterprises, it is too often forced along without judgment or discretion. A worthless old book had better remain as it originally appeared. It is not difficult in these days to decide as to whether a book is worth reprinting or not. But my chief objection to re-

prints is that they are sent forth without indexes. If they are not worth indexing, they most certainly are not worth a re-impression. And by all publishers of such works, I wish it to be understood, that unless they intend to accompany their volumes with indexes, they need not send me their "Proposals to Publish." Furthermore, I propose to all my book-buying friends to join me in this *veto*.—In this way, and in this way only, can authors and publishers be compelled to issue their works in a manner worthy of patronage.

I now propose to offer a few remarks respecting the composition or making of an index. Even a poor index may sometimes be better than none; yet, as a general rule, an index that cannot be trusted is not worth having. And, after all, how few do we find that are in any respect complete! How few are the books we can refer to by their indexes with any confidence that these refer to all the particulars of a subject!

Indexing periodicals at the end of a year or volume, is an excellent thing; but at the end of ten years there should be an index to the whole ten years' volumes. Every serial work should have an index to each volume. If they are not so indexed, they may be read, but they will be thrown aside and neglected as they cannot be consulted with any advantage. I make this remark, partly for the benefit of those who may intend to continue their historical works through a long life, issuing a volume or two every

year, and without indexes. They would probably see their works much oftener referred to if they were more available by proper indexes.

It is no small accomplishment to be qualified to make a good and proper index. None but a tolerable scholar can do it. I have reference to an Analytical Index; for almost any one who can read and write can make one of names, and some practice must be added to scholarship to make one which shall include subjects as well as names.

In making an analytical index, there is sometimes a disposition to overload it with useless words. The maker should study to avoid this blemish. Nobody ought to expect to find an *abridgment* of the work in its index. Abridgments should be volumes of themselves. As well on the score of economy in printing as for the saving of time in consulting, every superfluous word should be avoided in indexes. To illustrate by examples my meaning fully would require too much space; I will therefore refer to some works containing the best indexes: That by Dr. Abiel Holmes to his *Annals of America* (second edition), is one of the best, yet it might be much reduced in bulk without impairing its value in the least. And it by no means refers to all the important items in the work.

Besides the faults referred to, there is one very prominent in nearly all indexes, and that is, placing under one head what belongs to another, and often making two entries where but one is really re-

quired. In general, indexes to English works are much better made than those to our own publications; but in them, even, I know of no perfect indexes. The work of preparing indexes is a regular branch of business in that country, and hence the reason of their being generally superior to ours.

Authors and publishers are often guilty of marring indexes which, without such interference, might have appeared far more creditable to their works as well as to themselves. They are often cut down to a large extent, after having been prepared with great labor, to save a few paltry dollars in "composition," and a few sheets of paper.

Whoever undertakes to prepare an index, let him examine thoroughly some of the best indexed books. By a comparison of several of them, and proper attention to their structure, he will soon be able to compile such a one as will be not only creditable to himself, but satisfactory to all who may have occasion to use it, and have their hearty commendation and thanks besides.

#### INDEX.

### FIRST USE OF THE PRAYER BOOK WEST OF THE ALLEGHENY MOUNTAINS.

In a late Report of the Bishop White Prayer Book Society there are some interesting statements in regard to the early history of the Prayer Book in the

Western wilds. Its "very earliest use West of the Allegheny Mountains" is attributed to Colonel Washington, in 1754. It is also stated that Colonel Washington read this burial service, over the grave of Braddock, on *the night* of the 12th of July, 1756, "the Chaplain being wounded." And further on, "unless there was a clergyman of the Church in the earlier expedition of Braddock, of which no evidence exists (1756), Mr. Barton must have been the *first* who carried the Prayer Book beyond the Allegheny Mountains, and to the Ohio River" (in 1758).

As the statements of the Report have been repeatedly quoted, I venture to point out several errors they contain.

The journal of the detachment of seamen which accompanied Braddock's expedition (Vol. v., Penna. Historical Soc. Memoirs), speaking of the death of Gen. Braddock, says: "On the 12th, at 8 o'clock, he departed this life and was decently, though privately, buried next morning." The night burial of the Report is poetical, but the above is probably the truth.

Then, as to Mr. Barton—"the Chaplain being wounded," if true—and I think it is—is certainly existing evidence of there having been a Chaplain in the Braddock expedition. Other evidence of the fact may be found in the "seaman's journal," above quoted, in the description (page 377) of the funeral of a Captain of the 44th Regiment, who was buried in May, while the expedition was encamped at

Will's Creek, a "clergyman" officiating. "The Chaplain of the 44th Regiment," says a note to the journal, "was Mr. Rich'd Hughes."

As proof that neither one of the persons named was the *first* to use the Prayer Book West of the mountains, I transcribe for your columns an extract from Christopher Gist's journal, in 1750, a copy of which is in my possession. Gist was sent out by the Ohio Company to examine their lands, in October, and on Christmas day, 1750, at Muskingum, a town of the Wyandotte Indians, he read the service of the Church and a sermon from the Homilies:

"TUESDAY 25th (1750).—This being Christmas day, I intended to read prayers; but after inviting some of the white men, they informed each other of my intentions; and being of several different persuasions, and few of them inclined to hear any good, they refused to come; but one Thomas Burney, a blacksmith, who is settled there, went about and talked to them, and then several of them came; and Andrew Montour invited several of the well disposed Indians, who came freely. By this time the morning was spent, and I had given over all thoughts of them; but seeing them come, to oblige all and offend none, I stood up and said: Gentlemen, I have no design or intention to give offense to any particular sect or religion; but as our King indulges us all in a liberty of conscience, and hinders none of you in the exercise of your religious worship, so it would be

unjust in you to endeavor to stop the propagation of his. The doctrine of salvation, faith and good works, is what I only propose to treat of, as I find it extracted from the homilies of the Church of England; which I then read to them in the best manner I could; and after I had done, the interpreter told the Indians what I had read, and that it was the true faith which the great King and his Church recommended to his children; the Indians seemed well pleased, and came up to me, and returned me their thanks, and then invited me to live among them, and gave me a name in their language, Annosannoah; the interpreter told me this was the name of a good man that had formerly lived among them, and their king said that must always be my name, for which I returned thanks; but as to living among them, I excused myself by saying, I did not know whether the Governor would give me leave; and if he did, the French would come and carry me away, as they had done the English traitors; to which they answered, I might bring great guns and build a fort, that they had now left the French, and were very desirous of being instructed in the principles of Christianity, that they liked me very well, and wanted me to marry them after the Chrestain manner, and baptize their children; and then, they said, they would never desire to return to the French, or suffer them or their priests to come near them more; for they loved the English, but had seen little religion among them.

Some of their great men came and wanted me to baptize their children, for as I had read to them, and appeared to talk about religion, they took me to be a minister of the gospel; upon which I desired Mr. Montour, the interpreter, to tell them that no minister could venture to baptize any children, until those that were to be sureties for them, were well instructed in the faith themselves; and that was according to the great King's religion, in which he desired his children should be instructed, and we dare not do it in any other way than by law established; but I hoped, if I could not be admitted to live among them, that the great King would send them proper ministers to exercise that office among them, at which they seemed well pleased; and one of them went and brought me his book, which was a kind of almanack contrived for them by the French, in which the days of the week were so marked, that by moving a pin every morning, they kept a pretty exact account of the time, to show me that he understood me, and that he and his family always observed the Sabbath day."

He remained with these Indians until the 15th of January, and the following is his journal on that day:

"We left *Muskingum* and went West 5m. to the *White Woman's Creek*, on which is a small town. This white woman was taken away from New England, when she was not above ten years old, by the French-Indians. She is now upwards of fifty, has an Indian

husband and several children, her name is Mary Harris; she still remembers they used to be very religious in New England, and wonders how the white men can be so wicked as she has seen them in these woods."

Gist's route can be traced with considerable accuracy by his daily journal, and the locality of his interesting Christmas service was probably at, or near, the town of Coshocton. From his journals, it may be seen that he was a man of intelligence, and the churchly knowledge indicated in the circumstance he narrates as above, has led some to the impression that he had been educated for the ministry. He seems to have rather encouraged the impressions of the Indians, who, he says, "took me to be a minister of the gospel."

Not only is it probable that the above was the *first* public use of the Prayer Book West of the Allegheny Mountains, but also that it was the first Protestant sermon delivered in our "Western Wilds."

There can be but few way-marks of the Church West of the mountains so early as this. Their rarity gives them peculiar value, and possibly your publication of this one may develop others still more interesting.

*Pittsburgh, Jan. 5, 1866.* F. R. B.

FIRST STEAMBOAT TO NEW ORLEANS.—Audubon states, not very positively, however, that the first steamboat "that went down out of the Ohio to New Orleans" was the "Orleans," commanded by Captain Ogden, in the spring of 1810.—*Ornithological Biog.*, p. 133.

## AN ORIGINAL LETTER OF WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 3d Septemr, 1781.

SIR:

I have had the Honor to inform your Excellency that the operations of the present Campaign are tendg very seriously to the Southward—and that a large Detachment of the American Army with the whole of the French Troops, are now on their march to Virginia—As the article of supplies for the Army which will be collected in that Quarter, & which will probably be large, will be a matter of the last Importance in our operations, I cannot omit to address your Excellency on that subject.

Mr. Morris the Financier, having been kind eno' to give me a Copy of a Letter which he had written on the subject to the several States—requesting in the most earnest manner their several quotas of specific supplies, called for by Congress. It is needless for me to trouble your Excellency any further than to enforce, in the warmest terms, the application of Mr. Morris—which I now take the Liberty to do, & to entreat your Excellency that it may meet with all that effectual attention, which the Importance of the matter requires and the urgent importunity of Mr. Morris can expect or wish.—I will only add—that, as I am fully persuaded your Excellency will contemplate the fatal Consequences to the interests of the States which must arise from a failure in our operations; so you

will as fully accord with me in Sentiment, that a Reflection on the cause of failure, should it be one in which I have my strongest Fears—the Article of Supplies—will not fail to fill us with the most mortifying Regret, when we consider that the bountiful hand of Heaven is holding out to us a Plenty of every Article—and the only cause of want must be placed to the acct of our want of exertion to collect them.

Your Excellency will be so good as to give me the earliest and most decided Information how far I may rely on your State for the supplies requested and expected from it—since on that and the like Information from other States I must ground my Judgment of the practicability of carrying into Execution the Operations I have concerted—It will be to little purpose, other than to create needless and unnecessary Expense, to pursue my Intentions further than the Aids we can promise ourselves without fail to receive from the States, will give us the fairest Prospect to proceed.

With great Regard & Esteem

I have the Honor to be

Your Excellency's

Most Obedient

& humble servant

GEO. WASHINGTON.

P. S.—Since writing the foregoing I have been honored with your Favor of the 30th ulto., in answer to mine of the 27th. I assure you, sir, that the decision of your Resolutions are exceedingly pleasing to me, and gives me the hap-

piest Presage of the most Effectual Support from your State.

GOVERNOR LEE.

This letter was written by Gen. Washington on his way through Philadelphia on the 3d of September, accompanied by Count Rochambeau, after stopping at Mount Vernon (his first visit in six years) he reached the head-quarters of Lafayette at Williamsburg on the 14th. Yorktown was invested on the 30th and surrendered on the 17th of October. It was for these important movements that the supplies were required which his wise foresight considered the wants of might be the possible cause of a failure.

THE OMNIBUS;  
OR,  
A SERIES OF ESSAYS  
ON  
MATTERS IN GENERAL  
AND  
THINGS IN PARTICULAR.

BY A RETIRED PHYSICIAN.

*Omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis.*

CONTINUED FROM LAST NUMBER.

THE OMNIBUS.—NO. IV.

"All the improvements that the world contains  
Were not by Reason first found out, but Brains."

BUTLER.

We passed on from the place where the old stairs stood, at the foot of Warren, to

Chambers street, which Mr. Groesbeck informed me was originally a lane, connecting the Greenwich Road with the Bowery. As we passed up Chatham street, he pointed out, on the left hand, the site of the old tea-water pump; and on the right, the southern boundary of Harry Rutgers's farm. "I wonder," said he, "how much his children—no—he left no children—his *neveys* and nieces would take for an acre of it now?" "Why," said I, "they do take about a million of dollars." "Poh! Poh! Doctor, you are poking fun into me. Why, a million of dollars would buy all Wall street, brokers, banks, and all." "I presume it would," said I, "were it possible to raise such a sum now-a-days." "My stars and garters!" said my companion, "what's all this? Why the ship-yards used to be away below this; and see there—they are most out of sight above! And look now, if there aint a steamboat a-snorting it along upon dry land!" I turned round, and perceived they were hauling a steamer up the railway of the Dry-Dock. "And over the river, there! what used to be the Wallabought." "So it is still," replied I, "*improved*, as the United States Navy Yard. Don't you observe those large ships?" "Yes, and steamboats like sperm whales too. Why, Doctor, this beats Old Nick and the lawyers. I should like to see Capt. Dean's old sloop Enterprise alongside of one of them there three-story ships." "What sort of a sloop was that?" inquired I. "She was the sloop, Doctor, that made

the first India voyage from the United States, after the Revolution, and the first vessel that hoisted the Gridiron and Rolling-pins in the great southern Ocean and Yellow Sea; and she might be hoisted between the fore and main masts of that big ship. But Doctor! what do they keep that long, low, black-looking thing there for—under a shed, too, as if they set great store by her?" "Oh!" said I, "that's old 'IRONSIDES.'" "Let me go on board of her," cried the old man, jumping into a ferry-boat that was just pushing off; and away we steered for the Wallabout. Upon landing, I explained our errand to the officer on duty, who received us very politely, and showed us over the "CONSTITUTION;" and then offered to conduct us on board one of the line-of-battle ships. When we reached the foot of her accommodation ladder, however, he observed that it was the FRANKLIN. "Excuse, me, Captain," said my companion, "I should not like to go on board that ship." "Well, here's the WASHINGTON then;"—and without making any reply, my companion was half-way up her side before I missed him from mine. He was delighted at everything he saw, and especially, for a wonder, with what was new to him. The Paixhan guns, the Congreve rockets and hollow shot, were the principal subjects of his admiration. But what gratified him most, was his visit to the School on board one of the Frigates—for the education of apprentices to the service. He observed very shrewdly, if not eloquently,

that it worked more ways than one; it took the lads out of the service of the devil and taught them to serve their country and their God.

He now proposed our "footing it" to Brooklyn Ferry; to which I readily assented. As we entered the place he exclaimed, "This can't be Brooklyn—why, part of New York must have crossed the East River." I assured him that it was a new city which had sprung up here in "the march of improvement," and proposed walking down one of the streets above the bluff to the South Ferry. When we had arrived opposite to the Battery, the old man exclaimed, "Oh! Doctor, Doctor, what a blunder that old Congress made when they refused to build the city of Washington on these heights." "Why," said I, "this is the first time I ever heard of its being proposed." "It was, though, for all that," said he; "not, indeed, in Congress itself, but by some of the leaders out of doors; for, one day—when I was attached to the Treasury Department—while I was making up the Secretary's fire, I heard him tell old Sam Griffin that York State would give up all King's County to accommodate Congress; and, says Sam, 'I think, Colonel, that will satisfy Virginny and the South.' But Virginny and the South were as hard to satisfy then as now, and his partners in the delegation made Sam take back all he had said. So the Colonel told Royal Flint that Sam was only fit for a 'Squire of Dames,' which Royal told me was

an apt quotation from a play of one Shakespeare, who used to write plays himself, and act them all over the *GLOBE*." "Ah! but," said I, "Mr. Groesbeck, perhaps they'll have it there yet, one of these days, you know; Mr. Gallatin was once very near a carrying that measure, and was only prevented by the desertion of one of our New York *dough-faces*." "I know all about that, and a little more of the capers of the Columby folks than you do, Doctor. The Big Bank was at the bottom of that manœuvre. And, take my word for it, don't go, for as Gouverneur Morris said, it is a difficult matter for a man, or woman either, when they once fairly get into a place they like, to be got out again."

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## Notes and Queries.

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### NOTES.

**RARE TRACTS.**—It has been supposed by some that the issuing of religious tracts for soldiers is a modern result of this progressive age. For the information of those who have presumed that to be the case, the title of one of early date is here given, as well as for its preservation in the Magazine. The copy made use of is supposed to be unique.

"A PRAYER, COMPOSED for the Benefit of the Soldiery, in the AMERICAN ARMY, to assist them in their private Devotions; and recommended to their particular

Use. By ABIEL LEONARD, A. M., CHAPLAIN to General PUTNAM's Regiment, in said ARMY. CAMBRIDGE: Printed by S. & E. Hall, 1755."

This tract consists of nine pages, and, according to the standard by which such productions are generally judged, is a highly creditable performance. According to Dr. Allen, Mr. Leonard was honored with D. D., and died in 1778, aged about forty; whether while he was in the army does not appear. The same author informs us that Mr. Leonard was the author of two Discourses, one a Thanksgiving Sermon, Woodstock, Ct., 1767; and a Sermon at the Ordination of G. Wheaton, 1772.—TRACTATE.

There may be many other copies of the tract here described, although I have not happened to hear of any other. My object, or the principal one, is to inquire, through your most useful periodical—Who was its author?

"THE || POOR MAN'S ADVICE || TO HIS || POOR NEIGHBORS: || A || BALLAD, || to the Tune of CHEVY-CHASE; || NEW YORK: || Printed in the year M.DCC.LXXIV." It contains nineteen pages, 8vo.

It is the production of a high Tory, as will be seen by the following verses, which are extracted from it:

#### I.

Ah! have you read, my neighbours dear,  
Our famous *Congress Book*? \*  
Alas! I grievously do fear  
They have our case mistook.

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\* Having reference to the *Address* issued by the Congress to the People of Great Britain.—T.

## II.

What pity 'tis, such worthy men  
 Who've learnt to read, and write,  
 And cast accounts; should use their pen,  
 For to undo us quite.

## III.

I never saw a King, or Queen,  
 Save Indian Kings in Stroud,  
 But I've seen folks, who Kings have seen,  
 Who say, they're desp'rate proud.

## IV.

But our King George is just and good,  
 If one da'rd speak out plain,  
 And when he's forced to shed Blood,  
 He feels purdigious pain.

## V.

When this Book \* gets to London-town,  
 And is show'd to the King,  
 I will lay any man a crown  
 He'll grieve like any thing, &c.

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ISAAC ROYAL AGAIN. Vol. ix., 369; Vol. x., 19.)—As there are errors in both the articles referred to, a correction, and some further particulars of this person, who has thus been made prominent, may not be unworthy of a place in the Magazine. Isaac Royal, or, as the name was originally written, *Riall*, was descended from William Riall, who was sent from England, by the New England Company, to their agent Endicott, at Salem, in 1629, for the service of the company. In the letter transmitted at the time, he is styled "a cooper and cleaver of timber." He became one of the earliest settlers in Casco Bay, in Maine. I find him ap-

pearing as plaintiff in a legal process against George Cleeve, the first settler of Portland, as early as September 7, 1636. On that day the Court, under Gorges' authority, issued the following precept, which I copy, as a specimen of the simplicity of legal proceedings among the first colonists: "Whereas, Mr. George Cleeve hath not paid the sum of £5. 16. 8 unto William Riall, according to the order above specified, these are therefore to authorise you, in his Majesties' name, to make seizure and attach any manner of goods & chattels then belonging to the said Cleeve, for the full satisfaction of the debt & penalty above specified, & this shall be your warrant."

He established himself on the eastern point of *Westuestogo* River, where he built a house. The point and river took his name, which they have ever since borne. They were in the old town of North Yarmouth, which received its name from Massachusetts, to which government the province of Gorges then belonged, in 1680. In 1643, Royal purchased the tract of Thomas Gorges, on which his house then stood. It was confirmed to him by Rigby, in 1646, and of whose government of Ligoniam he was one of the assistants in 1648. In March, 1673, he conveyed his land and buildings to his sons William and John, in consideration of the support of himself and his wife during their lives. He must then have been an old man. They were all driven off during the Indian war of 1675. John settled after-

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\* Referring, doubtless, to the same Address before named.  
 —T.

wards in York, where he was living in 1680, and William went to Dorchester, Mass., where he died Nov. 7, 1724, in the 85th year of his age, which gives 1640 for the year of his birth. The second William was father of the Hon. Isaac Royall, who was born in North Yarmouth in 1672, and who afterwards became the Antigua merchant and planter, between which and his own country he spent near forty years, and made a large fortune, out of which he built the splendid mansion in Medford, which was subsequently occupied and adorned by his son, the Hon. Isaac Royall, the loyalist and refugee, of whom the first article, above referred to, has spoken. The father, Isaac, died at that mansion June 7, 1739, aged 67. He was a man highly esteemed for his many generous qualities, and filled many honorable stations in civil and military life. He left one son, *Isaac*, and one daughter. Isaac, the introduction of whose name has given occasion for this notice, was the fourth in descent from the first immigrant—the “cooper and cleaver” sent to Salem in 1629. He inherited a large fortune, was a representative to the General Court, and twenty-two years a member of the Council of Massachusetts. He died in England, the last of his family, in October, 1781, having made numerous and liberal bequests; so that for one hundred and fifty years they were active and useful members of the colonies of Maine and Massachusetts.

W.

\* *Portland, Feb. 1866.*

LONG PASTORATES IN BOSTON. (Vol x., p. 17.)—Let me add a word for the unparalleled case in Portland. *Three* uninterrupted pastorates in the First Church in that city extended over a period of 131 years and 8 months from March, 1727, to January, 1859. The Rev. Thomas Smith, a native of Boston, and a graduate of Harvard College in 1720, was ordained the first settled minister in Maine east of the Saco River, in March 1727. He continued the stated pastor of the church until his death, May 26, 1795, a period of 68 years, 2 months, and 17 days. Samuel Deane, also a graduate of Harvard in 1760, was ordained, October 17, 1764, a colleague with Mr. Smith, and continued in the office until his death, which took place in November, 1814, in the 51st year of his ministry and the 81st of his age. In June, 1809, Ichabod Nichols, a graduate of Harvard, 1802, was ordained a colleague of Dr. Deane, and died in the office January 2, 1859, in the 75th year of his age and the 50th of his ministry. During this long period, and for nine years after, making the whole term of 137\* years, the pastoral office was not vacant for an hour. Horatio Stebbins, now of San Francisco, having been installed associate pastor in January, 1855, and continued in office until 1864, when he accepted an invitation to occupy the pulpit made vacant by the lamented Starr King.

Other long pastorates may be referred to. The longest on record, I believe, is that of Laban Ainsworth, of Jaffrey, N.

H., who died in 1858, in the 101st year of his age, after a pastorate in that town of 74 years. Samuel Nott, of Franklin, Conn. died in 1852, in the 99th year of his age, and more than 70 years the pastor of his parish. Nathan Buckman, of Medway, Mass., was settled 70 years, from 1724 to 1795. Nathan Williams, of Tolland, Cnn., 69 years, from 1760 to 1829; Mr. Adams, of Newington, N. H., 68 years, from 1715 to 1783; Mr. Whitney, of Brookline, Conn., 68 years, from 1756 to 1824; Dr. Gay, of Hingham, Mass., 68 years, from 1718 to 1787. But none of these rival the Portland parish in the unbroken succession in the ministerial office for a century and a third of but three pastors, and during 34 of those years a colleague was united in the ministrations. And it is a further singularity in this case, that every one of the four pastors who have been settled over the parish held the office of, or was associated with, a colleague.

W.

Portland, Feb. 1866.

**WAR MAPS.**—During the rebellion, every one who attempted to follow the movements of the armies in the field must have felt the embarrassment arising from the want of reliable and accurate maps. The campaigns can never be understood, by the most diligent student, with the means now at hand. Would it not be a wise thing for the War Department to order the preparation of a series of maps which would completely illustrate the progress of the war, and so

raise the most enduring monument to the military talent displayed *on both sides?* for were not both sides American? and does not the honor of either redound to the credit of both? A great work of this kind, executed in no partisan sense, but simply with a view to arrive at and present the truth, would be worthy of the great people engaged in that great war of battle. J.

### QUERIES.

**NAMES.**—Looking over the triennial catalogue of the College of New Jersey for the year 1860, I was struck by this fact, that in the middle of the last century it was a rare thing for a man to have a middle name, and that in these later days it is almost as rare a thing for a man not to have a middle name. In the classes from 1748 to 1764, inclusive, there were two hundred and twenty-eight graduates, of whom eleven only had middle names. In the classes of 1860, 1859, 1858, and the last fourteen of the class of 1857—making in all the last two hundred and twenty-eight names of the catalogue—there were but forty-one who had not middle names. What does this imply? J.

**KRAITSIR.**—Is Dr. Kraitsir, a Hungarian scholar of some reputation, alive, or is he dead?—and, if dead, when and where did he die, and under what circumstances? These are not questions put to gratify an idle curiosity. J.

PETERSBURGH.—In Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, as in hundreds of other books, and almost universally in common parlance, the great city founded by the Czar Peter is called *Saint* Petersburg. The Russians themselves call it Petersburg. I have met gentlemen who insist that the Russians are wrong. Was the city named after the Saint or the Czar? On page 6 of No. 1, Vol. x., of H. M., I observe the city is called St. Petersburg.

EDWARD PAIGE (H. M. Vol. x., p. 24).—The evident error in the date of birth of this person, Feb. 22, 1622 (some years before the settlement of Boston, where he is stated to have been born), was noticed by Rev. Dr. Dexter at the time he read the inscriptions. He supposed that it should be Feb. 20, 1662, and that he was the Edward, son of Edward and Anna Lane, whose birth at the latter date is recorded. Mrs. Anna Lane after the death of her husband married Nicholas Paige, and her son may have taken her last husband's name.

J.

AMERICAN SKIN DISEASES.—We recently noticed in a Western paper the advertisement of the proprietors (in Lafayette, Ind.) of a patent medicine, gravely described, with large display of type, as a "Sure cure for every species of Itch, *Prairie Itch, Barbers' Itch, Wabash Scratches, Illinois Mange, Iowa and Missouri Digs*, cutaneous eruptions," etc., etc. Can any of our medical readers explain whether these are simply dif-

ferent local names for the same disease, or whether they are really distinct types of cutaneous disease? They certainly are not found in Cazenave or Wilson.

XXX.

WOODEN WEDDINGS.—In what year did Wooden Weddings originate in this country? Are Wooden, Tin, Silver and Golden Weddings observed in Europe?

J. A. McA.

*Philadelphia, January, 1866.*

## REPLIES.

BOSTON.

LEWIS MORRIS OF NEW JERSEY IN 1756 (Vol. x., p. 44).—Further information respecting the differences between Col. Morris and Mr. Hamilton, about the succession to the chief authority in New Jersey on the death of Mr. Anderson will be found in the memoir attached to the "Papers of Lewis Morris," published as the 4th volume of the New Jersey Historical Society's "Collections." Although Col. Morris was subsequently appointed Governor, "the result of the controversy" was *not* in his favor, the Board of Trade on 25th January, 1736-7 deciding against his claim to precedence. The letter given in the Magazine will probably be found to have been written, not at "Trinton" but at *Tinton*, the name of the family manor in Monmouth county.

W. A. W.

*Newark, February, 1866.*

CONTRABAND. (H. M., Vol. v., 369—Vol. ix., 157.)—The use of the term contraband, as applied to slaves in Cuba, would seem to indicate merely that they were objects of unlawful traffic—that they were introduced into the island in contravention of the laws of Spain. General Butler used the term as applied to slaves claimed under the extradition clause of the Constitution, in the sense of “contraband of war.” He said, in effect, to the master claiming his fugitive, “You cannot claim this slave, as you call him, under the Constitution, which Constitution you are fighting to destroy. Your war makes this chattel a man, and you cannot claim a man from us on any pretense that he is a chattel. You might put a gun in his hand and make a soldier of him. He is a kind of munition of war, and so is contraband of war.” This application of the term is probably original with General Butler, and is certainly a very happy application of it. J.

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RIVINGTON'S INDEPENDENT JOURNAL; OR, GENERAL ADVERTISER. (Vol. x., page 22.)—I. J. G. is not, I think, mistaken in his supposition that Rivington's editorial labors continued subsequent to 1783. I. J. G.'s question, also—“How long was this latter newspaper (the *Universal*, not *General Advertiser*) continued?” is susceptible of solution.

James Rivington first began his paper under the formidable title of *Rivington's New York Gazette; or, the Connecticut, New Jersey, Hudson River, and Quebec*

*Weekly Advertiser*, in 1733. The imprint read as follows: “Printed at his *ever-open* and uninfluenced press, fronting Hanover Square.” It is well known that Rivington was the Royal printer during the whole of the Revolutionary War, and it is amusing to trace the degrees by which his toryism manifested itself as the storm gathered over the country. The title of the paper originally contained a cut of a large ship under sail. In 1774 the ship sailed out of sight, and the King's arms appeared in its place; and in 1775, the words *ever-open and uninfluenced* were withdrawn from the imprint. These symptoms were disliked by the patriots of the country, and in November, 1775, a party of armed men from Connecticut entered the city on horseback, beset his habitation, broke into his printing office, destroyed his presses, and threw his types into *pi*. They then carried them away, melted and cast them into bullets. Rivington's paper was now effectually stopped until the British took possession of the city. Rivington himself, meantime, had been to England, where he procured a new printing apparatus, and returning, established the “*The New York Royal Gazette*, published by James Rivington, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.” During the remaining five years of the war, Rivington's paper was the most distinguished for its lies and its loyalty of any other journal in America. It was published twice a week, and four other newspapers were published in New York at the same time, under the sanc-

tion of the British officers—one arranged for each day, so that, in fact, they had the advantages of a daily paper. It has been said and believed, that Rivington, after all, was a secret traitor to the cause, and, in fact, the secret informant of Washington. Be this, however, as it may, as the war drew to a close, and the prospects of the King's arms began to darken, Rivington's loyalty began to cool down, and by 1787 the King's arms had disappeared, and the title of the paper, no more the *Royal Gazette*, was simply "*Rivington's New York Gazette and Universal Advertiser*." But although he labored to play the Republican, he was distrusted by the people, and his paper was relinquished in the course of that year, 1787.

WM. L. S.

*Saratoga Springs, Feb. 1st, 1866.*

FULLER. (H. M., No. 1, Vol. x., p. 20.)—In Lanman's Congressional Dictionary Mr. Fuller's death is recorded as of "1st October, 1855, aged fifty-seven years." I do not note this as authoritative in itself, but with a view of calling the attention of the readers of this Magazine to Mr. Lanman's book, which ought to be made and could be made very high authority, if a few historical students in each State would take some pains in revising its brief sketches of members of Congress. For the most part, such sketches cannot be too brief nor too authoritative. Mr. Lanman, I believe, would thankfully receive corrections, addressed to him at Georgetown, D. C.

J.

REV. THOMAS HOOKER OF HARTFORD, CONN.—Cotton Mather, in his account of this clergyman, states, that while he was lecturer at Chelmsford, and before he was silenced, "seven and forty conformable ministers of the neighboring towns" petitioned the bishop in his behalf (*Magnalia*, book iii., p. 60). In a late and valuable work by Rev. T. W. Davids of Colchester, entitled "*The Annals of Ecclesiastical Nonconformity in Essex*," this petition is printed from the British State Paper Office with all the signatures (pp. 153-8). It is dated Nov. 10, 1629, and is signed by forty-nine clergymen, two more than Mather states.

DELTA.

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PORTRAITS BY COPLEY. (Vol. viii., H. M., and Vol. ix.)—In addition to portraits of this artist named by your contributors, I would mention two in Philadelphia, owned by the Misses Plumstead, of Girard street.

J.

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## Societies and their Proceedings.

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### AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL.

THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY held their twenty-third anniversary meeting on the evening of January 23, 1866, at the house of the Librarian, Henry T. Drowne, Esq., who, in the absence of the President and the Vice-Presidents, was called to the chair.

The presiding Secretary read his report, from which we make the following extracts:

Appropriate notice was taken of the death of Dr. Barth, the celebrated African traveler, a corresponding member of the society.

The Rev. John Gulick, who rendered the society services in 1848 by procuring interesting specimens of manufactures from Micronesia, is now at an important frontier post in the north-west of China, where he will have opportunities for making important observations on different nations and races. His past services and his present advantageous position give him claims on our society.

From the Hon. J. C. Figanhière e Morao, Portuguese Minister at Washington, had been received ten more numbers of the "Bulletin e Omaes," the monthly publication of the Ultramarine Council of the Portuguese Government, to February 6, 1865, containing official documents relating to the numerous colonies of that kingdom in all parts of the world, besides many reports, abounding in details in all departments of their geography, populations, products, trade, &c. The present numbers contain several series of papers on Angola and the Cape Verde Islands, with single ones on Mozambique, Guinea. When the Cape Verdes were first discovered by the Portuguese, they were peopled by Joloffs, from the opposite African coast. They have now a mixed population, chiefly negroes. We have received above one hundred numbers from Mr. Figanhière.

A remarkable report on negro laborers is made in the "Bulletin," No. 115, of December 1863, worthy of attention in the United States at the present time. The Governor of the Portuguese colony of Angola had addressed an official letter to the king, complaining that the negroes would not labor since the decree abolishing forced servitude, and that some of the districts were depopulated by them, "on account of their natural indolence." In reply, it was declared that those districts were precisely those in which the natives had been treated with the greatest severity under the old system, by compelling them to carry heavy burdens and make long marches in transporting ivory, cotton, and other articles towards the coast, to be shipped to Portugal, often causing death by overwork. On the contrary, in other districts, where the natives have been treated more humanely, they are willing and glad to engage in labor under the new arrangements for their reward, and they perform their

engagements with faithfulness and industry, and are improving in their condition, while their employers are profited.

The following extract from a letter of one of the society's attentive correspondents, Gen. Dille, of Washington, D. C., was read:

"Near Galesburg, Illinois, some years since, a farmer, in digging a well some twenty feet below the surface, came to a wrought stone, so long as to reach across the well, which he was compelled to break in order to prosecute his work. On taking it up he found, immediately under it, thirteen large grinders of a mammoth. I have two of them in my possession. As that country is diluvian, it follows that the people who wrought the stone were contemporaneous with the eliphas giganteus of the post pliocene period. Geology is interested in this question, and, I presume ethnology is not indifferent to it."

Dr. D. G. Macgowan furnished a communication on Indian gesticulation as a mode of communication, accompanied with an inquiry whether the subject had engaged the attention of ethnologists. He gave twenty-five examples of the "signs" which the Caddos, Wichitas, and Camanches employ, when too far removed from one of their tribe to be heard, or when desiring to communicate with a member of a tribe whose language he does not understand, of which the following are illustrations:

Man—A finger directed towards the pubis.

Woman—A finger directed towards the breast.

Many Persons—Hands and fingers interlaced.

To Fight—Joining hands rapidly.

To Talk—Fingers used as if picking something from the mouth.

To See—Two fingers projecting.

Killed—Right hand cast down.

Death—The finger at the right hand passed to the left hand, and then cast down.

Alive—Right finger whirled upwards.

To Hear—A twirling at the ear.

To Know, Understand—The thumb and index finger made into a ring, and passed from the mouth.

The Camanches—Motion of a snake.

Arapahoes—Finger to side of nose.

Cheyennes—Bridging palm of left hand with index finger of right.

Finished—A motion of cutting with the right hand.

Hungry—A sawing of the breast.

To Eat—Bringing the fist to the mouth.

To Drink—Do the hand in shape of a cup.

Fire—Scratching the chest.

None, All Gone—Motion of rubbing out.

To Swap, Barter—Crossing of the index fingers.

Money—A shaking of fingers and thumbs.

Full, Appetite Satisfied—Finger and thumb rising from the mouth.

A Horse—A hand passed across the forehead.

A White Man—A finger passed across the forehead.

My Child, Caresses, by a Man ;—by a Woman, by a motion representing parturition.

Mr. Chas. L. Brace (Corresponding Secretary) gave some account of a pedestrian journey among the Swiss mountains the past summer, and his inquiries concerning the boundaries of the German and Italian languages.

A short paper by the first Vice-President, Mr. Ewbank, on "Aboriginal Ingenuity," was read. It contained a minute description of the process of preparing mandioca for food, and of the tapiti, a long loose basket in which the ground root is pressed to wash out its poisonous quality.

Dr. Antoine Rappaner, an invited guest, gave by request some information of the numerous isolated communities inhabiting secluded mountains and valley, of Switzerland, and speaking various *patois* of Germans Italian, and French ; mentioning the valley of Samana, where a population of about five thousand speak Latin. Small newspapers and books have been printed in some of these dialects, and specimens of those of Engadin were presented to the society some time since by John Siz.

Mr. Lovsey, the Austrian Consul-General, is preparing a notice of the latest volumes of the Novara expedition.

Mr. Habicht, the Swedish Consul-General, has promised a paper on the Laplanders.

Count Licignano, the Italian Consul-General, is expected to furnish interesting information from his late visit to Italy.

Additional reports of the Society of Northern

Antiquaries are soon to be looked for from Lieutenant-Colonel Raaslöf, the Danish Minister.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.  
—*Boston, February 7.*—The regular monthly meeting of this society was held this afternoon.

Governor Andrew, the president-elect, being called from the city, sent a note to the meeting regretting his necessary absence. Hon. George B. Upton, the newly elected vice-president, was introduced to the society by Dr. Winslow Lewis, the retiring president, after which Dr. Lewis delivered a very able address, reviewing the progress of the society.

Dr. L. spoke of the encouragement necessary to be extended to those who had fought our battles, and who still continue to need our aid. He spoke of the very large amount that had recently been bequeathed to learned societies like the Institute of Technology and the Natural History Society. He spoke of what had been accomplished by the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. It has gathered a large library, unequaled in its biographical department by any other State. The New England Historical and Genealogical Register has reached its twentieth volume, and will be the great reference book for New England families in after generations. If not wealthy, the society is free from debt, and has a very respectable nucleus of funds, placing it on a firm and solid basis.

Dr. Lewis spoke with great earnestness and interest of the society's need of more commodious rooms—of a building where there may be at least one fire-proof room and ample accommodations for ladies to attend the monthly meetings and intellectual entertainments. The society has accumulated and is fast accumulating books, pamphlets and manuscripts of very great value, and with the present accommodations for room, scarcely one half, perhaps much less than half, can be arranged for easy reference, on account of want of room.

The librarian reported that since the last meeting there had been given to the society nineteen bound volumes and one hundred and eighty-five pamphlets, and a valuable lot of newspapers of the time of the Revolution.

Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D. D., read a paper of careful investigation into the usually received statement that the Rev. John Robinson's widow came to this country with one or more of her sons, quoting the various printed statements, and giving some new light obtained by him on the subject in his recent visit to Leyden. The conclusion to which he came was that it is almost certain that she never came to America.

The thanks of the society were voted to Dr. Lewis and the Rev. Mr. Dexter for their papers—both of which will probably soon be printed.

### NEW YORK.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—A special meeting of this society was held on Thursday evening, February 15th, the President, J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., in the chair. A large number of candidates for membership were proposed and elected, after which the President, in a few remarks introductory to the paper of the evening, referred to the scarcity of documents relating to the history of this country while under the Dutch rule.

The affairs of the colony of New Netherlands were under the management of the Dutch West India Company. The archives of that company must have contained an immense number of documents of inestimable value—such as reports, letters, maps, statistical matter, and lists of emigrants. Mr. J. Romeyn Brodhead, who was appointed in 1841 an agent to collect documents relating to the colonial period of our history, found, on inquiry, that all the papers of the Company, of a date prior to 1700, had been sold in 1821 for waste paper.

King's County has been peculiarly unfortunate in the matter of records. Those of the old and only Dutch church were destroyed by accident a few years ago, and the records of the County were carried away by Rapelyea, the Tory clerk, in 1776, and they have never been recovered.

We should therefore collect and preserve all we can which will throw any light on our history prior to 1700. Among the many interesting things recovered by Mr. Murphy, while Minister to Holland, was a letter proving that Dominie Michaeli was the first regular minister of the church in New Amsterdam,

a fact unknown before, and a poem by Steendam, giving his account of the New Netherlands—both of which would be very desirable for our collections. The journal from which extracts were then about to be read, was also recovered by Mr. Murphy, who has engaged to furnish a translation of it for the first volume of our collections.

The President then introduced Hon. HENRY C. MURPHY, who read some passages relating to Kings County, from a Dutch journal, in manuscript, of a voyage from Holland to New York, in 1679–80, with explanatory remarks.

At the conclusion, Mr. Thomas W. Field moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Murphy, and after some remarks upon the importance of the manuscript as a contribution to the history of this island and neighborhood, moved also that Mr. Murphy be requested to permit the manuscript to become the property of the society. This motion was seconded by Mr. John Winslow in a few remarks, and adopted by the meeting.

Mr. Murphy, in reply, signified his willingness to comply with the request of the meeting.

The translation of this journal, which will soon be published by the society, will form a volume of about 400 pages. It will contain several maps and illustrations, all entirely new. Munsell of Albany will print it.

### PENNSYLVANIA.

THE NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—This society held its annual meeting on Thursday evening, January 4th, Joseph J. Mickley, Esq., President, in the chair. Mr. Alfred B. Taylor, Recording Secretary, made an interesting historical statement of the past career of the society, and gave a brief statement of the progress of the society, from its commencement to the present time.

A preliminary meeting to take into consideration the propriety of forming a Numismatic Society was held on the 2d of December, 1857, on which occasion seven gentlemen were present. It was then resolved to form such a society, and a meeting was called for the 1st of January, 1858, to organize regularly. At this meeting eight gentlemen were present, viz.:

Joseph J. Mickley, Arthur G. Coffin, Alfred B. Taylor, J. Ledyard Hodge, S. H. Fulton, Mark W. Collet, M. D., William S. Vaux, and M. L. Fredrick, who became the founders and incorporators of the society. The society flourished in a small way until December, 1864, when the gentlemen composing it, thinking that its usefulness might be extended by enlarging its field, it was resolved to apply to the Legislature to amend its charter by changing its title to that which it now bears, which was accordingly done with success, and the first meeting of the society under its new charter was held May 4, 1865. By the late rebellion, which decimated the ranks of so many learned societies, this society was called upon to record the deaths of two of its highest members, who were doing service for their country, viz.: Colonel Mark W. Collet, M. D., Second New Jersey Volunteers, one of the founders of the society, who was killed May 3, 1863, at the battle of Chancellorsville, while bravely leading his regiment into action, and Captain Richard W. David, One Hundred and Eighteenth (Corn Exchange) Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, who fell gallantly defending the soil of his native State at the battle of Gettysburg, on the 2d day of July, 1863.

The library of the society, containing many valuable works on the subjects of numismatics and antiquities, together with the very valuable cabinets of coins, &c., it is hoped will soon have a more convenient place for preservation and exhibition than at present.

On the conclusion of the foregoing statement, the society went into an election of officers for the present year, with the following result:

*President*—Joseph J. Mickley.

*Vice-Presidents*—Wm. P. Chandler, Wm. S. Vaux, and Wm. Duane.

*Honorary Vice-Presidents*—John Marshall Brown, Esq., Maine; Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Massachusetts; Hon. John Carter Brown, Rhode Island; Hon. Wm. A. Buckingham, Connecticut; J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., New York; Hon. Rich. S. Fields, New Jersey; Hon. Willard Hall, Delaware; Hon. Reverdy Johnson, Maryland; Robert W. Gibbes, M. D., South Carolina; Hon. Lewis Cass, Michigan.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Charles H. Hart.

*Recording Secretary*—Alfred B. Taylor.

*Treasurer*—Henry Phillips, Jr.

*Historiographer*—William H. Welsh.

*Curator of Numismatics*—Wm. S. Vaux.

*Curator of Antiquities*—Robert C. Davis.

*Librarian*—William J. Jenks.

*Committee on Hall*—J. J. Mickley, A. B. Taylor, and H. Phillips, Jr.

*Committee on Numismatics*—Wm. S. Vaux, Emil Cauffman, and W. H. Key.

*Committee on Antiquities*—Robert C. Davis, C. P. La Roche, M. D., and H. Ducommon.

*Committee on Library*—William J. Jenks, W. H. Creighton, and S. H. Fulton.

THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—A meeting of the Pennsylvania Historical Society was held February 12th, at their rooms in the Athenæum buildings, corner of Sixth and Adelphi streets, Dr. Ruschenberger in the chair. An interesting historical sketch of the 72d Pennsylvania Volunteers, or Philadelphia Fire Zouaves, from the time they were organized, August 10, 1861, to September 15, 1864, was read by the Rev. G. Collins, late chaplain of the regiment.

At the close of the reading of this paper a resolution of thanks was moved and adopted, and a copy of the paper solicited for the archives.

Announcement was made of the death of George H. Martin and of Hon. Oswald Thompson.

The Librarian reported additions to the library, since the last meeting, of 66 books, 183 pamphlets, and several magazines and newspapers—a total of 265 titles, and 8 articles donated to the Museum.

The Society then proceeded to an election of officers for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:

*President*—Joseph R. Ingersoll.

*Vice Presidents*—B. H. Coates, M. D., John Wm. Wallace, John M. Read, Horatio G. Jones.

*Corresponding Secretary*—J. Ross Snowden.

*Recording Secretary*—Samuel L. Smedley.

*Treasurer*—Charles M. Morris.

*Library Committee*—John Jordan, Jr.

*Finance Committee*—J. L. Fenimore.

*Publication Committee*—Thomas H. Montgomery.

*Trustees of Publication Fund*—William Strong, Aubrey H. Smith.

*Librarian*—Richard Eddy.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The object of this institution is, in the language of the charter, "to found and maintain a library of books, manuscripts, &c., relating to the history of the Church of God, and of the Baptist denomination in particular; and, in special cases, to cause to be written or published, works on these subjects."

In prosecuting this plan, the Managers are collecting books and pamphlets written by Baptists, on any subject; or written against our views; all Church histories, especially works relating to the Novatians, Waldenses, Donatists, Cathari, Priscillianists, Paulicians, Petro-brussians, Albigenses, Mennonites, Anabaptists, Seventh-day Baptists, German Baptists, Free-will Baptists, &c.; all sorts of religious periodicals and biographies; all reports and speeches touching the outworkings of Christianity, as seen in colleges, schools, asylums, Bible, tract and Sunday-school societies, &c.; all minutes of Baptist associations and conventions; likenesses and letters of prominent Baptists; and views of Baptist churches and institutions.

The number of volumes now in the library is 2,510, beside several hundred not catalogued, but kept for exchange or sale. The bound volumes added for the past five years, have averaged nearly five hundred a year. Some of these are imported by the society from Europe. Of pamphlets unbound because of incomplete sets, there are over 10,000, beside duplicates kept to enable other collectors to complete their files. We have also nearly 200 manuscripts, mostly historical, 160 autograph letters, and 283 likenesses of eminent Baptists, of various countries. Also, medals, coins, relics, and the like. The whole amount of cash received by the society, in the thirteen years of its existence, is *less than one thousand dollars!*—a sum scarcely half of the *income* of some State historical societies. The use of the library is free to all persons at the room, which is always open on Mondays, and at other times when desired. Books and paraphlets (except a few of which no duplicates are known to exist) may be taken from the library to any part of the United States, on depositing if required, the

money value, and signing a promise to return the same within a time agreed on.

Rev. Howard Malcolm is president, and J. Newton Brown corresponding secretary of this society.

## RHODE ISLAND.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, since its annual meeting in January, 1865, has met five times, including its regular quarterly meetings. Several papers of interest have been read on these occasions.

The principal are—by Rev. E. M. Stone, a paper on the French encampment in Providence in 1782; by Judge Staples, selections from old papers relating to Commodore Esek Hopkins; also, extracts from the papers of Governor Nicholas Cooke; also, a valuable paper upon the Congress of 1765 (centenary), and a paper embodying his own Recollections of Providence, as it was in his youth, an article of great local interest.

At the meeting in May a letter was read from Mrs. Johanne Rafn, announcing the death of her husband on the 30th of the preceding October. Appropriate remarks were made by the President, and a committee appointed, which, at a subsequent meeting, presented the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Rhode Island Historical Society has received with deep sorrow the announcement of the death of CHARLES CHRISTIAN RAFN, Permanent Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Counsellor of Conference, &c., &c., who departed this life at Copenhagen, on the thirtieth day of October last.

*Resolved*, That in placing upon our records an expression of our high appreciation of the learning, industry, and extensive labors of this eminent antiquarian, we desire to refer, in an especial manner, to the early and continued intercourse which has existed between himself and this Society, while we unite with other similar institutions in our country in a testimony of respect for a name so distinguished both in Europe and America.

*Resolved*, That we respectfully tender to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries an expression of our sympathy in the loss which it has sustained by the

termination of a life, the best years of which have been devoted to its advancement and honor, from the time of its formation to that of his lamented death.

*Resolved*, That we extend to the widow and family of the deceased an assurance of our respectful sympathy in their bereavement.

*Resolved*, That the President of this Society be requested to cause these resolutions to be engrossed, and to transmit a copy of the same to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, and also a copy to the widow of the deceased.

At a special meeting, held December 27th, an interesting and valuable paper was read, which was prepared by Col. Don Domingo F. Sarmiento, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to this country from the Argentine Republic, which set forth in a graphic and philosophical manner the progress of that Republic, and showing the elements of its success.

The paper was a very complete *resumé* of the past history and present condition of that interesting country, and is soon to be published in pamphlet form by the R. I. Historical Society.

#### VIRGINIA.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The library of the Virginia Historical Society is safe. The *Richmond Enquirer* says:—"A portion of the Historical Library, some seven hundred volumes, has been deposited in the library room of the Young Men's Christian Association, and the rest have again been boxed up, and are in the safe keeping of Dr. Barney, the treasurer of the society, who deserves credit for the trouble and expense he has incurred in taking care of them. Had he not given his personal attention to the matter, it is questionable whether the valuable collection would have been saved from the general wreck."

#### Notes on Books.

*Bibliographie Historique de la Compagnie de Jésus, ou Catalogue des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Histoire des Jésuites depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours.* Par le P. Auguste Carayon, de la même compagnie. Paris, Auguste Durand, 1844. 4to, pp. 612.

The large part taken by the Jesuits in the early exploration of the new world as well as in the efforts to bring the native tribes within the pale of Christianity and European civilization, led, in an order so intimately connected with the literary movements of the time, to a vast number of works. It is gratifying to find that members of the society are, by bibliographical works on the order, facilitating the labor of scholars. Two Belgian Jesuits, de Baecker by name, gave a few years since a series of five volumes on the general bibliography of the order. Their "*Bibliographie des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*" is a dictionary of authors, with biographical notices of authors and a list of works.

In the work now described, Father Carayon, a French member of the order, gives full titles of 4,370 works, with an appendix detailing the contents of the collections called the "*Avisi*" and "*Der Neue Weltbott*," volumes of Letters like the "*Lettres Edifiantes*." The work is divided into five parts. Part I. Generalities, Missions excepted. Part II. History of the five Assistances, or great Divisions of the order. Part III. History of the Missions: Ch. 1. In general. Ch. 2. The Missions in the Levant. Ch. 3. The Missions in Asia and Africa, with an appendix on the Chinese and Malabar rites. Ch. 4. The Missions in America. Part IV. Biographies. Part V. Satires, Attacks, Apologies, &c. Addenda, Supplement, Appendix and an Index.

The American part contains 196 titles, besides those under general heads of history and biography. A supplement is in press, to carry the work out as fully as possible. Mr. Shea, who contributed to the work of De Baecker, has undertaken to fill up omissions in the American part, so as to make it as complete as our bibliographical knowledge will allow.

#### Book-Gossip.

A NEW FEATURE.—Desirous of extending the usefulness of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE among its numerous friends and readers, we have decided to open a new department of communication and information, under the head of "*Books wanted to Purchase*." We trust our correspondents will bear this in mind, and feel free to make use of it, in promoting those inquiries which are often so important to scholars. It is primarily for their accommodation, and not for that of the trade, that we open this new department.

The Waltham (Mass.) *Free Press* is publishing a series of Historical Sketches of that town, which has now reached its 22d number.

A handsome circular, dated "Narragansett Club Wigwam, Mooshaussick, Paponakeeswush, 1865," and addressed to the recipient as "Netop" (*i. e.* friend), informs us that the Narragansett Club, an association of gentlemen interested in the preservation and dissemination of an early literature, not easily accessible to general readers, propose to reprint several of the rare books relating to Rhode Island and other parts of New England.

The Narragansett Club will commence their publications with the works and letters of Roger Williams, with proper illustrative notes. These will be followed by such of the writings of the celebrated John Cotton, George Fox, and John Clarke, as are connected with Roger Williams, and by those of Samuel Gorton and Governor Coddington—all of which books, now exceedingly rare, will ever possess an interest not only for the people of Rhode Island, but for all who would trace the origin of the institutions of New England.

The following will constitute the contents of the first volume of the publications of the Club :

A Brief Biography of Roger Williams, with a Sketch of his Writings. By REUBEN A. GUILD, Librarian of Brown University.

Key into the Language of America, or an Help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America called New England ; together with briefe Observations of the Customes, Manners and Worshipps, &c., of the aforesaid Natives, in Peace and Warre, in Life and Death. By ROGER WILLIAMS, of Providence, in New England. *London. Printed by Gregory Dexter. 1643. Edited by Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, Hartford.*

A Letter of Mr. JOHN COTTON'S, Teacher of the Church in Boston, in New England, to Mr. WILLIAMS, a Preacher there ; wherein is shewed, that those ought to be received into the Church who are godly, though they doe not see, nor expressly bewaile all the pollutions in Church-fellowship, Ministry, Worship, Government. *Printed at London, for Benjamin Allen. 1643.*

Mr. COTTON'S Letter, lately printed, examined and answered. By ROGER WILLIAMS, of Providence, in New England. *London. Imprinted in the Yeere 1644.*

These works will be separately paged, so that they may be bound in distinct volumes, or together as "Publications of the Narragansett Club." The edition will be strictly limited to 250 copies in quarto, of which 200 will be issued to subscribers at five dollars for each volume ; and, if their circular be a specimen of the typographical style and execution of the

work, subscribers will find themselves in possession of a handsome book.

A RARE BOOK.—One of the most industrious book-collectors in this city has recently become the happy possessor of a fine uncut copy of a rare specimen of William Bradford's Press, of 1715. It is briefly mentioned in O'Callaghan's list of American Bibles, as containing the first and second chapters of Genesis, and chapter I., v. 18-23, and II. and V. of St. Matthew, with a few detached sentences from other portions of the Scriptures ; but as it did not come fully within the scope of the Dr.'s work, its full title was not given. It is : "The || Morning and Evening Prayer, || the Litany, Church Catechism, Family Prayers, || and || Several Chapters of the Old and New Testament, || Translated into the *Mahaque Indian Language*, || By *Lawrence Claesse*, Interpreter to *William || Andrews*, Missionary to the *Indians* from the || Honourable and Reverend the *Society* for the Propagation || of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. || Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, || and the Utmost Parts of the Earth for thy Possessions, Psalm || 2, 8. || Printed by *William Bradford*, in New York, 1715." || 4to, pp. 115.

Its Indian title runs as follows :

"Ne || Orhoengene neoni Yogaraskhagh || Yondereanayendaghkwa, || Ne, Ene Niyoh Raodeweyena, || Onoghsadogeaghtige Yondadderighwanon- || doentha, || Siyagonnoghsode Yenyondereanayendagh- || wagge, || Yotkade Kapitellhogough ne Karighwadaghkwe || agh Agayea neoni Ase Testament, neoni Niyadegari- || wagge, ne Kanninggahaga Siniyewenoteagh. || Tehoenwenadenyough Lawrence Claesse, Rowenagaradatsk || William Andrews, Konwanha-ugh Ongwehoenwighne || Rodirighhoeni Raddiyadanorough neoni Ahoenwadi- || gonuyosthagge Thoderighwaw aakhogk ne Wahooni || Agarighhowanha Niyoh Raodeweyena Niyadegogh- || whenjage. || Eghtseraggwas Eghtjeaghe ne ongwehoonwe, neoni ne || siyodoghwhenjooktannighhoegh etho ahadyeandough."

This interesting volume is a fine specimen of Bradford's printing, and is in very perfect condition, having the appearance of a book which had been well kept in a trunk only some twenty years or so. It is also a presentation copy the gift of "Mr. Andrews, the Missionary." We understand that the lucky owner

who bought it for a comparative trifle, has been offered as high as \$250 for his prize and values it at a thousand.

We regret that the width of our columns is not sufficient to admit these grand words in all their amplitude of length, so the reader will be careful to note the hyphen (-) marks, and pronounce them accordingly, and we must not be regarded as irreverent or facetious if we commend the reading of the above title to our readers as a pleasant orthographical and orthoepical exercise. if read carefully and frequently. It will be perceived that there are several "waggies" (of the tongue) in it—indeed, it has a Dutch look, and we should not wonder if it partakes more of the original Knickerbocker dialect than the Mohawk language.

The curious can see this volume at Mr. Sabin's bookstore in Nassau street.

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A SUGGESTION.—A valued correspondent in this city writes to us as follows:

"Will you allow me to make a suggestion? I have been struck by the sudden rage for forming printing clubs which has fallen upon our people of late, and particularly by the remarkably trivial and unimportant matter which is often selected for publication. This would do little harm, perhaps, if there were no inedited material in existence; but when we have such matter for history and genealogy lying unused as the records of the oldest New York churches (Old Dutch and Trinity, for instance), is it not to be regretted that some of our clubs cannot be induced to publish them. Mr. Valentine has made a good beginning by publishing some of the Dutch baptismal and marriage records, but I am assured that his transcripts are very imperfect and inaccurate. A competent Dutch scholar, Dr. O'Callaghan, for instance, could prepare from these materials a most important contribution to the history of old New York. I urged this matter upon the Historical Society last winter, through a friend; but I fear that (supposing the 'publication fund' established) the publication of the various papers which have accumulated in the archives of the Society will absorb all its available funds for many years. Meanwhile, the records referred to are fading away, and in constant danger of perishing from fire, the carelessness

of custodians, or the natural result of age. Cannot a 'Knickerbocker club' be formed to rescue this and similar matter from decay?

"I have addressed these hasty remarks to you, because I am convinced that a word from you, publicly, in favor of the project, would insure its success."

We consider the suggestion a good one, and applicable to other places than our own city. There is an immense amount of antiquarian, historical and genealogical material in existence throughout the older and more settled portions of our country which ought, with as little delay as possible, to be made accessible to our historical students. And much of this material is not to be found within the archives of our historical societies, and does not properly fall within the scope of their publishing operations. Yet it is not, on that account, less desirable or worthy of being preserved by the "fair agency of types." Neither should the publication of these things be left entirely to societies and institutions. Let private enterprise—ever the most efficient and successful hand-maiden of real progress in our American world—take hold of this matter; and let the cultivated and liberal gentlemen who seem to be looking around for "something to print," find in it a field worthy of their scholarly and generous impulses.

We—that is the "we" who have written and published—all know the fascination there is in seeing ourselves "in print." No use to deny the "soft impeachment"—hackneyed as we may become in course of time, even when the *cacoethes scribendi* of writing and publishing has become rather the *drudgery* of writing—there is a "pleasant feel" in seeing one's mental self reflected from the printed page. And to the man who, unsuited by want of proper education, or by the cares and hurries of business, yet has a kindly feeling towards bookish pursuits, nothing is more natural than a desire to be represented in the walks of literature, by means of his money, if not by his pen. It is a legitimate and a laudable ambition, and we have rejoiced to see the increasing disposition among our men of means and of taste to invest a moiety of their wealth in the production of a select and choice class of books, which shall preserve their memories fragrant to all time as lovers of good books. And the "remarkably trivial and unimportant matter which is often selected for publica-

tion," as our correspondent aptly terms it, has often suggested to us that this generous disposition to "do something handsome" simply needs a better direction to be given to it, to render it a most powerful auxiliary in the good work of preserving and publishing really valuable contributions to historical literature. Let the scholars, the working minds, give this direction to the taste of the book public, and we shall have what we so much need, a class of judiciously selected, well edited and permanently useful reprints, and new stores of fresh material of the greatest practical value to historic literature. The "rage" for private printing will thus be utilized and dignified, and "books which are books" will take the place of the crude and valueless works with which the "large paper" and "private print" world have lately been deluged.

Mr. S. HASTINGS GRANT, for fifteen years past the well-known Librarian of the New York Mercantile Library Association, has resigned his position, and has gone into the Real Estate and Mining business.

We have received lately a very neatly-printed little *Catalogue of Books, Old and New, on sale by Stevens Bros., 17 Henrietta street, Covent Garden, London, W. C.* This Catalogue includes many rare and important works on American History and Literature; books relating to the Antiquities and History of Mexico and Spanish America, and miscellaneous English books; together with lists of periodicals published in America and Europe, for which Stephens Bros. receive subscriptions.

The reputation of the Messrs. Stevens' "American Library and Exchange Agency" is too well established to need any commendation at our hands. As a medium of purchase and exchange between English and American book-men and public institutions, it is constantly proving itself invaluable. The list of American and other periodicals in their subscription list, together with the price at which they are furnished, is not only interesting but valuable for reference.

The following item we cull for the benefit of some of our readers: "Gentlemen may estimate the cost of new books and magazines, covering duty and all expenses, at 30 cents in gold to the shilling on the publishing price, and of second-hand books at

33½ cents in gold to the shilling on the catalogue price."

Messrs. William Wood & Co., 61 Walker street, New York, are the authorized agents for the Messrs. Stevens.

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## Miscellany.

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### PROTEST OF FIRST CHURCH IN SPRINGFIELD, MASS., 1735.

The following is a copy of a document kindly placed at our disposal by Mr. Theodore Dwight, of Brooklyn, N. Y. The document was found among the papers of his ancestor, Timothy Dwight, Esq., one of the persons to whom it was addressed, and is facetiously endorsed on the back, "Breck without Straw."—EDITOR.

To the Honble John Stoddard, Ebenezer Pumroy and Timothy Dwight, Esqrs., his Majesties Justices of ye County of Hampshire:

The Complaint of us the Subscribers some whereof are of the first Church and others of the first Precinct In Springfield In sd County humbly sheweth to yor Honrs.

That There are now In this Town assembled a Number of Gentlemen some whereof we know and other some are unknown to us to Name Some of the Principle Heads of these we know, viz. Messrs the Revd Wm. Cooper, Wm. Welford, Wm. Cook [a line drawn through this name. Ed.] and Samll Mather, all of Boston in ye County of Suffolk [some words illegible] Now we say that the sd Number of Men have set up and do assert the Power of an Ecclesiastical Court or Counsell In this Town and whereas Mr Robert Breck has had a call to ye Pastoral office of the Church Here, tho: as we apprehend not according to Law: and we have exhibited Against the sd Breck Sundry articles of Charge for that In Genll he has broached and vented many articles of Faith wholly subversive of the most holy Faith of our [ ] Religion as well as been Guilty of several [ ] Now, the sd Number of Men having asserted ye Power aforesd also assert their Power to hear Judge and Act upon the sd articles altho we

say that they have no Juridicial Power Therein for these Reasons namely for that this Church never att all applied to those Churches from whom they Respectfully pretend to be Delegated neither secondly can there be any pretence that those Churches were applied to to send In their Advice and Council In those articles but In fact so it is that the sd Mr Breck has applied personally to them att his own Election while this Church did not know that these Churches were applied to, so that In Fact they are here as they say with a proper Juridicial Power In ye Premises and do pretend to assert maintain and Exercise the same, now we say that In as much as they were applied to in no other manner but as above being Chosen Judges by Mr. Breck himself while we are Denied the Liberty of chosing others to Joyn Them Therein is an Invasion of our National Rights as men: and is a Method of Judging wh: Neither the Platform of these Churches, nor the Law of this Province or Nation do In the least Countenance and therefore their Pretences to and exercise of ye same is against ye Law ye Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King his Crown and Dignity your Complainants therefore Pray for Justice.

Springfield, Octor. 8th, 1735.

John Worthinton, Ebenezer Warriner, Robert Harris, Obadiah Cooly, Benja. Wait, Daniel Cadwell, John Chapin, David Chapin, Henry Chapin, Samuel Bliss, Ebenezer Warner, Jedidiah Bliss, Luke Bliss.

MR. W. M. TILGHMAN, of Philadelphia, has recently returned to the Secretary of the State of Pennsylvania the *original* agreement, dated 4th of July, 1760, between Lord Baltimore and Thomas and Richard Penn, for the final settlement of the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland, which he found among the papers of the late Chief-Justice Tilghman, and which included those of his father, James Tilghman, Secretary of the Land Office and Attorney of the Proprietaries before the Revolution. Secretary Slifer replied to Mr. Tilghman as follows:

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,  
OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH,  
HARRISBURG, PA., January 29, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR: The Hon. Wm. M. Meredith, Attorney General, has delivered to me the original agree-

ment between the Penns and Lord Baltimore for settling the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland. The importance of this document cannot be overrated, as it is the muniment of the title of the Commonwealth and her guarantees to all the lands lying on a large portion of our southern border. In thanking you, as I do sincerely, for its return, I cannot omit to express the wish that all persons who are in possession of documents belonging to the Commonwealth had the same instincts which led you to return this one among her archives.

Very respectfully,

ELI SLIFER.

WM. M. TILGHMAN.

BOSTON IMPROVEMENTS.—Leading citizens of the North End are taking measures to have the city widen Hanover street, at the foot of Charter street. Many buildings in this locality are historical. The old frame buildings at the foot of Salutation street belong to the Fuller heirs. One of them has a plastered front with the letter "B" and a crown, bearing date 1720. The old bakehouse adjoining, at the corner of Hanover avenue, formerly Broad alley, now occupied by Mr. Stone, is said to have been the first bakehouse built in the town of Boston, and the first bread used by the Old South Church Society, for communion service, was made at this old North End bakehouse. Governor Hutchinson and other prominent men also obtained their bread from this bakehouse. The estate adjoining has been occupied and owned by Mr. Tremere, grocer, for over half a century.—*Boston Transcript, Feb. 12th.*

TREATMENT OF THE PRESS IN FRANCE.—Thorny are the paths trod by gentlemen of the press in France under Napoleon III. During the year which has just terminated, there have been twenty-one warnings, sixteen trials followed by condemnations, two seizures, four suppressions, and two "interdictions of territory," to say nothing of the capricious confiscation to which foreign journals are daily exposed. The judicial condemnations of 1865 represent in fines 10,175f. (not including law costs), and in imprisonment 8 years 4 months and 21 days. Editors have had to pay 6,125f. and to undergo eight months of prison; printers, 1,250f. and 3 months and 15 days of prison; and writers, 2,800f. and 7 years 5 months and 6 days of prison. The chief result of this severity has been to confer importance on individuals who would otherwise have been insignificant, and to give a wide circulation to writings which otherwise would have been little read.

**DEATH OF THE ANTIQUARIAN PETRIE.**—Dr. George Petrie, the eminent Celtic antiquarian and author, died at Dublin, on the 18th of February, of fever. The deceased was in his seventy-sixth year. Dr. Petrie held a high rank in the literary world. He was vice-president of the Royal Irish Academy, and ex-president of the Royal Hibernian Academy, and was known as a large contributor to the antiquarian literature of England. He was also head of the historical department of the Ordnance Survey for many years, during which time he collected a great variety of important and interesting materials relating to what may be called the middle ages of Ireland. These have been deposited in the library of the Royal Irish Academy for the use of members, and of students in this department of literature. He was also author of a very learned work, the “Petrie Collection of Ancient Irish Music.” The *Dublin Evening Mail* of the 20th, in alluding to his lamented demise, says: “His collection of antiquities—to whom he has bequeathed it we know not—was the most curious and interesting of its kind in the world, containing, as it did, so many pieces of antiquity identified with owners recognized in history. Among these were the bell of St. Patrick, handed down with concurrent evidences of its authenticity to the present day; the crozier of Comac, son of Cullinan, the king and bishop of the ninth century, the founder of the Acropolis on the Rock of Cashel; the ‘Staff of Maurus’—another Episcopal baton of the ninth century; the Great Seal of Henry the Second; the seals and rings of princes, abbots, and feudal lords; brooches, bodkins, beads and amulets; the bronze Celts and Punic-shaped swords of the Frivol; the stone hatchets and flint arrow-heads of the Aborigines; and the inexplicable relics of Druidic or Dedanite superstition. This collection was the work of a lifetime.”

**LONG POSSESSION.**—At Chertsey, England, on the Surrey side of the Thames, is a very remarkable, and perhaps solitary example of an uninterrupted continuance of hereditary possession, in a small farm occupied by a person of the name of Wapshote; whose ancestors appear, from the most satisfactory documents, to have successively lived upon the spot, ever since the reign of Alfred, A. D. 890, when it was granted to Reginald de Wapshote, the progenitor of the present family.

**WASHINGTON'S WILL.**—The original will of General George Washington was recently delivered to the Clerk of the County Court at Fairfax by Colonel C. H. Lewis, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Virginia. The writing is in the own hand of the illustrious “Father of his Country,” plain and legible, and signed at the bottom of each page, showing the preciseness and promptitude of business which always distinguished him. This will was preserved from the destruction attendant upon the evacuation of the city by the former Secretary of State, Colonel Munford, who secured it in the iron safe of the capitol, thereby showing the veneration in which he held the name of that great man, the mention of which causes the heart of every true American to swell with gratitude and love, hailing him as the deliverer of the country

**NEW VOLUMES OF IRVING.**—Allusion is made in the life and letters of Washington Irving, to several legends of Spain upon which his pen was employed when all other literary work was abandoned for the life of Washington. These legends he left in MSS. and partially in print; they are full of dramatic, adventurous and historical interest, and we are gratified to learn that it is the intention of the lamented author's literary executor to collect and publish them in a volume. In addition thereto, are several naval and literary biographies, a few critical and descriptive papers, and the early essays of Jonathan Oldstyle, together forming an interesting miscellany, highly characteristic, and, for the most part, new to the present generation of readers. Mr. Putnam will issue three additional volumes of Irving in the course of the spring.

The *Nantucket Inquirer* chronicles the death in that town, on the 3d of Feb, of Mrs. Lucy Cooper, a colored woman, aged about 110 years. She was brought from Africa a slave, to South Carolina, where she toiled as a field hand until 1811, when she was brought to Newport, whence she fled to Nantucket on account of the cruelty of her mistress.

Dr. Felix Robinson, the first white child born in Nashville, Tenn., died recently in that city, aged eighty-four years.

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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## General Department.

## REMARKS ON THE STONE AGE.

BY CHARLES RAU.

THOSE European archæologists, who distinguish the ages of stone, bronze, and iron as the three great phases in the development of the human race, are more and more supported by the results of recent investigations; and it is chiefly the discovery of the remains of lacustrian habitations, or villages built on piles in the lakes of Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, which has of late served to confirm their suppositions. In some of these localities the upper layer of the lake-bed contains many tools and implements of bronze, while the lower is entirely destitute of metal and belongs exclusively to the stone age. Other villages were built at a period when bronze predominated; and, finally, in the last stage of lacustrian life, we see the iron, that great lever of improvement, superseding the bronze. The examination of ancient burial places in Denmark, Germany, and other countries of Europe had previously led to similar results. But the transi-

tion from stone to bronze is very sudden, and can therefore hardly be considered as the consequence of slow and gradual development: it appears far more natural to suppose that the use of pure copper preceded that of a compound metallic substance like bronze.

Copper articles, indeed, have been found in Europe, but not in sufficient numbers to constitute a copper age; and in order to account for this remarkable circumstance, it has been supposed that bronze was introduced in Europe by some conquering people from Asia, at a time when stone articles only were used in Europe.

The Europeans, in a similar manner, introduced iron in America, where the use of that metal was unknown before their arrival.\* Yet, there may have been a copper age in Europe, and Europeans may have found out the secret of making bronze, a discovery which was probably made at different periods and

\* No reliable facts, at least, have come to light, which would lead to a different view. Molina states in his "History of Chili," that there exist in the Chilian language particular words signifying *iron*, *weapons of iron*, *working in iron*, and *smith*; but he prudently draws no definite conclusion from this circumstance.

by different races of people. When the art of converting copper into a much brighter and harder substance by alloying it with a certain quantity of tin became known, the existing implements and weapons of the first-named metal grew less in value, and it is natural to suppose that they were used in the formation of bronze. In this manner the scarcity of copper implements in Europe may be explained.

In North America there really existed something like a copper age. Copper, in the shape of axes, chisels, bracelets, beads, and other ornaments, has been found in the ancient mounds of the western States and elsewhere; yet it does not appear that the copper, from which these articles are made, was previously subjected to any metallurgic process; for they seem to have been brought into the required shape simply by hammering pieces of native copper. This the Aborigines doubtless obtained from the southern shore of Lake Superior, where the traces of their rude mining operations are still to be seen.

It is, however, my chief object in this sketch to point out how the different ages run into each other, or rather how the use of stone was continued during the bronze period and even that of iron.

The ancient Mexicans, though they understood the art of composing bronze, used stone extensively. They tipped their lances and arrows with flint and obsidian or "itztli," as they termed this volcanic mineral, and the two-edged

knives, used by them in their human sacrifices, as razors, and for other purposes, were made of the same substance. Lumps of obsidian, from which these knives were split, are still found in Mexico. Clavigero states that a skillful artificer could make more than a hundred in an hour. The Mexican sword "maquahuitl," so much dreaded by the Spanish conquerors, consisted of a wooden shaft or club with channels on two sides, in which sharp pieces of obsidian were inserted.

The ancient Peruvians, who were likewise well acquainted with bronze, and employed it for various purposes, used stone implements in a similar manner. In North America the stone age is not yet extinct. The grooved stone axe attached to a withe has not yet entirely disappeared among the Prairie Indians, and some remote tribes west of the Rocky Mountains still employ arrow heads made of stone.

In Europe stone implements and weapons were in use for a long period after the introduction of bronze. This may be attributed partly to the force of habit, and partly to the costliness of the new composition. Bronze was probably a highly valued material, especially at the first stage of its introduction, and to this circumstance we may ascribe the comparative smallness of many bronze tools and weapons; most of the so-called celts, so frequently found in Europe, are remarkable for their small size, and I have seen ancient bronze swords, which would

almost appear like playthings, when placed alongside the ponderous weapons of the succeeding iron age.

Yet, it is a matter of still greater interest to find stone weapons employed in Europe at a period, when both stone and bronze are usually believed to have been replaced by iron. Smiles mentions in the first chapter of his "Industrial Biography" that the Scots had even in the time of Wallace scarcely emerged from the stone period, and were under the necessity of resisting their iron-armed English adversaries by means of rude weapons of that material. Logan makes a similar remark in "the Scottish Gaël," and both writers doubtless based their assertions on good authority.

There exists an ancient German epic poem called the "Hildebrandslied," or Song of Hildebrand, the manuscript of which was probably written at the beginning of the ninth century; the poem itself was composed still earlier, but certainly after the fall of the Roman Empire, because heroes of the time of Theodoric the Great are mentioned therein. This curious relic of ancient German literature contains a passage, in which two German chiefs are represented as fighting in single combat with *stone axes*. The passage alluded to runs thus in the original:

"Do lattun se aerist  
askim seritan,  
scarpen scürim  
dat in dēm sciltim stönt.  
Dō stöptun to samane

*staimbort\* chludun;  
hewun harmliceo  
hoittē sciltē,  
untī im irō lintūn  
luttilō wurtun  
ginigan miti wābnum."*

And here follows a free and somewhat improved translation: "First they threw their ashen spears so powerfully that they stuck fast in their shields; then they closed in combat, and their stone axes resounded fiercely from their white linden shields, until these were shivered by the blows."

The poem doubtless presents a faithful picture of the usages of that time; and, if two powerful German chieftains, in the sixth or seventh century, fought out their quarrel with stone weapons, we may also infer that war implements of stone were still frequently used in those times; and thus the end of the stone age in Europe would fall within a far less remote period than that in which it is usually supposed to have terminated.

## SELECTIONS FROM AUTOGRAPH COLLECTIONS.

### I.

AN ORIGINAL LETTER OF HENRY LAURENS.

CHARLES TOWN, SO. CAROLINA,  
15th May, 1775.

MY DEAR SON:

This will probably reach you as soon as my last, which was dated the

\* *Staim* in modern German *Stein*: in English stone. The word "*Barte*" is still used in some parts of Germany to signify a hatchet.

9th Inst., & sent at some expence to overtake the Juno, Capt. Farington, in Rebellion Road—continued Easterly Winds and most violent storms of rain have detained that vessel to the present hour—those violent rains have drowned all the low inland swamps and ruined the growing Rice. Mr. Izard's three plantations, near Dorchester, have suffered as much as any, & I expect to hear no better tidings from Wright, Savanna, and Mepkin—we must Replant, but cannot expect above half crops.

You will have heard before this reaches you of the “actual commencement of Hostilities” in New England against the Inhabitants by the King's Troops, & more particulars of the action of the 19th April, than we yet know of in this country—the Associated Colonies have taken the alarm, and but three days ago I put the question, “Is it your pleasure, Gentlemen, to agree with your Committee?” when the following association was unanimously approved of. “The actual commencement of Hostilities against this continent—the threats of arbitrary impositions from abroad—& the dread of instigated insurrections at home—are causes sufficient to drive an oppressed people to the use of arms. We, therefore, the subscribers, Inhabitants of this unhappy Colony, holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all obligations, the duty of good citizens towards an injured country, & thoroughly convinced that under our present distressed circumstances, we shall be justified before

God & man in resisting force by force; to unite ourselves under every tie of Religion & of honour, and associate as a band in her defence against every Foe, & we do solemnly promise, that whenever her Continental or Provincial Councils shall decree it necessary we will go forth and be ready to sacrifice our lives & fortunes in attempting to secure her *Freedom & Safety.*”

This association, I say, was unanimously approved of in the General Committee, 48 members present—it will be recommended to the Provincial Congress at their first meeting, on the first of June. I have no doubt of its favorable reception there, & believe it will be subscribed to by the Inhabitants throughout this Colony—in the meantime the daily and nightly sounds of drums & fifes discover a Spirit in the People to make all possible resistance against that arbitrary power complained of—upwards of one hundred men, besides the common town watch, mount guard every Night, & Committees of observation, of intelligence & of safety, find employment every Day—in a word, the people are resolved to do all in their power to resist against the force and stratagems of the British Ministry; & I find, that even among those few who are suspected of disaffection to the Americans, there are many, and perhaps a Majority, who will in the day of trial appear on the side of the American Cause.

Doctor Garden has changed his mind, & does not accompany your Uncle to

London. You will be surprised when you come to know that he has declared his readiness to associate with the injured Inhabitants of this Continent in every article of opposition to the arbitrary power of parliament, he excepts only to the actual bearing of arms against the King—in which he is not single, we all agree with him—we will not bear arms against the King we hold our allegiance—pray for the House of Hanover, & will have no other King to reign over us—it does not follow that we are tamely to submit to be plundered by Soldiers sent over for that purpose by a few of our fellow subjects—this sort of reasoning may not be understood by Lord Bute, Lord Mansfield or Lord North, but we hold it to be sound, and hope to maintain it until those Lords are convinced of their Impotence, if not of their Error.

Attend diligently to the unhappy circumstance in Union Court, until your Uncle arrives and takes that trouble from you & for a while from me. I shall write to you by G. Manigault in a day or two, & by your Uncle in the course of this week—the vessel in which they go will carry a few turtle for yourself and other friends.

Your sister will be bearer of letters to the two boys, in the mean time present my Love to them, tell Harry the account of his advancement at Westminster makes me very happy—I shall propose a plan for removing James if your uncle goes to Genevè, as he probably will—with regard to yourself, need I say

any more than I have already said & repeated?—surely not. Your Interest, your Reputation are valuable considerations—if any stimulous was necessary I might be induced to add, that from the complexion of the present times there is more than a bare possibility of your being obliged to depend *wholly* upon practice in your profession for a livelihood—to qualify yourself therefore for encountering the utmost difficulty in your duty—a duty to yourself & to Society. Adieu my Dear, Dear Son,

HENRY LAURENS.

[Addressed]

Mr. JOHN LAURENS,

at Mr. C. BUCKNELL'S,

Chancery Lane,

London.

P. Le Despenser Packet,

Capt. POND,

Q. D. C.

## II.

JOHN LOCKE TO TWO FRIENDS.

GRAY'S INN, November 11th, 1699.

MY SWEET FRIENDS:

A paper of sweetmeats by the bearer to attend your Journey comes to testify the sweetness I found in your society. I admire no converse like that of christian freedom, and fear no bondage like that of Pride and Prejudice. I now see that acquaintance by sight, cannot reach the height of enjoyment that acquaintance by *knowledge* arrives unto. . . . Outward hearing may misguide us, but *internal knowledge cannot err*.

We have *something* of what we shall have hereafter, to know as we are known, thus we with our friends, were at the

first time, mutual partakers, and the more we have of this in this life, the less we need enquire of what nation, country, party, or persuation our friends are, for our own knowledge is more than another's to us. Thus we know whom we have believed. Now, the God of all grace grant that you may hold fast this rare grace of love and charity, that unbiassed, unbounded love, which, if it decay not, will spring up mightily as the sanctuary, higher and higher, until you, with the universal church, swim together in the ocean of Divine Love.

Women indeed had the honour first to publish the resurrection of the god, why not again the resurrection of the *Spirit of Love*? and let all the disciples of christ rejoice therein together as doth your partner,

JOHN LOCKE.

*Note.*—The foregoing was sent to Rebecca Collins, after meeting, at London, with a paper of sweetmeats, and another for her companion, Rachel Breehton. The great John Locke was at meeting and took particular notice of them—he had been opposed to women's preaching before. It was said king William the Third was there *incognito*.

### III.

#### LETTER OF MARY WASHINGTON, THE MOTHER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Mrs. W., the second wife of Augustine Washington, and daughter of Col. Ball, was married in 1731, at the age of 27. She was 53 years of age when the following letter was written, and died, aged 83, on the 25th of August, 1789. This letter, so far as known, is the only piece of writing in her own hand, naming "GEORGE." His military career referred to, had, for the time being, closed with the campaign resulting in

the capture of Fort Pitt, Nov. 25th, 1758. This letter was, some years ago, given to a gentleman of Baltimore, and is now the property of Lt.-Col. F. E. Etting, at present in that city. Only one other letter from Mrs. Mary Washington is known to be in existence, and is also in the collection of a Baltimorean, who recently purchased it at a high price.

B. M.

Baltimore, 19th Feb., 1866.

DEAR BROTHER:

Having soe good an oppertunity by Mr. Frankling I could [not] lett slipe I inquier by all oppertunity from you & am glad to hear you & my sister & Mr Downman & his lady Keeps your healths soe well I sometims hear you intend in [to] virgina once more I should be proud to see you I have known a great Deal of trouble sinc I see you thear was no end to my troble while George was in the Army butt he has now given it up pray Give my kind Love to my sister & Cozen Downman & I am Dear Brother your Loving and

affectionate Sister,

MARY WASHINGTON

July the 26th, 1759.

[Addressed on cover]

JOSEPH BALL, Esq.,

at Stratford Le Bow,

London.

[Endorsed]

July 26th, 1759,

from Mrs. WASHINGTON,

Answd 12th March, 1760.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 10, 1866.

CHAS. E. MAYO, Esq., *Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society:*

DEAR SIR:—In the Library of Congress is a book, a copy of which ought to be purchased by your Society. It is enti

tled "Memoire sur les Mœurs, Coutumes, et Religion des Savages de l'Amerique Septentrionale par Nicolas Perrot."

Those acquainted with the history of the French Dominion in the North-west will remember that Perrot was the most distinguished voyageur of the seventeenth century, the Kit Carson of his age.

Intelligent, familiar with the Indian tribes and their languages, possessed of excellent judgment and perfectly fearless, the French Government treated him with much confidence. At the request of the authorities of Canada he prepared the manuscript of the narrative, which, after nearly a century and a half, has been published for the first time under the editorial supervision of Rev. R. J. P. Tailhan, of the Society of Jesus at Leipzig and Paris, although Charlevoix, in his great work on New France, which appeared more than a hundred years ago, refers to Perrot's manuscript, and speaks of him as a reliable man. From its perusal I have obtained but few facts not already embodied in the "History of Minnesota," and communications to your society; but with the aid of these, one or two points in the early history of the State are made more clear. From the "relations" of the Jesuits and other writers, we have learned of the flight of the Hurons and Ottawas from the conquering Iroquois to the Sioux country, but until the publication of the above-mentioned work, we could not fix the *locality of their residence* while in Minnesota.

About the year 1657, they reached the

shores of the "Micissypy," which the French named the "Louisianne." Ascending a dozen leagues above the "Ouisconching" they found the river of the Ayoës (Ioways), which they followed to its source, and were cordially received by the tribes. Tarrying for a brief period, they retraced their steps to the Mississippi, and went up the river to the country of the Sioux, where they met with a friendly reception, and established themselves on Isle Peleé, now Mud Hen Island, which is about half way between Lake Pepin and the St. Croix.

After a while the Hurons, feeling their superiority on account of their possession of fire-arms, became insolent and killed a party of Sioux.

War then ensued, and they were obliged to leave Minnesota with their allies. Fleeing to the sources of the Black River of Wisconsin, they established themselves there, while the Ottawas pushed on to La Pointe on Lake Superior.

In the year 1659 two traders visited them on Black River, and were probably the first Europeans who saw the waters of the Upper Mississippi. Hearing that Father Menard was at Lake Superior, they also desired him to visit them. Menard appointed three young Frenchmen to act as pioneers, and reconnoitre the country, and make presents, but their canoe was stolen, and they returned. Undaunted by their discouraging report, the aged enthusiast wrote in July, 1661, his last words: "I hear this day from populous nations that are spoken of as far

distant from here, about two or three hundred leagues. I expect to die on my way to them, but as I am so far advanced in health, I shall do all that is possible to reach them. The route most of the way lies across swamps, through which it is necessary to feel your way in passing, and to be in danger every minute of sinking too deep to extricate yourself; provisions, which can only be obtained by taking them with you, and the mosquitoes, whose numbers are frightful, are the three great difficulties which render it difficult for me to obtain a companion."

Some Hurons having come to trade with the Ojibways agreed to act as guides. Selecting John Guerin, a faithful man, as his companion, he started with some dried fish and smoked meat for provisions.

The Indians, ever capricious, soon moved off, and left the priest and his friend in an unknown country. Bruised in limb and faint in body, on the 10th of August, Menard lost the trail beyond the Black River. The agony of Guerin is great when he looks behind and beholds not the aged traveler. He calls for him with a loud voice, but is only answered by an echo. He fires his gun repeatedly, and at last wanders to a Huron camp, and induces a youth to go in search of the lost "black gown," but all efforts are unavailing; and Perrot says that a Sauk was found with the kettle of the Missionary, but declared he had never seen the Father; and others who had gone toward the Sioux country, made the same report. The opinion was, however, that he had

been murdered by the Sioux, as some years afterward his cassock and breviary were found in the possession of that tribe.

About this time the Hurons joined the Ottawas at La Pointe, and soon proceeded on a war party against the Sioux of Mille Lacs. Secreting themselves in a wild rice marsh, they were discovered and surrounded. Fearing their escape by night, the Sioux resorted to an ingenious and successful strategy.

Cutting long cords out of beaver skins, to which they fastened the small bells sold by traders, they stretched them across all the trails. The unsuspecting Hurons came forth from their marshy hiding places and tripping over the cords, rang the bells, and thus discovered their position, when they were attacked, and nearly the whole party killed.

On the 1st of October, 1665, Father Allouez arrived at La Pointe and found there both the Hurons and Ottawas.

About this time an Ottawa Chief makes a friendly visit to the Sioux, and the pipe of peace is smoked. A chief of the Sioux then accompanied him and four Frenchmen to La Pointe, but after this the treacherous Hurons and their allies again invaded the Sioux country. At first they were successful, but at last they were completely routed and driven from the country.

Dreading the vengeance they had called down upon them, they could not even rest secure at La Pointe. In the "Relations of the Jesuits" for 1670-71 is the following statement:

"There are certain people called Nadouessi, dreaded by their neighbors, and although they only use the bow and arrow, they use it with so much skill and so much dexterity, that in a moment they fill the air. In the Parthian mode, they turn their heads in flight, and discharge their arrows so rapidly, that they are to be no less feared in their retreat than in their attack. They dwell on the shores of and around the great river Messipi of which we shall speak. They number no less than fifteen populous towns; and yet they know not how to cultivate the earth by seeding it, contenting themselves with a species of marsh rye, which we call wild oats.

"In sixty leagues from the extremity of the Upper Lakes, towards sunset, and, as it were, in the centre of the western nations, they have all wintered their force.

"They speak a peculiar language entirely distinct from the Algonquins or Hurons, whom they generally surpass in generosity, since they often content themselves with the glory of having obtained, the victory, and freely release the prisoners they have taken in battle.

"The Ontaouacs and Hurons of the Point of the Holy Ghost have, to the present time, kept up a kind of peace with them, but affairs having become embroiled during the last winter, and some murders having been committed on both sides, our savages had reason to apprehend that the storm would burst upon them, judged that it was safer for them to

leave the place, *which in fact they did in the spring.*"

Retiring from the shores of Lake Superior, the vagabond Hurons settled at Mackinaw and Manitouline islands.

Hoping that this attempt to clear up some doubtful points in the early history of Minnesota may not be unacceptable, I remain,

Yours truly,

EDWARD D. NEILL.

### THE COUNTY COURT-HOUSE AT PHILADELPHIA—ITS HISTORY.

WHEN, at the close of the Revolutionary War, the minds of the people became turned toward the improvement of the city, many matters that had been considered necessary before the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle again pressed themselves upon public attention: among others was the improvement of the State House lot by the erection of new public buildings. Neither city nor county had been able to take advantage of the permission given by the grant of February, 1762, by the institution of measures for the erection of a Court-house and City Hall. In 1785 the Assembly gave direction that the old jail at Third and Market streets should be sold, and of the money received for the same, £3,000 should be appropriated to the county of Philadelphia for the erection of a Court-house at Sixth and Chestnut streets, and £3,000 to the city for the erection of a City Hall at Fifth and Chestnut streets. The lots were shortly

afterward extended to the depth of eighty-eight feet. The county was the earliest to carry out the provisions of this law. In the Spring of 1787 work was commenced on the Court-house, the cellars of which were dug by the convicts, commonly called "Wheelbarrow Men." In 1790 the City Hall was commenced, and was finished in the succeeding year. The Court-house was given up for the use of Congress during the time the seat of government was located in the city. The Senate occupied the south room, second story, now District Court room No. 1. The House of Representatives had the apartment now so well known as the Quarter Sessions Court room. There was a wide hall which ran through from Chestnut street, dividing the room now used by the Receiver of Taxes, and forming a small room upon each side of the passage. Congress sat in the room in the rear, and the arrangement was much the same as the present disposition of the same apartment, except that the speaker sat on the west side of the room. The lobbies for the public were in the same places as those now appropriated to spectators of the doings of the Court of Quarter Sessions. There was a private entrance for members on the east side of the room.

The meanness of the apartments in the old County Court-house, formerly occupied by the two houses of Congress, in contrast with their present splendid quarters at Washington, might be dilated upon extensively. A contemporary writer

describes the ancient location of the houses of Congress. He first refers to the Senate chamber in the back room of the second story. He says:

In a very plain chair, without canopy, and a small mahogany table before him, festooned at the sides and front with green silk, Mr. Adams, the Vice-President, presided as president of the Senate, facing the north. The portrait in Peale's Museum is, in the opinion of the writer, a perfect *fac-simile* of the elder Adams in face, person and apparel, as they appeared to him above the little table placed before that venerable gentleman. Among the thirty Senators of that day there was observed constantly during the debate the most delightful silence, the most beautiful order, gravity and personal dignity of manner. They all appeared every morning full powdered, and dressed, as age or fancy might suggest, in the richest material. The very atmosphere of the place seemed to inspire wisdom, mildness and condescension. Should any one of them so far forget, for a moment, as to be the cause of a protracted whisper while another was addressing the Vice-President, three gentle taps with his silver pencil-case upon the table, by Mr. Adams, immediately restored every thing to repose and the most respectful attention, presenting in their courtesy a most striking contrast to the independent loquacity of the representatives below stairs, some few of whom persisted in wearing, while in their seats and during the debate, their ample cocked hats placed "fore and aft" upon their heads, with here and there a leg thrown across the little desks before them and facing Mr. *Jupiter* Dayton, as he was sometimes called by writers in the *Aurora* of Benjamin Franklin Bache.

In describing the lower hall, now occupied by the Court of Quarter Sessions, our writer says :

The House of Representatives in session occupied the ground floor. There was a platform elevated three steps, plainly carpeted, and covering nearly the whole of the area, with a limited promenade for the members and privileged persons; and four narrow desks between the Sixth street windows for the stenographers, Lloyd, Gales, Callender and Duane. The Speaker's chair, without canopy, was of plain leather and brass nails, facing the east at or near the centre of the western wall.

\* \* \* \* \*

Speaker Muhlenberg was succeeded by Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey, a very tall, raw-boned figure of a gentleman, with terrific aspect, and when excited a voice of thunder. His slender, bony figure filled only the centre of the chair, resting on the arms of it with his hands and not the elbows. From the silence which prevailed of course on coming to order, after prayers by Bishop White, an occasional whisper increasing to a buzz after the manner of boys in school, in the seats, in the lobby, and around the fires, swelled at last to loud conversation wholly inimical to debate. Very frequently at this stage of confusion among the "babbling politicians," Mr. Speaker Dayton would start suddenly upon his feet, look fiercely around the hall and utter the words, "Order, order! without the bar!" in such an appalling tone of voice that, as though a cannon had been fired under the windows in the street, the deepest silence in one moment prevailed—but for a very short time.

We have before us a caricature picture which illustrates a scene which took place in the apartment last described on the 15th of February, 1798. Matthew Lyon of Vermont, a prominent democrat having become much vexed at the remarks of a Mr. Griswold, a leading

Federalist, spat in the face of the latter while Congress was in session. Griswold afterwards returned the insult with a blow which Lyon resented with the tongs, which he seized for the purpose. The fight raged for some time before the combatants were separated. This, we believe, was the first personal conflict that ever took place in the American Congress, but unfortunately for the credit of the country, there have been too many repetitions of such knock-down arguments. The caricature referred to presents the "honorable" gentlemen "going in" with bludgeon and tongs, while the members around seem to enjoy the exciting scene. At the bottom is the following doggerel:

"He in a trice struck Lyon thrice  
Upon his head, enrag'd sir,  
Who seized the tongs to ease his wrongs,  
And Griswold thus engaged, sir."

The "American Republican Harmonist," a collection of quaint political songs, published in this city in the beginning of the present century, contains a number of verses which were written in commemoration of this pugilistic scene, but they are written in such a free and easy style that a regard for common decency will prevent us from transferring them to our columns.

An old and much-respected citizen informs us that he has often heard Gallatin, Bayard, Harper, John Randolph, Nicholas Dana and the other great men of their time engaged in debate in the apartment now used as a court room. We learn from the same reliable authority

that when the Senate met in the South room up stairs, the apartment was larger than it is at present. There was a narrow gallery at the northern end of the room, and opposite, in the spot now occupied by the Judges of the District Court, sat Vice-President Jefferson, with Samuel A. Otis, Secretary of the Senate, seated before him.

Under the Confederacy, New York was chosen as the seat of government; but after the adoption of the Constitution Philadelphia was selected to be the place of meeting of Congress for ten years, until the new Federal Capitol in the District of Columbia was properly prepared by the erection of buildings, etc. General Washington spent nearly the whole of his Presidential life in Philadelphia, and John Adams the greater part of his official term also. In 1800 the seat of Federal Government was removed to Washington, and the same year the State Legislature ceased to meet in Philadelphia.

On the morning of the 26th of December, 1821, the County Court-house at Sixth and Chestnut streets took fire, and in spite of the exertions of the firemen the roof and cupola were partially destroyed. Fortunately, the fire took place in daylight, and the main building and wings of the State House escaped damage. At another time the roof of the City Hall, at the corner of Fifth and Chestnut streets, was mostly destroyed by fire. The old County Court-house was also much endangered at the time of the burning

of Hart's building, in December 1851. It was on fire several times, and it was only by the heroic and determined exertions of the firemen that the Court-house was preserved from destruction.

The recent history of the building is so generally known that it is scarcely necessary to enlarge upon it. It is also known that City Councils have made an appropriation for enlarging the Court-house by building an addition to it upon the south. At a bar meeting held on Saturday, Mr. James Lynd, President of Select Council, stated that the new Court-house, to be built in the square, south of the present building, is to be ninety feet on Sixth street and sixty feet in depth; and the Quarter Sessions Court room, which is to be in the second story, is to be sixty by fifty-eight feet, the present room being forty by forty-seven feet, and will have a greater height of ceiling by ten feet than the present room has. The plans have been prepared, and proposals for the erection of the building are to be immediately issued. Mr. Lynd did not think the sum of \$35,000 sufficient to complete the building; not less than from \$50,000 to \$60,000 would, in his opinion, finish it. —*Philadelphia Bulletin, Feb. 3.*

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HIGH TIME.—It is to be inferred that they had a high old time at the raising of the Rev. Mr. Parker's church in Derry, N. H., in 1769, as the parish "voted that the Comity by four hundred weight of Chees, and two thousand Bisket, and three Barl of Rum, & five Barl of Syder, for the meeting hous raising."

## PAPERS RELATING TO FORT DUMMER.

The Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, which terminated the struggle between the various European powers, commonly known as "Queen Anne's War," was followed by a treaty of peace, made in the following year, between the English Colonies in America and their Indian neighbors. For a few years then the land had rest from war, the frontier settlements began to recover from the ravages of the enemy, and

"Life, active, prosperous life,

Ran thro' the woods, and mantled o'er the land.

As the tree fell, the log-hut sprang in place;

The log-hut, like the tent in fairy tale,

Expanded to the village."

But this sweet dream of peace was not long to last. The Indians, insidiously influenced by their French neighbors, began to exhibit unmistakable signs of restiveness, which finally broke out, in 1721, in actual depredations upon the whites, and which compelled the Colony of Massachusetts, in 1722, to declare war against them. Northfield and Deerfield being still the frontiers of the province on the Connecticut river, were, with other exposed towns, put in a state of better defense against the enemy. And, with a view to the still greater security of the inhabitants, the General Court of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay resolved, on the 27th of December, 1723, "that it will be of great service to all the western frontiers, both in this and the neighboring government of Connecticut,

to build a Block House, above Northfield, in the most convenient place on the lands call'd the Equivalent Lands,\* and to post in it 40 able men, English and Western Indians, to be employed in scouting at a good distance up Connecticut river, West river, Otter creek, and sometimes eastwardly, above great Monadnuck, for the discovery of the enemy coming towards any of the frontier towns, and that so much of the said Equivalent Lands as shall be necessary for a Block House be taken up with the consent of the owners of the said land, together with five or six acres of their interval land, to be broke up or plowed for the present use of the Western Indians, in case any of them shall think fit to bring their families thither."

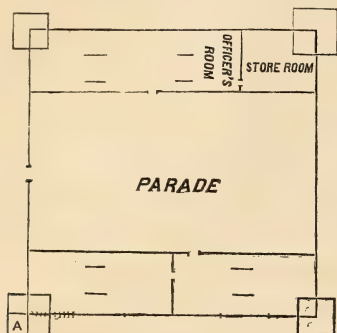
This vote, having received the sanction of Lt. Gov. Dummer, Col. John Stoddard, of Northampton, was directed to superintend the erection of the block house, and the immediate oversight of the work was entrusted to Lieut. Timothy Dwight, who received the following Letter of Instructions: T.

The Figure of the fort to be built in Long Meadow, above N<sup>th</sup>, field, together with the inner buildings.

The Box: a; to be placed Eastwardly over the River Bank, the Passage into the Mounts to be from the lower rooms through the floor of the Mounts, except that at the Norwest angle to be from the Chamber through the side of the

\* For full description of these Lands, see Hall's Eastern Vermont, pp. 13-15.

Mount, the Eastwardly Box to be elevated so as to see from them over the others. the Timbers to be bullet proof. the fort to be twelve or fourteen foot high. the Timbers to lay the chamber floor on to be so high that a tall man may walk upright under them,



the buildings within twelve or fourteen foot wide, the Inner wall, as well as the fort and mounts to be made of hewed Timber. the Housing to be built Linto-wise,\* the roofs descending from the top of the fort. the outward parts of the Mounts to be supported by Timbers laid four or five feet beyond the corners of the fort, not to be cut at the laping, the lower Timber to be hightened by a short piece, and the floor of the mounts to be level with the highest timber the ends of the floor pieces to goe under the Mount pieces. it will be best to fell the Timber in the old of the Moon. one of the first services will be to cut and dry some good timber for firewood. 'tis best to improve four carpenters and three narrow-ax men to attend each carpenter, to goe out on Monday next, and vigorously to prose-

cute the busines, let the work be well done, and the workmen may expect to be well paid. 'twill be needful to employ two horse teams, to be managed by suitable men. as to other matters not mentioned your Prudence must be your director.

Instructions to be observed by Lieut<sup>nt</sup> Timothy Dwight, and given

Pr JOHN STODDARD,  
*No<sup>th</sup> Hampton, Jan<sup>ry</sup>, 30<sup>th</sup>, 172<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>*

Agreeably to these orders, Lieutenant Dwight, with a force as specified, of "four carpenters, twelve soldiers with narrow axes, and two teams," commenced operations on the 3d of February, 1724, and before the commencement of summer the fort was so far completed as to be habitable. It was located on the west bank of the Connecticut river, in the south-east corner of the present town of Brattlebrough, on what are now called "Dummer Meadows," and was named Fort Dummer, in honor of the Lieutenant-Governor. In size (as will be seen from the foregoing plan), it was nearly square, the sides measuring each about 180 feet in length, and was built of yellow pine timber (which then grew on the meadows in great abundance), laid up like a log house, the timbers being locked together at the angles. In a letter dated February 3d, 1723-4, written by Col. Stoddard to the Lt.-Governor, in reference to its construction, he says, "I forgot to take notice of your thought of setting stockades round the fort to keep the enemy at a distance. I

\* Lean-to-wise.

don't well apprehend the benefit of it, for we intend the fort shall be so built that the soldiers shall be as safe, if the enemy were in the parade, as if they were without the fort." In his answer to this letter, Gov. Dummer offered other suggestions, "Until," he writes, "the frost be out of the ground, how will you lay y<sup>e</sup> foundation, and I think there ought to be a good one of stone, and that carried some height above y<sup>e</sup> Ground, and also cellars for the use and conveniency of so many people." The houses within were so constructed that the wall of the fort formed the back wall of each building, the roof being a single one, "descending from the top of the fort walls." The houses fronted on a hollow square, or parade; and were so arranged, that, even if the enemy gained access to the parade, they could be promptly rendered defensible by barricading the doors and windows. The armament proper of the fort consisted of four pattararoos.

Lieutenant TIMOTHY DWIGHT was the first commander of the fort which he thus built, and probably occupied that position from February 1724, until the close of the year 1726; superintending, meanwhile (in 1724), the erection of another fort, at Northfield, and engaging considerably (during 1725) in surveying. He subsequently succeeded his superior officers, Col. John Stoddard, of Northampton, and Col. Samuel Partridge, of Hatfield, as a Judge of Probate in Hampshire County, Mass. The following collection of letters, the originals of which

are carefully preserved in the possession of his descendant, Mr. THEODORE DWIGHT, of Brooklyn, N. Y., seem to embrace, with tolerable completeness, the Lieutenant's correspondence during the two years which he spent in command at Fort Dummer. They serve not only to throw some additional light upon the early history of that frontier post, but to illustrate the character of the writer, of whom it may be said, that in all the relations of life, he was faithful to every trust committed to him, and respected by all who knew him.\* These letters may be considered simply as contributions to the history of Fort Dummer, as given in Hall's Eastern Vermont.

## II.

COL. PARTRIDGE TO CAPT. DWIGHT.

*Hatfield, April 24, 1724.*

Capt. Dwight

Wee have sent Henrick† & 3 men & two squas the 3 mens names are Erazza

\* The ancestor of the DWIGHT family, in this county, was JOHN DWIGHT, who emigrated from England to Dedham, Mass., in 1636. His only son, TIMOTHY, had a son, NATHANIEL C., 1666, who lived at Northampton, and was the father of Lieut. and Captain TIMOTHY DWIGHT, the commandant of Fort Dummer. This gentleman, born 1694, married Experience King, in 1717, and his youngest son, TIMOTHY C., in 1726, is said to have been born in Fort Dummer, and was consequently the first white child born in the present State of Vermont. He married, in 1750, Mary, daughter of President Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton, and his oldest son, Timothy, was President of Yale College. (See *Goodwin's Geneal. Notes.*)

† Or *Hendrick*, a sachem of Cannauchiwhory,

Cossaump\* & Joseph whome you must take into the Fort & Release of the English Sould<sup>ry</sup> 4 of yo<sup>r</sup> English men viz John King to be one & 3 men more of the most ineffective men except the men that are hired men as I wrote to you in my former Letter & them you Release must Leave their Guns for to supply the Indians & we shall see them Return<sup>d</sup> or a Reasonable price for them & King must Leave his Gun as others do upon the same terms this you must be carefull to take & keep an exact account of the day of their Release & of the Entry of the Indians & so if more Indians that may come & be very carefull that the Indians be by themselves & the English alsoe that there be no talking & tradeing betwixt the English sould<sup>ry</sup> & the Indians to Royle one another & make a disturbance amongst them in the Fort nor out of it but all to keep their places & be still and orderly the Indians by perswation & the English by Command I wish you good success & be very prudent in all yo<sup>r</sup> Managem<sup>ts</sup> yo<sup>rs</sup>

SAM<sup>LL</sup>. PARTRIDGE.

Ampamet, & Uncumonp: With an Indian they call Ebenzer I conclude will come to you in a few days.

S. P:

The Gun y<sup>t</sup> Cosaump has Gott and two

who with *Umpaumet*, sachem from the Hudson River country, commanded the Indians who comprised a portion of the garrison of Fort Dummer. These Indians were Mohawks.

\* "Of Wittaug."

Pair of Shoes & Buckell Capt. Dwight, with Co<sup>ll</sup> Partridge order Furnis<sup>d</sup> them with.

E: P:

[Addressed] "To Cap<sup>n</sup> Tim<sup>thy</sup> Dwight att the fort, or the Blockhouse above Northfield to Hindrick: Medien

[Endorsed] Hendrick, Kewakeum\* Ez-zus† Cosaump.

### III.

COLS. PARTRIDGE AND STODDARD TO CAPT. DWIGHT.

*Springf<sup>ld</sup>, May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1724.*

S<sup>r</sup>

we receiv<sup>d</sup>, the Letter from Col<sup>ll</sup> Schuyler, Combs enforms us that you have already sent to the fort for Hendrick and Ompamett, if so doubtless they will speedily be with you, if not it will be needful that you forthwith acquaint them with the coming of the French Indians, and forward them in their Journey toward Albany. The affair now on foot is of great Consequence to us, and we hope the Event may be good.

Your humble servants

SAM<sup>LL</sup>. PARTRIDGE,  
JOHN STODDARD.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Dwhit you hear se the Co<sup>ll</sup> orders to myselfe which pleas to prosicut to

\* Or *Kewauchcum*, of Westonhook.

† Or *Ezerus*, of Cannauchiwhory.

effect and send the above named Indians as soon as you.

Your humbol Searvant

JONATHAN WELLS.

[Endorsed]

"To

Cap. Jonath<sup>n</sup> Wells, Esq.,

att

Deerfield."

[Re-endorsed]

"for

Cp<sup>t</sup>. Nathaniel Dwhit  
at the Fort in Long Medow."

#### IV.

CAPT. DWIGHT TO COL. STODDARD.

Extract from a letter, dated *Fort Dummer, July 29th, 1724.*

"'tis Impossible for me to accot<sup>r</sup> for the afflictions I meet w<sup>th</sup> from these Indians. I have given them a dram this morning & they have been here this hour begging for more & they dayly call upon me for shirts, pipes, bull<sup>t</sup>s & powd<sup>r</sup>, flints & many other things & the Court have Granted all but powd<sup>r</sup> but they don't send it, & I cant discourse w<sup>th</sup> them & yy are mad with me for that & unless the Country will provide Stores & Inform me I may dispose therof to them I cant live here if it be possible to avoid it."

#### V.

GOV. DUMMER TO CAPT. DWIGHT.

CAPT. DWIGHT:

I received yours of the 9th instant &

HIST. MAG., VOL. X. 15

have at your desire ordered George Swan to bee turned out of the Company at N. ffield. I have apointed your Brother to bee Chaplaine at the Garrison you Command the Warrant I have inclosed to the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Stoddard who will deliver it to you & do you dd your Brother.\* I have given orders to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Kellogg a Surgeon who is to Serve your Company as

, & if in the meantime you want a Warrant [ p]rocare a Doctor as ocation may require you shall [ha] ve one. Now I think I have done everything to putt your Garrison upon a good ffoot & to make your command easy for you it will be expected from you that you bee very diligant & vigilant in doing Service in your post. I hope in a you may have the Success to Sending downe some of the Scalps of the Enimye. Take care to keep the Mohawkes in Temper & Improve them as ocation offers that some good Service may bee done by them.

WILLIAM DUMMER.

June 1724.

#### VI.

BENJ. DOOLITTLE TO CAPTAIN DWIGHT.

CAPT. DWIGHT:

S<sup>r</sup>. Sachego brings you y<sup>e</sup> unhappy news of Mischief done at Hatfield. there is but only Joseph Ellis & one wells a lad y<sup>t</sup> is missing (besides Smith that is

\* See Hall's Eastern Vermont, pp. 17, 18.

killed) tis expected y<sup>t</sup> some men be sent from your foot against these indians. \* \*

S<sup>r</sup>. Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Pumeroy sends an horse & tackling by Sachego & he Requests y<sup>t</sup> you would please to take good care of y<sup>e</sup> horse & tackling & send them down as soon as may be.

Yours to Command

BENJ<sup>n</sup> DOOLITTLE.

Northfield, June 18,

1724.

On the reverse of this paper, is the following vocabulary of Indian words, written, apparently, by some other person. This we reproduce *verbatim et literatim*, taking the liberty, however, of arranging it in alphabetical order:\*

Aasso (hissoa),† *great many*.

Arlhul, *dog*.

Autooguh, *hatchet*.

Autuguro, *melt ladle*.

Auhsaulch, *blanket*.

Ansaurek (assaa),† *knife*.

Auteautawwe, *waistcoat*.

Caurisk, *Indian stocking*.

Cauhore, *gun*.

Cautuoheorraux, *hungry*.

Caunhix, *ribband*.

Cawhaw, *where is ?*

Cawnoogawteo, *away there*.

Cawwaksa, *where are you a-going ?*

Cawnawheco, *bottles*.

Chnauneatau, *bullet mold*.

Chonunnauwauna, *moose*.

Canooowasee, *love*.

Connoonaw, *pipe*.

Conneau (kannien),† *steel*.

Conheaw (onenhia),† *flint*.

Correes, *bread*.

Cotcauthoo, *seeing*.

Cotsogo (gatchogsach),† *I smoke, smoking*.

Cothroree, *I say*.

Cephase, *are you going ?*

Eesa, *he*.

Eesakee, *me*.

Esasotsorle, *do you eat ?*

Egotsorle, *I eat*.

Oogerla, *fire*.

Ooguhraw, *powder*.

Ootooseraw, *pork*.

Oonagonnusk (onnega),† *water*.

Oontauhk, *kettle*.

Oogaurlauh, *eyes*.

Ooeungguah (ojenqua),† *tobacco*.

Oooissea, *glass*.

Oochickataw, *sugar*.

Oonawgawrlah, *powder horn*.

Oooyau, *the other*.

Oonuhhyaw, *bullets*.

Oukhooyaw, *more*.

Oonadoorathuh, *many go a-hunting*.

Saukataw (ousaheta),† *pease*.

Sothroree, *he says*.

Satdteah, *it is there*.

Sanickhoo, *make*.

Sadurahoo, *one go to hunting*.

Tawatalage, *broth*.

Towaushtaw, *falls*.

Touuteaugoh, *broke*.

Tuggautoogorlrlek, *hot*.

Thanoogawgutsk, *what do you call ?*

Teaugoogohumtus, *sick*.

Waugotsore (gagon),† *eat*.

Waugunauwhaurauhtoo, *drunk*.

Wokkesah, *sleeping*.

Uunteautuundee, *river*.

Uhinoohsau, *hand*.

Gooyutsk, towautuk, *days*.

Gonnuuwauta, *night*.

Yuthoorla, *cold*.

Hnagooyutsk, *that*.

Idtowe, *we will go with you*.

Idtone, *I'll go with you*.

\* The words here given are Iroquois, and apparently all Mohawk.

† Words from the Dictionnaire François Onnontagué.

‡ Words from Bruyas' Mohawk Radicals.

## VII.

COL. STODDARD'S REPLY TO CAPT. DWIGHT.

*N<sup>th</sup> Hampton, Aug<sup>st</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>, 1724.*S<sup>r</sup>

I am sencible of the trouble you meet with from the Houmors of the Natives, your best way is, (when you have a supply of Liquor) to give them ordinarily a good dram each in a day, and you may tell them from me that we give them drink for their comfort, not to unman them, or make beasts of them, and that if they will not be content with what we give them they shall have none at all.\* \* \* \*

day in the afternoon three men were killed at Rutland, one wounded, and the missing. Doubtless that party (which they Imagine consists of about twenty) will any probable method could be taken to intercept them it may be well, though you that you of yourselves can doe it.

I am your servant

J. STODDARD.

"To

Capt. Timothy Dwight  
att

Fort Dummer."

## VIII.

COL. SCHUYLER TO COL. STODDARD.

*Albany 17 Aug<sup>st</sup> 1724*COL<sup>LL</sup> J<sup>NO</sup> STODDARDEnclosed I sent you the Answer w<sup>h</sup>

Jacob & his Company brought from Canada I send y<sup>e</sup> same to his Hon<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Dummer by this conveyance. Note that the Cagnowages\* & Scawondois stand strikt and Hono<sup>r</sup>ably by their former Resolution & promise. I do by this opportunity Request & desire his Hon<sup>r</sup> if possible that a Gentleman of abilitie may come & Reside here to act in conjunction w<sup>th</sup> me for its impossible that I can manage this affaire alone. there i now againe 40 Indians gone against yo<sup>r</sup> Govern<sup>t</sup> but I know not where they will make their attempt pray advise w<sup>th</sup> some Gentlemen of the Counsell that I may have an assistant for some future time in consultation I have not to add but I am with Respect yo<sup>r</sup> verry Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

JOHN SKAYLOR.

I pray my Service to Col<sup>ll</sup> Partridge & yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>d</sup> father & mother from me & my wife. Governo<sup>r</sup> Burnet will meet the Nations here at Albany the 10th of Next month when I hope to see you here, I wrote y<sup>e</sup> same to yo<sup>r</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> from J. S.

Memoriall that Jacob y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>a</sup> & Company sayd on their Return from Canada upon their Message thither, viz. Major Abram Skal<sup>r</sup> being the interpreter they first layd down 3 strings wompon which was Given Unto them by y<sup>e</sup> Onogongoes to clear the Roome of

\* Caughnawagas, the Christian Mohawks, at Sault St. Louis, near Montreal, in the French interest.

their hearts they say that they might speak free, &c

Then shewing a belt of wompon they s<sup>d</sup> the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada had given them as a token of his great satisfaction & pleasure on their arrival at Canada on such a message as they came upon & he thanked them and the Commission<sup>rs</sup> who sent them in the Gov<sup>rs</sup> name for the Hon<sup>r</sup> they did him to acquaint him first of their arrival in his Governm<sup>t</sup> before they had spoken with y<sup>e</sup> Onogongoes\* & s<sup>d</sup> if they desired it he would send for the Onogongoes to his house that they might speak there which he did about 4 days afterwards the Onogongoes came & there spake viz.

the Nations laying down a belt & say<sup>d</sup> Children we now come the 3d tyme unto you with a desire that you may hearken unto us that you will now lay down the hatchett with an upright hand & meaning so that we may not here of any further bloodshedd of o<sup>r</sup> Bro<sup>rs</sup> & if you will not comeply. with this o<sup>r</sup> last charge & desire of us you may expect the events to yo<sup>r</sup> worse.

Answer of the Onogongoes—

*ffathers*, you come to take the hatchet out of o<sup>r</sup> hands which is hard upon us at this tyme. But if the English will send us o<sup>r</sup> Captive Brethren & Restore us o<sup>r</sup> Land which they possess we will immediately fling away the hatchet & bury itt for ever.

Nationes Answer and say with a Belt

*Children*, we now come to take you by the hand & invite you to Albany which is a natureall place where the Hatchet has no power but the peacable fire burns there for all nations come thither & speak with us.

Onogongoes Answer

We will not come to Albany Let the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Boston, New York & all the Nations come [to] the Gov<sup>r</sup> Canadas house & there we will speak with them.

The Nations Answer

Children, we now Leave you & forewarn you not [to] approach o<sup>r</sup> nere places henceforth but you may expect yo<sup>r</sup> wors.

This is the whole Answer of their Message

True Coppy

[Endorsed]

“Co<sup>l</sup> Partridges Coppy of }  
Co<sup>l</sup> Schuylers letter }

*Hatf<sup>d</sup> Aug<sup>st</sup> 24. 1724*

GENTLEMEN:

the Enclosed is Coppys of the Lett<sup>r</sup> & Memoriall from Canada in w<sup>h</sup> you may see but Little hopes of Peace for Besides the 40 of the Enemy come out as the writings inform Nath<sup>l</sup> Dickinson that is now come from Canada home he saith there was 14 more Coming Out & were furnished accordingly at Canada w<sup>ch</sup> he see them doeing of it. therefore the Utmost care to make discovery off an approaching Enemy must be prosecuted to Effect pray fayle not

\* The Abnakis or Tarranteeris, in Maine.

& I pray God Succeed in all yo<sup>r</sup> Undertakings I am yo<sup>rs</sup> Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

SAM<sup>LL</sup> PARTRIDGE.

[Addressed]

On his May<sup>t</sup> Service  
to Cap<sup>t</sup> Wells & Cap<sup>t</sup> Williams  
At Deere<sup>f</sup> then to be sent  
to Cap<sup>t</sup> Kellogg at North<sup>f</sup>  
& from thence to Cap<sup>t</sup>  
Dwight at Fort Dummer  
These Convey w<sup>h</sup>  
Speed &c  
to Cap<sup>t</sup> Billing at Sunderland  
to p<sup>u</sup>se & immediately to  
post it to Deer<sup>f</sup> &c.

## IX.

COL. SCHUYLER TO COL. STODDARD.

*Albany, Sept<sup>r</sup>. 8th, 1724.*

COL. STODDARD:

S<sup>r</sup>. this is chiefly to acquaint you that there is about 200 Indians from Canada gone out to fight towards yo<sup>r</sup> p<sup>ts</sup> amongst whome are 5 Cannoes of Scho-nondoes adherents, this News we had by a Scaticoke Indian directly from Canada but where these Indians will make their attempt I cannot Learn I hope this may Reach you before any harme is done that you may all be upon yo<sup>r</sup> Guard I just now Rec<sup>d</sup> the joyful News of the hiroycall exploite done at the Eastward that is a noble stroke

True Copy JOHN SKAYLOR

TO CAPT. WELLS CAPT. WILLIAMS CAPT. MASON,  
& CAPT. TIMOTHY DWIGHT & LT. POMERY.

GENTLEMEN:

The abovesaid news from Albany calls upon us all to be very though in scouting & all men be ready fixed to make a deffence ag<sup>st</sup> an approaching Enemy w<sup>ch</sup> we may Look for every hour & all the Indians both Cap<sup>t</sup>. Masons & Cap<sup>t</sup>. Williams Indians be all stay<sup>d</sup> for 3 or 4 days at Least till we have & here more about this Army coming & if possible to discover them before any onset be made upon any of the townes & the men, at Northfield & Fort Dummer be more than ordinary in Scouting, Northfield on the East side of the River towards Monadnick the Fort men and Dere<sup>f</sup> on the West side the River & all men Ready fixed & Leave all other business till we here more & as Soon as you have read this Letter send it immediately to North<sup>f</sup> & thence to Fort Dummer yo<sup>r</sup> Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

SAM<sup>LL</sup> PARTRIDGE, Col<sup>ll</sup>

[Endorsed] "A Copy of Co<sup>l</sup> Schuylers letter and one from Co<sup>l</sup> Partridge."

THE *London Star*, in an account of the celebration of Washington's birth-day, by the Americans in London, mentions among the decorations of the room, "a fine old portrait of Washington, which it appears was painted from life, at Mount Vernon, by Robert Edge Pine, in 1785, and was presented by the General himself to his godson, Mr. G. W. Phillips. It is now in the possession of Mr. Benj. Moran, Secretary of the United States Legation, London, to whom it was recently presented by an American gentleman in London."

THE OMNIBUS;  
OR,  
A SERIES OF ESSAYS  
ON  
MATTERS IN GENERAL  
AND  
THINGS IN PARTICULAR.

BY A RETIRED PHYSICIAN.

*Omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis.*

CONTINUED FROM LAST NUMBER.

THE OMNIBUS.—NO. V.

“Nought under Heaven, so strongly doth allure,  
The sense of Mañ, and all his mind possess,  
As Beauty’s lovely bait, that doth procure  
Great warriors oft their rigor to repress.”

FAIRY QUEEN.

The next morning I was detained later than usual by an extraordinary case of a sudden, though not dangerous character, which occurred in my own neighborhood. It was, therefore, late before I reached the Omnibus, and I consequently missed Mr. Groesbeck.

His seat was supplied by a young Englishman, who appeared to possess his full share of the pride and bashfulness common to his countrymen. Upon hearing my name mentioned by a fellow-passenger, he said he believed he had a letter for me from a friend in Quebec, or he should not have taken the liberty of addressing me. I told him no apology was necessary on that score, and was happy to hear good news of my friend.

The ice being thus broken, he said that our common friend had assured him that he could not apply to a better source for information respecting some property he held in South Carolina, in right of his wife, who was a Southern woman, as I had a brother settled as a merchant in Charleston. His first object was to ascertain whether slaves were regarded by the local laws as real estate. I suggested that the question seemed more proper to submit to a lawyer, than to a merchant or physician, and proposed to make him known to one. He frankly accepted my offer, and I proposed calling for him at his lodgings at ten the next morning. I repaired thither at the time appointed and found him sitting in his dressing gown and slippers, in conversation with a *distingué* looking man of about forty, who, from his air, I took to be a military man. Nor was I mistaken, for he was immediately introduced to me as Lt. Col. ———, of the ——— Regiment of her Britannic Majesty’s Guards. I found this gentleman, unlike his companion and most of his countrymen, well disposed for conversation, and what don’t always happen with persons gifted with that social accomplishment—well prepared for it.

He had spent the last winter in New York, and was well acquainted with both the materials and the mechanism of its society. He declared a decided preference of the belles to the beaux; though he admitted that the manners of the former suffered from the habit, which he

found prevailing among the young married women, of withdrawing very much from society; and he could the less easily account for it, as parties never assembled until a late hour. I observed that they might have other reasons for absenting themselves than the lateness of the hours, and suggested, the fear of not being properly attended to. "That must certainly be their own fault, or the fault, perhaps, of the men; for finer, and more attractive women, I never saw; and I should inevitably doubt that man's taste who is insensible to the charms of their persons or conversation; and can only account for it on the supposition I have already ventured—their superiority to their lords and masters. Perhaps this may be owing to the exclusive devotion of the latter to their business; but then your American wives appear to have but too many cares of their own; or may want taste for those occupations which are rarely pursued, except in a highly cultivated society. I say this without disparagement to your countrywomen, or your country; for I have observed the same thing in the women of France and Germany; who, whether at Paris or Vienna, Munich or the Spa, seem utterly at a loss what to do with themselves away from the gaming table or ball-room."

The Colonel, to my great regret, took his leave, shook me by the hand, and said he should be happy to become better acquainted, and was glad to find his friend in the hands of so good a pilot. Our com-

mon friend was also on the move, and proposed that we should proceed together to our appointments: so we walked down Broadway together. My *protégé* expressed great admiration of the beauty of the women, in which Colonel — concurred, but remarked that they were generally over-dressed. "There," said he, "is a dress that would be thought *fine* at a morning concert in London." "What do you think of that," said I, pointing out a young Quakeress remarkable for her industry in spinning *Broadway yarn*, and her great powers of endurance though not of speed. "Much better, but *stiff*—but she ought not to be permitted even to walk over the course in that condition." When we had reached Courtlandt street I descried my friend Groesbeck, trudging towards the Ferry in double quick time. I hailed him and asked where he was bound? "To home, to be sure," said he. "What, undertake such a journey at this season, by land." "But I aint going by land all the way—I am going in the steamboat with the Ice-plough in her bows to Tappan landing; and then by the Erie Railroad to Goshen, and so on by stage to Albany." "Even that is too much for you," I replied, "for they go through in twelve hours." "But I am not going through in twelve hours. I mean to stop at Goshen, and see my old friend the General; his wife is a sort of Dutch cousin of mine, and they would both like it all the better, if I'd stay a week or two with them." "But even that journey," continued I, "is too much for you at this

season." "Psha! Doctor, it's just nothing at all; you get out of the steamboat and into the cars, where you may sit or lie down along side of a close stove all the way. Why, it's the next thing to sleigh-riding. You are there before you've time to get an appetite ready for dinner. Besides, my wife sent me word by Charley Beach, to stop there and *pay a visit*. Now, though I owe no one any thing in that way, or in any other, I mean to take the old woman at her word, and so I told Charley to tell her to look for me when the river opens; and you know, Doctor, it don't answer for a man to go contrary to what his wife says, particularly on the North River, where the *Hens all crow*." From this there was no appeal, so I took my leave of the honest old fellow, and begged him to call on me whenever he came to New York, without ceremony. "Ceremony," said he, "What's that?" and so we parted.

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## Notes and Queries.

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### QUERIES.

PETER PENNYLESS.—Can any reader of the Magazine inform us of the real name of the author of a book bearing this title? "Sentimental Lucubrations: in Twelve Chapters. By Peter Pennyless. Philadelphia: Printed by William Gibbons, North Third Street, 1793." It is a small 18mo of 168 pages.

IOTA.

In Savage's celebrated Genealogical Dictionary, it is related that Clement Briggs, Plymouth, came in the *Fortune*, 1621, probably young, removed to Dorchester, there married, 1630 or 1631, early, Joan Allen, for officiating at which ceremony, Thomas Stoughton, the constable, was fined five pounds at the March Court, 1631. Does not this imply that our sturdy ancestors were accustomed to employ a clergyman for this sacred consummation? Was not the position of constable more elevated in the period of our ancestors than in modern times?

SHAWMUT.

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SINGING PSALMS NO ORDINANCE OF GOD.—Rev. Giles Firmin, in his *Separation Examined*, p. 35, gives an account of "a member of the Church of Rowley in New England," who maintained that "singing of Psalms was no Ordinance of God." It is stated that "the Elders of Ipswich besides his own Pastor" labored with him; but, seeing that "obstinacy was joined to his error," the church cast him out. This must have been as early as 1644. What is known of this case?

J. W. D.

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PASSENGERS ON THE SHIP JAMES, IN 1633.—Winthrop, in his *History of New England*, Vol. i., page 115, says:—"The same day [Oct. 10th, 1633], Mr. Grout, in the ship *James*, arrived at Salem, having been but eight weeks between Gravesend and Salem. He brought Capt. Wiggin and about thirty, with one Mr. Lev-

eridge, a godly minister, to Pascotaquack (which the Lord Say and the Lord Brook had purchased of the Bristol men), and about thirty for Virginia, and about twenty for this place, and some sixty cattle." Can any one give me the names of the "thirty" for Piscataquack, or any of them? It is supposed that these "thirty" comprised the early settlers of Dover, N. H.; at least, their names do not appear on any of the lists of passengers in other vessels, hitherto made public. Mr. Leveridge removed from Dover, and died at Newtown, L. I. Possibly he may have left a list, as they were his flock.

C. W. T.

ANNE HUTCHINSON.—Is it known where Anne Hutchinson died, whether on Long Island or in Westchester County? The question is not answered in Sparks' Biographies, and is certainly an interesting one. There is a small stream near New Rochelle called "Hutchinson's River," not far from which, this remarkable woman is said to have been put to death by the Indians; but I do not know upon what authority the account is founded.

E. L.

Feb. 26, 1865.

ASTROLOGY.—Can any of the readers of the H. M. give information regarding the following work, of which I have a copy?

De ratione et usu dierum criticorum opus recens natum, in quo mens tum ipsius Ptolemæi, tû alienum astrologorum hac in parte dilucidatur. Authire Thoma Boderis Rhotomagensis Diocesis.

Cui accepit Hermes Trismegistus de decubitu infirmorum, nunquam antea in lucem editus.

The colophon is a square inclosing two lions rampant, supporting a shield, wherein is a fleur-de-lis, with the letters O. P. A ribbon is above the shield with motto "Petit a petit."

Parisiis in officina Audoëni Parui ad Lillii insigne, via Jacobœa. Anno Salutis M.D.L.V. Small 4to, pp. 57.

It is evident the motto "petit a petit" *little by little*, is a pun upon the name of the printer, And. Petit, latinized into Parvus. The lily refers to the sign of the store, as exemplified in "ad insigne lillii," *at the sign of the lily*.

No biographical or bibliographical dictionary which I have consulted affords any information as to the book or its author. Nor does it appear in any list of astrological books I have ever met with.

P.

## REPLIES.

THE SHAWNEES. (Vol. x., p. 4.)—The "Lower Town" of the Shawnees was situated, in 1751, on the Ohio River, just below the mouth of the Sciota.—*Geo. Croghan's Journal in App. to Butler's Ky.* Also, *Journal of Ch. Gill in Pownall's Middle Colonies.*

It was in the fall of 1782, not '80, that General Clark's army of one thousand and fifty mounted riflemen destroyed the Shawnee towns Pickaway, Willstown, and the Chillicothes, old and new. In Clark's first expedition against

the Shawnees, in August, 1780, but one town was destroyed, Piqua, on Mad River, near the present town of Fairfield, Greene County, Ohio; it was never rebuilt.—See *Ohio Hist. Coll. Albert's Annals of the West, &c.*

Previous to Clark's expedition, in 1782, the Shawnees and other hostile tribes fought to break up the settlements south of the Ohio. From that time they struggled to make the Ohio River their southern boundary. How desperate their struggle is shown by their bloody resistance to the several expeditions against them of Logan in 1786, Edwards and Todds in 1787 and 1788, Gen. Harman in 1790, Gen. St. Clair in 1791, and Gen. Wayne in 1794. After Wayne's decisive victory they yielded the Ohio for a more northern boundary line by the Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795. After the cession of the greater portion of their lands in Ohio to the United States, in 1817, the Shawnees resided chiefly on their reserve at Wanaughkonnetta, on the Auglaize River, in what is now Auglaize County, Ohio. They finally removed to their present location, west of the Mississippi, in the spring of 1833.—*Harvey's History of the Shawnees.*

W. M. D.

*Pittsburgh, Feb. 22, 1866.*

CURIOUS HEXAMETERS. (Vol. v., p. 188.)—The very hexameters which "appeared in a collection of political pamphlets of a by-gone day" may be found in one of the first twelve volumes of [London]

"*Notes and Queries.*" They can also be found in the volume entitled *Milledulcia*, published in New York [by Appleton & Co.] a few years ago. They stand, however, as lines upon the tomb-stone of "John Weles, ob. 1694," in "Lavenham church, Norfolk." The author is surmised to have been Dr. John Byron, the English poet. The Notes and Queries inform us that these lines appear "in one of Dr. Byron's Common-Place Books, now in the possession of his respected descendant, Miss Atherton of Kersal Cell." Further, we are told that Dr. B. added a translation of the Latin lines "probably" by "himself:"

"What was John Wiles is what John Wiles was not,  
The mortal being has immortal got.  
The Wiles that was being a non Ens is gone,  
And now remains the true eternal John."

We are also informed (in N. and Q.) that there is the [following] similar epitaph in another church-yard:

"That which a being was, what is it? Show:  
That being which it was, it is not now.  
To be what 'tis not to be, you see;  
That which now is not shall a Being be."

*Boston.*

M. S. Y.

DOCTOR FRANKLIN AND HIS MOTHER. (Vol. v., p. 152.)—I saw and read with deep interest the above story more than thirty years ago. I found it in a newspaper. It appears in the "Percy Anecdotes," Vol. ii., p. 140, and, I think, also, in some school books. I made a discovery, this morning, in which "BAFLED" shall have a share. While turn-

ing over the leaves of "*Parton's Life of Franklin*," I found in the appendix to Vol. i. (pp. 618-621), the story of *Franklin and his mother* related, and its truth somewhat questioned. Mr. P. does not, I think, inform us where the story first appeared.

M. S. Y.

*Boston, Feb. 24.*

DR. FRANKLIN'S LIBRARY.—On the fly-leaf of an English book, printed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which has lately come into my possession, is the following account of the manner in which Dr. Franklin's library was dispersed:

"Dr. Franklin bequeathed his library to his grandson, W. Temple Franklin, who took the books to London. There they were pledged for the repayment of money borrowed by Temple Franklin to extricate his friend, Robert Morris, Jr., from arrest. The money not having been repaid, a great part of the books were sent to Philadelphia to N. G. Duffie to be sold. N. G. Duffie opened a store for the purpose in South Fourth, near Walnut street, and there I bought this and other books."

D.

*Philadelphia.*

DERIVATION OF CHICKAMAUGA.—During the war this name was given the fanciful signification "The River of Death." Filson (*Acct. of Ky.*, p. 368, ed. Lond. 1793) derives it from the Cherokee, and says it means "*a boiling pot*, there being a whirlpool in the river dangerous to boats." It was originally applied to a

clan of Cherokees who lived near "The Narrows" of the Tennessee river, where this whirlpool still exists, and who subsequently removed to the Chickamauga Creek, carrying their name with them.

D. G. B.

THOMAS HOLME'S MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA.—The date of the completion of this important map has, I believe, not been ascertained. The patent of the latest date I have observed entered upon it was issued by Penn's Commissioners, October 5, 1686. I have before me a conveyance of a tract in the township of Concord, dated 1st mo. (March) 1st, 1686. This tract is entered upon the map in the name of the purchaser. It was re-sold 4 mo. 5th, 1688; therefore the map was completed, certainly previous to the last-mentioned date, probably in the winter 1686-'87. D. G. B.

WHERE IS A PERFECT BOOK?—In correcting an inadvertence in Allen's excellent Biographical Dictionary, the compositor, perhaps while slumbering at his case, has unconsciously perpetrated another error by making me state that Timothy Fuller was born at Chilmash, when it should read *Chilmark*, a town in Duke's County, Massachusetts. An enumeration of the mistakes in the volumes of the Historical Magazine would make a curious array. Indeed what book is divested entirely of either errors of the heart or hand? It is a transcript of human frailty.

SHAWMUT.

AMERICAN SKIN DISEASES. (Vol. x., p. 83.)—The species of skin disease known in Illinois as the "prairie itch," the "Wabash scratches," and also "camp rash," is characterized by vesicles and pustules, especially at the flexures of the joints and between the fingers. It yields to the specific treatment of true *scabies*, and is apparently nothing but that disease. At least this was true of the cases I saw while in charge of a hospital in that State. By the "barber's itch" is generally understood *sycosis contagiosum*, long supposed, though probably erroneously, to be conveyed from one customer to another by an uncleanly barber. The "ground itch," also frequently spoken of in the West, is, as far as I have observed it, a *lichen* (Wilson). We may well suppose, however, that since the doctors forever disagree about the classification of skin diseases, the laity use the terms mentioned very promiscuously. D. G. B.

RIVINGTON'S INDEPENDENT JOURNAL, OR GENERAL ADVERTISER. (Vol. x., p. 22.)—The supposition that Rivington was concerned in publishing this paper was derived principally from the fact that a certain advertisement which occurs, for the first time, in No. 756 of the "*New York Gazette and Universal Advertiser*," on Wednesday, Dec. 24, 1783, was continued with the same press mark "2 m.," in the "*Independent Journal*" during the month of January, 1784.

This journal must have made its first

appearance on Dec. 31, 1783. Was it conducted by Rivington or by Webster and McLean? Had not Webster already removed to Albany? I. J. G.

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## Societies and their Proceedings.

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### AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL.

THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY held their February meeting on the 26th, at the house of Thomas Ewbank, Esq., the first vice-president, who took the chair in the absence of the president, George Folsom, LL. D.

The annual election was held, and resulted as follows: *President*, George Folsom; *First Vice-president*, Thomas Ewbank; *Second Vice-president*, Dr. John Torrey; *Treasurer*, Alexander J. Cotheal; *Corresponding Secretary*, Dr. William H. Thomson; *Recording Secretary*, Theodore Dwight; and *Librarian*, Henry T. Drowne.

The ten Standing Committees were filled as last year, with a few necessary changes.

The following elections were made of Corresponding Members:

General Osman Hashem, late Tunisian Ambassador to the United States; Amos Perry, Esq., United States Consul at Tunis; Dr. E. Berchon, Paris; Rev. John<sup>d</sup> Gulick, North China; John Ward, Esq., United States Indian Agent at Santa Fé, New Mexico; Dr. Evans, Fort Smith, Arkansas; Senhor Continho, Brazil.

Dr. Henry R. Stiles, of New York, was elected a Resident Member.

A letter was read from Geo. Gibbs, Esq., at Washington, February 20th, stating, among other things, that he had procured from the Indian delegations now at Washington, good vocabularies of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Witchitte tribes. The Cherokee vocabulary was prepared by the Rev. I. B. Jones, many years a resident among them, and late Chaplain to the Loyal Cherokee Regiment, and who speaks the language admirably. Mr. Jones pro-

poses to prepare a work on the principle of Ollendorff, for the purpose of teaching the Cherokees English, and also to prepare a grammar and dictionary of the Cherokee language, embracing the native alphabet, the same as represented by Roman letters, and a translation.

Dr. Macgowan exhibited a Spanish document purporting to be a copy, made May 25th, 1846, in Mexico, from an old one of uncertain date and origin. The copy was given to Dr. Macgowan by John Ward, Esq., United States Indian Agent at Santa Fé, New Mexico. Nine pages of foolscap paper are filled with an extravagant history of the origin of Montezuma, his reign, and his abdication to Cortes. It is full of visions, prophecies and miracles, improbable and impossible occurrences. The objects of the author appear to have been two, which are opposed to each other, viz.: to show, first, that the conquest of Mexico by Cortes was made by the order and provision of God for the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion, and second, that Montezuma will appear again as king, and that the people should expect him, and retain faithful allegiance to him. Credible prophecies say that he will rise from the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, where he has long lain awaiting his time.

Dr. Wilson, or, as he is called by his people, the Iroquois, "De-jits-non-dah-wéh-hoh," meaning the Pacificator, then addressed the society:

"Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Society:

"I do not intend to occupy a great deal of time, but I wish to correct some errors in an article published in *Harper's Magazine*, for February, on 'The Life and Times of Red Jacket.' The writer says that Colonel Parker, an Iroquois, who is on General Grant's staff, is the successor of Red Jacket. That is not the fact. The name, also, is not written correctly. It should be Shagóyewathah, instead of Sa-go-ye-wat-ha. And there is another error in saying that his original name was O-te-ti-ani. That was probably his youth's name.

"Each male among the Iroquois has a name given him in infancy, another at the age of puberty, and a third, if he is chosen chief. The successor of a chief receives the name of that chief. The child's name of Red Jacket was Ho-déh-syo-ni. It does not mean exactly what the writer says, 'Always ready,' but it means, 'He is aiming.' When he was made a

chief that name was changed for Sha-go-ye-wat-hah. He was never a Sachem, but only a Chief.

"We have three grades of officers—Chiefs, Sachems and Grand Sachems. Grand Sachems are called Ho-de-yun-nae, or peaceful men, and Chiefs are called Wah-che-sah, or O-gua-chi-sah, Elder Brothers.

"Colonel Parker is not a successor of Red Jacket. His successor was appointed in 1864, and belonged to his family. A regular successor must be the nearest relative in the mother's line, and of the same nation and the same tribe.

"We have six nations, viz.: the Mohawks (sometimes called Maquas, or Mingoos), the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, the Senecas, and the Tuscaroras, who were added to the Confederacy in 1713. We have also several tribes, viz.: those of the Turtle, Wolf, Bear and Beaver on one side, and the Deer, Hawk, Heron, and Snipe on the other. The tribes extend through those nations to which they belong, and a member of one tribe is treated as a brother by all of his tribe wherever he goes, though they may not understand his language.

"The founders of the Confederacy are said to have been Hiungwantha Teganoida, and Tottadá-ho, the last a deformed being, was discovered in the forest near Onondaga, 'a long time ago,' and was regarded with great reverence on account of his unaccountable origin and strange figure. He was unable to walk, stand or speak, and his fingers, toes and hair were elongated into living snakes. The Grand Council assembled in his presence, and were directed by his gestures in determining the principles of the Confederacy. The two leading members of the Council were Hiungwantha and Teganoida, and when the question of succession was under discussion, they were in favor of fixing it in the male line; but Tottadá-ho held up one of his fingers, which was his sign of dissent, and this induced the Council to favor the female line, on which Tottadá-ho doubled up his finger, and thus the question was unanimously decided, and the principle has been acted on ever since. Hiungwantha is called Hiawatha by Mr. Longfellow. Entire unanimity is required for every act in council.

"The influence of the women is very great in questions of peace and war. The Grand Sachems alone have the power to declare war; but they are properly men of peace, and are metaphorically invested with

the antlers of the deer at their inauguration, and while wearing them are incapable of any warlike authority. Before a Sachem can go to war the mothers must assemble, and by unanimous consent agree to remove the antlers from the Grand Sachems, and then they are authorized to 'enter on the war path,' or to declare war. The women are considered as owning the nations, because the men are their children.

The original Five Nations had their chief seats on a line running west from the Mohawk River, to the waters of the Genesee, and the Confederacy made them one. They were said to live in 'The Long House,' the western door of which was kept by the Senecas, near Buffalo. When any other Indian nation applied to be allowed to form a treaty with the Five Nations, and sent an ambassador, he was burned at the stake to test the sincerity of his people in making the proposal. If they still desired it so much as to send another, he also was burned, further to test them. If a third arrived, he was received with confidence, and told that all the path from the western door to the council fire was spread with the bark of the Slippery elm tree, and that he should be pushed upon it, and slide to the centre of the Confederacy. On reaching Onondaga, the Grand Sachem caressed Tottadá-ho, and asked him, 'What do you want?' He explained his object. "Tottadá-ho said, 'Sit down; you are perfectly safe here,' and then a treaty was made, and peace and amity were secured.

"Mr. Parker is a very wise and able man, worthy of high respect and confidence. But he would not wish to be called a successor of Red Jacket, and I would wish to correct the erroneous statement in *Harpers' Magazine*. He succeeded John Blacksmith, Do-ne-ho-gá-weh, as Grand Sachem. The successor of Red Jacket is the son of Tu-gerns. He is a distant relative of Red Jacket through the female line, as well as a Seneca, and of the Wolf tribe. Mr. Parker is a Seneca and a Wolf, but not a relative.

"My mother was a Cayuga. My father, his mother and her mother were Senecas. One of the grand sachems present at the formation of the Confederacy was a Cayuga, of the White Heron tribe. All the Wolves and all the Herons are related to me. An Onondaga Heron is my brother, and enjoys the hospitality of my wigwam when he visits my place, and *vice versa*. If my family should fail to have a proper

successor, it goes out of my family, but he must be a Cayuga, and also a White Heron. If that family fail, the succession would come back. If there is only an infant, the council appoint a regent of the same family and nation."

Mr. Gulick here remarked, that in the Sandwich Islands the succession goes through the mothers.

Dr. Macgowan mentioned that the same was true of some of the Central Tartar tribes.

Dr. Wilson continued: "At councils the council fire is in the centre, the place of Tottadá-ho, and the officers form a circle round it, the people standing outside of them. When a sachem expatriates himself, he passes through the circle and is supposed to rub off the antlers from his head in moving through the crowd."

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. *Boston, March 7th.*—A stated meeting was held this afternoon, Hon. George B. Upton, Vice-President for Massachusetts, in the chair. The Librarian reported that since the last meeting there has been presented to the society 43 bound volumes and 58 pamphlets.

Dr. Winslow Lewis presented, in behalf of the widow of Dr. Lane, the log-book of the ship *Protector*, date 1780; the commission of John Foster Williams as captain, and also the commission of the second lieutenant of said ship. This ship performed a very important part in our Revolutionary War, and a short but comprehensive account of several of its battles are recorded in this log-book. Dr. Lewis also presented the society, from himself, a very valuable collection of autographs, among which were those of Henry IV. and Governor Endicott; also a very splendidly-executed document on parchment, in gilt and illuminated letters and illustrations, being the diploma of an apothecary by the name of Domenico Ferrimonte, who kept at the sign of the Umbrella, near the Church of St. Stephen, in Venice, in the olden time.

The thanks of the society were voted to Mrs. Lane and to Dr. Lewis for their valuable donations, and the Library Committee were instructed to have such documents as require it appropriately framed.

Wm. B. Trask, the Historiographer, read memoirs of Joseph Hockey, who died in Chelsea, Oct. 13, 1863, aged 61; of Isaac Osgood, of Charlestown, who died June 22, 1865, aged 73; of Jacob Quincy Kettelle, of Boston, who died Dec. 2, 1865; and of John Hooper, of Boston, who died Feb. 7, 1865, aged 53; all resident members of the society.

Rev. Wm. Chauncey Fowler, LL.D., of Durham, Conn., read a paper on "The Conditions of Success in Genealogical Investigations as Illustrated by the Character of Nathaniel Chauncey, who died in Philadelphia, Feb. 9, 1865."

Dr. Fowler's paper was a finished production, and was spoken with emphasis and power. It was a thorough representation of the qualifications necessary to success, in genealogical research, and a most interesting statement of the real value and importance of acquisitions in that line of history. He illustrated his subject by stating the qualifications necessary to a successful study of genealogy to be: 1st, love of kindred; 2d, love of investigation; 3d, an active imagination; 4th, a disciplined judgment; 5th, a conscientious regard for truth. All these qualifications were most happily united in the remarkable character of the late Nathaniel Chauncey, of Philadelphia, Honorary Vice-President of the N. E. Historic-Genealogical Society for Pennsylvania. The subject was exemplified by the very remarkable results of Mr. Chauncey's researches, which have not, from his innate modesty, yet been given to the public through the press.

Dr. Fowler is engaged in writing the history of Durham, Conn.; and gave a very interesting statement of the beginning of this enterprise, as an example and encouragement to other New England towns.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The stated monthly meeting of this society was held on Thursday, February 8th, in the Dowse Library, the president, the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, in the chair.

The list of donations for the past month was read by the librarian.

The president read a letter from a gentleman in Hartford, Connecticut, stating that he had in his possession "a piece of copper of the size of an English penny, with the name of Daniel Shays rudely en-

graved on it. On the reverse is 'B. L. 1787,' with a rough representation of a hand grasping a sword." It was found in digging up a spot of ground used early for a camp-ground. The writer suggested that "B. L." was intended for B. Lincoln's regiment, in which, he says, Shays was a captain, in 1787. The writer proposed to exchange this relic for its value in an American coin.

Mr. Sibley presented to the society a large paper copy of his history of the catalogues of Harvard College. Ex-Governor Andrew was elected a resident member.

A portrait of the late Dr. John Eliot, the author of the Biographical Dictionary, was exhibited at the meeting. It had been presented at a previous meeting.

The president referred to the death of the venerable Dr. Nott, a corresponding member, in the ninety-third year of his age.

Dr. Lothrop gave some interesting reminiscences of Dr. Nott.

Mr. Waterston presented, in the name of the Hon. J. C. Park, a memorial of his son, Major Park, who died of a wound received before Petersburg. Also, proceedings of the Century Club, in honor of the memory of Gen. James L. Wadsworth and Col. P. A. Porter, from Mr. M. Brimmer. He also presented memorials of Major Henry Ward Camp, and of Gen. Wadsworth.

Dr. Burroughs, a corresponding member, being present, presented an old deed of Robert Tufton Mason, of date 1686, and also two interesting letters of "Mary Pepperrell," to her husband, Sir William.

Mr. Eliot called the attention of members to a photograph from an engraving, supposed to represent Columbus and his two sons, on which opinions are divided respecting its authenticity.

Mr. W. G. Brooks presented some broadside proclamations of an early date.

Rev. Mr. Hale exhibited a number of Duchesne's models of public buildings and of private dwellings in Boston, made soon after 1811, which excited considerable interest.

Mr. Winthrop read an interesting letter from the Marquis of Buckingham to Sir John Temple at Boston, dated Stowe, December 3, 1786, announcing his succession to the Baronetcy by the decease of Sir

Peter Temple. The letter also dwelt at length on American affairs, the Marquis conceding that, although he opposed the separation of the colonies from Great Britain, yet he was now convinced that the independence of the United States was the best for both countries.

Mr. Savage expressed the hope that the letter just read would be printed.

### MINNESOTA.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MINNESOTA held its Annual Meeting, at Ingersoll's Hall, on the 22d of February. The meeting was presided over by Col. D. A. Robertson, First Vice-President of the Society, who briefly addressed the audience on the aims and objects of the Society, and invited the co-operation of all friends of historical research or lovers of natural history. He then introduced Charles E. Mayo, Esq., Secretary of the Society, who read the following annual report :

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Historical Society :*

In accordance with the instructions of Council, the Secretary submits the following report :

The last report of the condition of the Society was made to the Executive Council, March 14th, 1864. At that time the Library and Museum comprised the following articles : Books, 826 ; pamphlets, 1,236 ; newspapers, 6,400 ; maps, charts and engravings, 169 ; articles in the Museum, consisted of curiosities, relics, coins, geological and mineralogical specimens, &c., 1,197. There have been added since, 132 books, 50 pamphlets, 500 newspapers, 80 maps, charts, engravings and photographs, and 1,047 articles in the Museum. The collection at present therefore consists of 958 books, 1,286 pamphlets, 6,900 newspapers, 249 maps, charts, engravings and photographs, and 2,244 articles in the Museum.

Since the last election of officers of the Society, Feb. 19, 1864, the Executive council have held seventeen meetings. These meetings have been of a social, conversational character, and have been instructive and interesting to the participants. Although the public have been invited to attend, very few have availed themselves of the invitation.

During this period, Dr. F. N. Hayden, of Washing-

ton, Gen. J. Watts De Peyster, of New York, and Dean Dudley, Esq., of Boston (to each of whom the Society is indebted for valuable contributions) have been elected honorary members. The Society is under especial obligations to Gen. De Peyster for liberal donations of books, pamphlets, engravings and curiosities. A large and valuable collection of shells, fossils and geological specimens has been added to the cabinet by gift of Dr. C. De Montreville.

Hon. H. M. Rice, Gov. Ramsey, Gov. Miller, and Gov. Marshall, have evinced their interest in the Society by frequent contributions to the library and cabinet.

Rev. S. R. Riggs has presented J. W. Lynd's manuscript history of the Dacotahs, a portion of which has been published by the Society, and original papers consisting of a history of the Dacotah Mission and a biographical sketch of Jas. W. Lynd, whose sad fate lends a double interest to his memory.

Rev. E. D. Neill, intimately identified with the organization and development of the Society, has furnished original papers on the "Early French Forts and Footprints of the Valley of the Upper Mississippi," and "Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling, from 1819 to 1840." These two papers, together with a chapter from Lynd's manuscript on the "Religion of the Dacotahs," comprise the "Collections" of the Society for 1864, of which 500 copies were printed. 362 copies have been distributed among the members and sister societies, and many interesting and valuable works have been received in exchange. It is in contemplation to issue during the present year another volume of "Annals," for which the Society are collecting material.

A new feature in the history of the Society is the introduction of the department of Natural History, of which Mr. R. O. Sweeny has been elected curator. A case for the preservation and exhibition of specimens has been placed in the rooms, and several specimens of the animals of Minnesota have been prepared by the curator and placed therein.

Many contributions have been received from various sources which have not been enumerated, as it would unnecessarily lengthen the report.

Mr. A. J. Hill, formerly acting Secretary of the Society, has presented a translation, in manuscript, of "The Life and Writings of Constantine Beltrami,

the discoverer of the sources of the Mississippi," which is dedicated by the author, Gabrielle Rosa, to the Minnesota Historical Society. A memorial from this Society is now before the Legislature, asking that body, as an act of tardy justice to the memory of the ardent Italian explorer, to establish the County of Beltrami, and very properly locating it in the district which he explored on the head waters of the Mississippi.

Before the close of the war, a circular was addressed to the officers of all the forces in the United States service from this State, requesting them "to preserve for and deposit with the Society such books and papers pertaining to their respective commands as will be of service in perpetuating the names and deeds of the officers and men of Minnesota regiments." To this appeal there were but two responses—an indication of apathy unlooked for and much to be regretted.

It is hoped that the public will in future manifest more interest in the welfare of the Society, and assist in promoting its objects, by contributions of such material as they may possess or can easily obtain, and they should bear in mind that much that may now be regarded as trash, may in the lapse of years become priceless gems of history.

The President then introduced Rev. Dr. McMasters, who delivered the Annual Address. The Doctor chose for his theme, "Of the advantages and disadvantages of living in a new country." The subject was handled in every possible light, and a variety of collateral topics incorporated in the discourse, which, though it occupied an hour in its delivery, was listened to with profound attention and interest throughout.

#### NEW YORK.

THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its Annual Meeting on the 9th day of January, 1866. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

Millard Fillmore, *President*;  
Orsamus H. Marshall, *Vice-President*;  
Sherman S. Rogers, *Recording Secretary*;  
Wm. K. Scott, *Corresponding Secretary and Librarian*;  
Oliver G. Steele, *Treasurer*.

HIST. MAG., VOL. X. 17

*Councillors*—Nathan K. Hall, William Dorsheimer, Lewis F. Allen, William C. Young, John B. Skinner, Charles D. Norton, Orlando Allen, Eben P. Dorr, Warren Bryant.

The Annual Address was delivered before the society in St. James Hall, on Saturday, the 10th of February, 1866, by the Rev. WALTER CLARK, D. D.

On motion of the Hon. John B. Skinner, the thanks of the society were tendered to Dr. Clark for his able and interesting address, and a copy thereof solicited for publication.

A regular Monthly Meeting of the society was held at its rooms on Tuesday, the 13th of February, 1866. The president, the Hon. Millard Fillmore, being absent in Europe, the vice-president, O. H. Marshall, presided.

The vice-president announced that, since the last regular meeting, he had received from Albert H. Porter, Esq., a corresponding member of the society, an elegant and commodious chair, for the use of the presiding officers of the society, accompanied with the following letter:

NIAGARA FALLS, Jan. 31st, 1866.

O. H. MARSHALL, Esq., *Vice-President of the Buffalo Historical Society*:

Sir:—Having obtained your approval of the suitability of the object, I beg leave to herewith present, through you, to the Buffalo Historical Society, a chair, designed for the use of its presiding officer.

It was made from a venerable oak, one of a number of majestic trees of that kind growing on the bank of the Niagara River, opposite Goat Island, near the Cataract, when visited by the late Augustus Porter, in 1795, and flourished on his old homestead for nearly sixty years.

It died in the winter of 1853, of old age and natural exhaustion, and judging by the usual marks of age in trees, was over three hundred years old, and when cut down measured more than four feet in diameter over the stump.

What it lacks in historical interest, in comparison with its famous contemporary, the Charter Oak of Connecticut, is made up, in some degree, by the superior majesty of its proportions, and the world-wide fame of the locality in which it grew.

A chair for the Governor of Connecticut has been appropriately made from the Charter Oak. The Niagara Oak is worthy of preservation in like form, and the associations of locality and age would seem to harmonize with the purpose of your society.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT H. PORTER.

Whereupon, on motion of Oliver G. Steele, Esq., the thanks of the society were unanimously tendered to the donor for his valuable gift, together with a resolution—

"That a silver plate, with a suitable inscription, recognizing the gift, be procured and affixed to the chair, under the direction of the vice-president," &c.

The librarian also reported the receipt of a large number of books, pamphlets, newspapers, relics, &c., comprising much of value and interest.

The following papers, read before the Buffalo Historical Society, have been published in pamphlet form under their auspices:

1. History of the Buffalo Public Schools. An address by Oliver G. Steele, Esq., ex-superintendent of Schools. Delivered Jan. 23d, 1863. 8vo, pp. 24.

2. The American Express, in its relation to the City of Buffalo. A paper prepared for the Buffalo Historical Society, at their request, June 1863, by Henry Wells. 8vo, pp. 20.

3. The Boundary Line between the British Provinces and the United States. Read before the Buffalo Historical Society, Feb. 1, 1864. By Wm. A. Bird, Esq. 8vo, pp. 8 (double column).

4. The Manufacture of Iron in Buffalo. A paper read before the Buffalo Historical Society, Jan. 25, 1864. By John Wilkeson, Esq. 8vo, pp. 8 (double column).

5. The Old Ferry at the Black Rock. A paper read before the Buffalo Historical Society, Dec. 14, 1863. By Charles D. Norton, Esq. 8vo, pp. 19 (republished from Thomas' Buffalo City Directory).

Other papers have been published, which we have not seen as yet. It will thus be seen that this Society is doing an important part in preserving the local history of the city and neighborhood.

**BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—The regular meetings of this society are mostly business meetings, the proceedings of which do not possess much general in-

terest. Their most important meetings are held only in the winter, and are called "club meetings"—a sort of social gathering at the residence of those members who live in houses large enough to accommodate all the members who see fit to attend. At every meeting a paper is read on some subject; after which its subject-matter is open for free discussion. As these papers are mostly on local History or Biography, they are subjected to the most thorough criticism, and any thing wrong in them is sure to be corrected. A reporter takes down the whole conversation, which, with the paper itself, is deposited in the archives of the society.

In this way the society has collected a mass of Historical and Biographical knowledge of great value, which could not well have been obtained in any other way. These meetings are generally held once a week.

The following *resumé* of the "club meetings" during the winter of 1864-'65, has been furnished for the Magazine by the society's secretary:

The opening meeting was held at the residence of the president, the Hon. MILLARD FILLMORE, on the 10th day of December, 1864. The paper for the evening was upon "The Building of the 'Walk-in-the-Water,'" the pioneer steamboat of the Western Lakes, which was built in 1818. It was written for the Club by the late HENRY DAW, a former well-known and honored resident of this city.

The meetings following were held on the Monday evening of each week in the following order:

On the 26th December, 1864, the Club were invited to partake of the hospitality of the Hon. LEWIS F. ALLEN, at Black Rock, when "Some Reminiscences of the late JOSEPH ELLICOTT" were given to members present in a paper read by Prof. ELLICOTT EVANS, of Hamilton College. The memoir of Professor EVANS is historically of great value, for it embodies events in the life of a distinguished pioneer of Western New York, which would not have been preserved in an accessible form had not Prof. Evans courteously complied with the request of the Club in the preparation of this paper.

On the 6th of January, 1865, at the house of HENRY W. ROGERS, Esq., "A Biographical Sketch of the late THOMAS C. WELCH," a former member of this Club, and a prominent member of the bar of this city, was read by WM. DORSHEIMER, Esq.; and on the same oc-

casion the Hon. NATHAN K. HALL discussed the subject of "The Postal Service as connected with the History of Buffalo," in an elaborate and able paper of great general as well as local interest.

The Club was favored on the 16th day of January, 1865, with the paper of RICHARD WILLIAMS, Esq., entitled "The Black Rock Harbor, Pier, Water Power and Flouring Mills." It is hardly necessary to say that this was one of the most valuable contributions to our local history which we have yet obtained. This meeting was at the residence of Hon. JOHN B. SKINNER. The Club on this occasion was indebted to Mr. WILLIAM KETCHUM for a letter which he had received from the venerable Judge PEACOCK, of Mayville, giving some reminiscences of his early adventures in Western New York.

The Club next assembled on the 23d of January, 1865, at the residence of OLIVER G. STEELE, Esq., when a paper giving "The History of Old Fort Schlosser, together with some facts relative to the Old French Mess House and the Little Fort Niagara," was read by CHAS. D. NORTON.

At the residence of JOHN G. DESHLER, Esq., on the 6th day of February, 1865, H. W. ROGERS, Esq., read "A Biographical Notice of the late HARRY DAW," and Mr. LEWIS F. ALLEN presented "Some Reminiscences of his Early Residence in the West, from 1818 to 1821."

"The Land Office of the Holland Land Company of Buffalo," was the subject of the paper of THOMAS BLOSSOM, Esq., at the residence of Hon. GEORGE R. BABCOCK, on the 13th February, 1865; and on the same evening a letter from EDWARD C. WALKER, Esq., of Detroit, was read, together with a narrative of "The First Trip of the 'Walk-in-the-Water,' by Mrs. MARY WETHERELL PALMER, of Detroit." Mrs. Palmer was "the Young Bride" who is mentioned in the late Mr. Harry Daw's history of that famous steamboat. The President read "A Biographical Sketch of Asa Rice, Esq., one of the early lawyers of Erie county."

The next meeting was held on the 20th February, 1865, at the house of CHARLES D. NORTON, where GEO. W. HOLLEY, Esq., of Niagara Falls, presented and read a historical sketch of the "Sortie of Fort Erie." The paper ascribes the merit of that celebrated and gallant exploit to General PETER B. PORTER as against the claims of the friends of General JACOB

BROWN. The subject elicited an interesting discussion, but not unlike many other important historical discussions, was unproductive of any definite or available result. Upon this occasion the President read a biographical sketch of the late JOSEPH CLARY.

The meeting of the 27th February, 1865, was at the residence of Hon. NATHAN K. HALL, on which occasion the members present listened with great interest to the paper of O. H. MARSHALL, Esq., entitled "Sketches on the Niagara Frontier," and a letter from W. A. BIRD, Esq., to CHARLES D. NORTON, was read to the Club, "as a fitting pendant to Mr. Holley's paper on the Sortie of Fort Erie."

Dr. W. G. MORTON, of Boston, having been invited to address the Club on his "Discovery of the anæsthetic properties of Ether," presented that subject at the meeting held at the residence of JAMES D. SAWYER, Esq., on the 6th day of March, 1865.

"The History of Elevators," by JOSEPH DART, Esq., was the paper contributed for the entertainment of the members on the evening of the 13th March, 1865, at the residence of S. S. JEWETT, Esq.; and this was followed, on the 20th of the same month, at the residence of WM. DORSHEIMER, Esq., by "The History of Music in Buffalo," by C. F. S. THOMAS, Esq.

A. R. KETCHUM, Esq., read before the Club, on the 27th day of March, 1865, at the residence of Capt. E. P. DORR, a paper containing the "History of the Buffalo Water Works;" and on the same evening Mr. COZZENS' memoir of Col. PETER A. PORTER was read from the unpublished manuscript which had been forwarded for that purpose. A paper was likewise read entitled "Niagara Falls and its Vicinity, since 1800." This interesting paper was written by ALBERT H. PORTER, Esq., the eldest son of the late Judge Porter, of Niagara Falls, and is a most valuable contribution to the local history of Western New York.

The last meeting of the Club was held at the residence of WM. A. BIRD, Esq., at Black Rock, on the 3d day of April, 1865, and Hon. HORACE V. SOPER, of Batavia, at the request of the Club, read "The History of the Ketchum Mowing Machine," an invention of the late WM. F. KETCHUM, of this city, which has become celebrated, and ranks among the most valuable agricultural machines of the present day.

Mrs. POWELLIS' "Journal of a Tour from Fort Niagara to Fort Erie and Buffalo Creek, in 1785," was

read on this occasion, and the Club was also entertained in a paper furnished by the Hon. ORANGE DEAN, of Onondaga, upon "The Character and Habits of the Indians of the Six Nations."

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## Notes on Books.

*Grant and his Campaigns: A Military Biography.* By Henry Coppée, A. M. New York: 1866. 8vo, pp. 512. Portraits and maps.

Mr. C. B. Richardson, the originator and long the publisher of the *Historical Magazine*, as is well known to most of our readers, "leads" the trade in the publication of important and first-class historical works relating to the recent war for the Union. The best talent of both sections of the country has been employed by him in the preparation of these works, and they are the most accurate and reliable which we can reasonably expect to be written within the next quarter or half century. Among these publications we have seen none better than this handsome volume on "Grant and his Campaigns." Sanctioned by the illustrious subject himself, and compiled from authentic records, and with the aid of the General's most intimate friends and fellow-soldiers, it bears its own commendation upon every page. The style is such as might be expected from the scholarly Coppée, and the whole work is very satisfactory. The portraits are life-like, the maps well drawn, and the volume has that neat appearance which characterizes Mr. Richardson's publications.

*The Battle of the Kegs, by Francis Hopkinson.* Oak-wood Press: 1866. 8vo, pp. 30. Edition 100 copies, of which eighteen are on large paper.

A privately printed affair, issued in Philadelphia; got up on blue laid writing paper, with rubricated title and line around each page. The title-page bears a badly-drawn and coarsely-engraved representation of an oak tree, with the motto "*lente sed fortiter*;" the prefatory matter simply consists of an account of the event which gave rise to the poem, copied from the *American Museum*, of 1787, and each four-line stanza of the poem enjoys the undivided honor of a whole page to itself. If this is the private "pull" of an amateur printer, we have nothing to say; if, however, as we suspect, it was done at a regular city printing-office, it is simply a burlesque on good and tasteful printing. And if money is to be spent on such things, why not spend it on something more valuable than these un-edited and un-annotated reprints of things which are neither curious or new?

*An Historical Notice of the Essex Institute; with the Act of Incorporation, Constitution and By-Laws, and Lists of the Officers and members.* Salem: Printed by the Institution. 1866. 8vo, pp. 44.

A neatly printed pamphlet, full of interest to all

who have, in past years, watched the progress of this energetic and really "live" Society. It contains a complete index to its publications, statistics of its collections, both in its Historical and Natural History departments, lists of its officers and members since its organization in 1848, and presents a record of public spirit and of *work done* which throws many other organizations of the kind far in the shade. We have for years past been in the habit of recommending our friends, who wanted to know how to run society-machines, to study the organization and practical workings of the Essex Institute.

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## Book-Gossip.

THE last volume of Reports published by the Smithsonian Institution (that for 1864) contains, among others, the following papers, of peculiar interest to historical students: on *The Crania Helvetica*, by F. Troyon, of Lausanne, Switzerland; *Artificial Shell-Deposits in New Jersey*, by Prof. Chas. Rau; on *The Intermixture of Races*, by Prof. Geo. Gibbes; a continuation of Prof. Rau's translation of *An Account of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the California Peninsula*, as given by Jacob Baegert, a German Jesuit Missionary, who lived there seventeen years during the second half of the last century; and on *The First Steps in the Study of High Antiquity in Europe*, by A. Morlot.

Mr. W. ELLIOT WOODWARD, of Roxbury, Mass., has in press a translation, by Dr. FRANKLIN B. HOUGH, of the Chevalier Pouchet's "*Memoires sur la dernière Guerre de l'Amerique Septentrionale, entre la France et l'Angleterre*," a work of much fidelity and value, in the opinion of those who have written upon the special period to which it relates (1755-'60), yet scarcely known in our public libraries or in private collections. It will be issued from Munsell's press, in two volumes, with numerous maps and other illustrations, and the edition limited to 200 copies in octavo and fifty in quarto. The first volume, we understand, is nearly completed.

WE are glad to learn that Mr. J. ALEXANDER PAT-  
TEN, a prolific and well-known writer for the press, is about to collect and publish, in book form, the series of *Biographical Sketches of American Clergymen*, which have, for several years past, formed a

noticeable feature in the *New York Sunday Times*. These sketches are not only accurate as to facts, and just as criticisms, but are, to our own knowledge, in many instances, wonderful word-photographs of the mental as well as physical characteristics of their respective subjects. In their collected form, they will each be accompanied with a characteristic sermon or discourse, thus forming a most life-like representation of the American pulpit of the present day.

Mr. E. G. SQUIER is about to give the results of his recent Peruvian travels and studies in a magnificent work, to be published in five parts, at \$10 per part. It will, of course, abound in illustrations, and cannot fail of being the most extensive as well as the most interesting addition which modern research has made to our knowledge of Peru.

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## Numismatic Notes.

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COIN SALES.—Several interesting sales have taken place in New York, within a few months; the first of which, in point of time and importance, comprised the valuable collection of the late Dr. FRANCIS S. EDWARDS. The collection was very extensive, and contained many most desirable things both in the American and foreign departments. When judged by the standard of former sales the prices realized were very moderate. The catalogue was prepared by Mr. Edward Cogan, under whose directions the sale took place at Messrs. Bangs, Merwin & Co.'s, Oct. 16th, and four succeeding days. This was followed by a small sale at the same place on the 24th and 25th of October, the coins being the collection of Mr. DAWLEY, of Fall River, Mass., catalogued by Mr. Henry Cook, of Boston.

On the 19th of December, and three following days, Mr. W. E. WOODWARD's seventh regular semi-annual sale took place at the Book Trade-Sales Rooms of J. E. Cooley, 498 Broadway. This collection was not at all up to the standard of former sales of the series, as may be judged from the fact that it netted only \$4,251, while Mr. W.'s three preceding sales amounted, in the aggregate, to nearly \$36,000. A few prices are quoted, as follows: 1794 Dollar, the finest ever offered at auction, \$152.50. 1804 Dime,

\$12.00. Half Dimes, from 1794 to 1805, fifteen in number, averaged \$4.00 each. The Cents and Half Cents were sold at fair prices; of the former, one of 1796 for \$21.50. The Presidential and Political Medals were not attractive, and brought but little. Several medals struck in Holland, relating to American Independence, realized good prices. In the Colonial series, a fine collection of New England and Pine Tree money was sold at various prices from \$1 to \$19 each; two "Fugios" \$40 each; two varieties of the Kentucky Token, \$70 and \$50. In the Washington series, two varieties of the Half Dollars \$80 and \$70 respectively. The "Fame" Medal, \$14. The Funeral Medal in gold \$39; while the "Non Vi Virtuti Vici," known to collectors as the "New York Washington" piece, brought \$94. Pattern pieces were sold at about the usual prices, with the exception of those struck in the present reign at the mint, which have largely fallen off in value, owing to peculiar management in their manufactures and sale.

Collectors cannot avoid inquiring how it happens, that in Europe pattern pieces, which are made at Government expense, can be procured by collectors at reasonable prices; whereas here they can only be procured by "making interest" with some of the official underlings of the U. S. Mint?

The last sale, that of the collection of ROBERT B. CHAMBERS, Esq., of Providence, R. I., took place at the same Rooms as the preceding. Although the collection contained many things both fine and interesting, the sale failed to attract the attention which it deserved, and the prices showed, particularly for the finest pieces, a decided falling off.

Mr. WOODWARD announces his eighth semi-annual sale for the latter part of April, to take place at the Trade Sales-Rooms, now under the management of the new firm of Leavitt, Strebeigh & Co.

The catalogue comprises the whole of the fine collection of FRANCIS S. HOFFMAN, Esq., of New York; which, though less known than many others, is remarkably fine and rich, especially in medals. With the exception of a few pieces purchased expressly for the sale, with the view of making certain series more complete, the condition of the pieces is unsurpassed. The catalogue is now nearly ready, and when issued, may be obtained by collectors only by addressing Mr. Woodward, at Roxbury, Mass.

The *American Numismatic and Antiquarian Society*, of Philadelphia, have issued a circular to the National banks in every part of the country, soliciting from them specimens of each denomination of notes issued by them prior to becoming National banks, and which have been retired from circulation, for preservation in the cabinet of the Society.

**SALE OF RARE COINS.**—A collection of 841 different coins was sold at auction on Thursday, Feb. 15th, in Boston. The first sold was an American coin dated 1793; beneath the bust were three small leaves, the date and "Liberty;" on the other side, wreath containing buds and berries, "United States of America," in small letters, and "One Cent" in large letters. It was somewhat worn, but the features of the bust are entirely untouched. It sold for \$3 25. Four coins of the same date, but of different designs, and very rare, sold as follows: \$3 62, \$1 75, \$2 37, \$1 63. Three rare coins dated 1791 sold as follows: \$105, \$100, \$100. The prices of the remaining coins ranged from \$100 to twelve cents.

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## Miscellany.

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### AN ANCIENT CEREMONY IN ENGLAND—THE "PYX" —TRIAL OF THE BRITISH COINAGE.

There has just been performed at the Royal Mint in London, "the ceremony of the Pyx," a custom which, says the *London Times*, may be literally said to date from time immemorial, for none can trace with certainty the period when it was first established. Now it takes place only at intervals of five, six or seven years. The last "ceremony" was in 1861, and before that there had been none since 1854, and it is probable there will not be another for eight or ten years to come. This ceremony, which seems to have been observed by the Lord Chancellor and other high officers of State, with all the formalities due to its extreme antiquity, is simply a trial of the coinage of the realm to ascertain if it is pure and standard gold and silver of nothing less than fair weight, and with nothing more than the proper qualities of alloy. The first statutory mention of the custom is made in an act passed in the first year of the reign of Edward III., which directs that the ceremony of the Pyx—that is,

the assay of the specimen coins deposited in the pyx or box—shall be made before the proper officers of the crown four times every year. Even this statute, however, says, in its quaint old Norman French, that the examination shall be made "according to ancient custom," a statement which sufficiently shows that even at that period it was long established.

From this it has been traced back to the reign of Henry II., though even then nothing was found to show that it had not existed before that.

The "Pyx" used on this particular occasion is thus described:

The pyx or box latterly used by the mint is a much larger one than formerly, and this again accounts for the long intervals between which the examination of its contents is made, for until the Master of the Mint notifies to the Privy Council that it is full no ceremony can be held. The box is a plain iron safe, divided into three compartments—two for silver coinage and one for gold. It is secured by three intricate locks, each opened by different keys, which are intrusted to distinct officials at the heads of the chief branches of the Mint. In the upper lids are carefully-protected apertures, which allow the money to be put in, but by no means permit of its extraction. The way it is filled is this: Each milling of either gold or silver, and its subsequent coinage, is called a "journey," a mere corruption of the old French term a *journee*, or day's work. A *journee*, or day's work, was in old times supposed to mean the melting of fifteen pounds of gold or sixty pounds of silver. Now, however, these terms are merely arbitrary as to the quantity coined, and vary from as low as fifty sovereigns up to three hundred, while in silver the variation is even greater, though the amount of mintage is, of course, infinitely less valuable. From each and all of these journeys, no matter how small or large, specimen coins of each denomination that has been made from it, are deposited in the pyx, marked with the date and number of the pyx or crucible from which they were smelted. Since the 31st of December, 1861, till the 31st of December, 1865, this process of depositing has been going steadily on from day to day, till the pyx became full, and when brought up yesterday for examination, it had representative specimens of a coinage of £34,927,008 8s. 0¼d. in gold, and £1,556, 100 11s. 0d. in silver.

The process of the official assay is as follows: The whole mass of gold and silver coin in the pyx is rolled under enormous pressure into two distinct masses of ingots, the metal of each being completely mingled and welded together. A piece is then cut off from the end of each ingot, and passed between rollers until it is made into a long and narrow plate about the thickness of a shilling. A number of small pieces are then cut off each plate, and all are weighed with the greatest accuracy, and placed upon a piece of paper, which is numbered, and the weight of the standard metal is written upon it. Each piece of metal is then placed in a small bottle fixed in hot sand baths, and filled with sufficient acid to extract and dissolve the alloy. When nothing but the fine gold or silver remains, each piece is taken out of its bottle, again carefully weighed, when the weight of the fine metal is again written down on the paper bearing its number. The proportion of gold or silver and of alloy can thus be calculated and accurately determined in a number of cases, and from these a just result is obtained of the proportion of fine metal and of alloy in the whole of the money in the pyx, and consequently in the amount of the whole coinage which they represent. The same process is applied to the trial pieces of standard gold and silver delivered to the jury for this purpose, and the same results of the proportions of fine metal and of alloy ought to be obtained, in order to prove the complete accuracy of the assay, and to insure a satisfactory verdict of the requisite fineness of the gold and silver coinage.

In the assay a very small variation in the standard is allowed in the mint indenture, and this is called "the master's remedy." It is, of course, impossible to insure actual chemical accuracy in a coinage so enormous as that of Great Britain, and the mint indenture therefore allows by "the master's remedy" a minute variation, which, however, must never rise above or sink below an almost nominal deviation. It is satisfactory to say that this variation has never been exceeded, so far as the records extend, since the date of the first mint indenture in 1290.

In England the standard gold, as it is termed, consists of twenty-two parts of fine gold with two parts of alloy in the pound—troy weight. The alloy of gold now used is copper; formerly it was silver. Silver is weighed by the pound standard; and a pound

of silver contains 11 oz. 2 dwts. of fine silver, with 18 dwts. of mixed alloy to harden the metal. According to these standards, 46.29-40th sovereigns go the pound weight troy, and exactly 66s. to the pound weight troy of silver. The Mint returns, which are always investigated during the ceremony of the pyx, show that the gold coinage is, with rather rare exceptions, almost entirely limited to sovereigns, the number of half-sovereigns struck being small. Of silver the coinage seems almost entirely limited to florins, shillings, sixpences, and threepenny pieces. Fourpenny pieces seem to have died out, except for the exceptional purposes of Maundy money. Of half-crowns or shilling pieces, not a single one has been struck apparently since 1861. The Pyx jury will not, as we have said, conclude their assay and deliver their verdict till to-morrow. In the mean time the owners of large sums in gold and silver need be under no anxiety, though the verdict of the jury as to the standard value of their accumulation in specie is still in suspense.

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THE OLDEST MAN IN THE WORLD.—Joseph Crele, who was probably the oldest man in the world, died, after a brief illness, at the residence of his grand-daughter, Mrs. Brisbois, in Caledonia, Wisconsin, on the 27th of January last, at the age of one hundred and forty-one years. Twice three score and ten years may be called a ripe old age. He attained an age greater by twenty years than that enjoyed by the next oldest man of modern times, Jean Claude Jacob, a member of the French National Assembly, who was called the "Dean of the human species," and who died at the age of one hundred and twenty-one. This man bore arms at Braddock's defeat, was an old man when Jackson defeated Pakenham at New Orleans, venerable when Taylor whipped Santa Anna at Buena Vista, and yet was not too old to rejoice when Lee surrendered to Grant.

Joseph Crele was born of French parents, in what is now Detroit, but which was then only an Indian trading station, in 1725. The record of his baptism in the Catholic church in that city establishes this fact beyond a doubt. He was a resident of Wisconsin for about a century, and was the "oldest citizen" in that State beyond any dispute. Whenever the oldest citizen was alluded to every Wisconsinian declared

Joseph Crele was the man meant. He was first married in New Orleans in 1755, after having grown to be a bachelor of thirty. A few years after his marriage he settled at Prairie du Chien, while Wisconsin was yet a province of France. Before the Revolutionary war, he was employed to carry letters between Prairie du Chien and Green Bay. A few years ago he was called as a witness in the Circuit Court of Wisconsin, in a case involving the title to certain real estate at Prairie du Chien, to give testimony in relation to events that transpired eighty years before, and many years before the litigants were dreamt of.

For some years past he had resided at Caledonia with a daughter by his third wife. This child was a little over seventy years of age a couple of years ago, but we do not know whether she survives her father or not. He was sixty-nine when she was born. Up to 1864 Mr. Crele was as hale and hearty as most men of seventy. He could walk several miles without fatigue, and was frequently in the habit of chopping wood for family use. He went to all elections, and, from the time he first voted for Washington, he had always voted the straight-out Union ticket. He had no bad habits, except that he was an inveterate smoker; but that is not considered among the small vices in the land of Grant and Sherman. In person he was rather above the medium height, spare in flesh, but showing evidences of having been in his prime—a century or so before—a man of sinewy strength. Of late years a haunting sense of loneliness overwhelmed and seemed to sadden him. The only weakness of mind which he ever betrayed was in the last year or two of his existence, when he frequently remarked, with a startling air of sadness, that he feared that perhaps "Death had forgotten him;" but he would always add, with more cheerfulness, that he felt sure "God had not."

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FRENCH COUNTY RECORDS.—From the Paris correspondence in the last number of the excellent "Publishers' Circular," issued by G. W. Childs, of Philadelphia, we extract the following passages:

"The Minister of the Interior has addressed to the French Emperor a most interesting report or summary inventory of the county archives prior to 1790. The French Government, in 1860, engaged the coun-

ty authorities to publish a sort of index to those valuable documents hidden under many an inch of dust of their archives. This invitation was an order, and it was accepted with alacrity. Thirty-five folio volumes have already appeared, and thirty-five other volumes are in proof-readers' hands. No less than 4,808,239 documents have been indexed. The invitation was not made to counties alone; cities and charitable foundations have likewise dusted their ancient documents and exhibited them in the broad day-light of the printing press. The first volume, printed by Lyons, contains a valuable political correspondence between the sovereigns of France, Spain and Savoy, and the leaders of the Leagues, the agents of the Catholic King and of the Pope.

The volume printed by Hotel Dieu, Paris, contains, among other things, the topography of old Paris, street by street, and house by house. The inventories reveal a great many very important papers connected with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the famous *lettres de cachet*. They abound, too, in curious particulars about persons. For instance, they show Georges Cuvier, clerk of the Parish of Bec-en-Cauchois; all the proceedings are written in his hand, while Pierre Corneille was church-warden at Rouen, and secretary of the board. The journal of the vestry's proceedings is not only in his handwriting, but it is full of his personal reflections upon the measures adopted by his colleagues. It is greatly to be regretted that your public libraries do not take better care to provide themselves with such publications as they appear. There are a hundred such works, which are entirely of reference, to be found on this side of the Atlantic, and which may now be purchased cheaply. They are to be found in no public library in America. The system which prevails among them of the purchase of books is deplorable."

This hint should not be thrown away upon those who manage our great reference libraries.

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Died at Philadelphia, Feb. 10, 1866, Colonel Gabriel De Korponay, in the 46th year of his age. Col. De Korponay was colonel of a Pennsylvania Regiment during the war, and was formerly celebrated as a teacher of dancing; *he was the first to introduce the Polka in this country.*

# THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. X.]

MAY, 1866.

[No. 5.]

## EARLY SPANISH MINING IN NORTHERN GEORGIA.

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## CONTENTS.

	<i>Page</i>
GENERAL DEPARTMENT.—Early Spanish Mining in Northern Georgia.....	137
Indian Secret Societies.....	139
Letters Relating to Fort Dummer.....	141
Protest of Cadwallader Colden, Jr., and others, against the Provincial and Continental Congress, and a Republican Government....	144
Portrait of Jared Sparks, LL.D.....	146
NOTES AND QUERIES.— <i>Notes</i> —Massachusetts Election Sermons, 156; “Old Boston,” 156; Error in Wirt’s Henry, 157; Female Farmers—Carteret, 157; Erroneous Date on Monument at Sudbury, Mass., 158; Pontiac’s Medal, 158; “Bay of Fundy,” 158; Narrative of the Capture of Dudley Bradstreet, 158; Error respecting the Origin of the Name of Rhode Island, 159; “A Letter from a Gentleman in Connecticut to his Friend in New York,” 159; Placentia Isl-	157

	<i>Page</i>
lands, 159; “Apologetical Narration,” 159; Taranteens, Tarrentines.....	159
<i>Replies</i> —Anne Hutchinson, 159; Dr. Kraitsir.....	160

SOCIETIES AND THEIR PROCEEDINGS.— <i>Arizona</i> —	
Arizona Historical Society.....	160
American Statistical Association.....	161
<i>Massachusetts</i> .—Boston Numismatic Society, 162; Massachusetts Historical Society (2), 163; New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 163; New England Numismatic and Archaeological Society.....	164
<i>Ohio</i> .—Firelands Historical Society, 164; Toledo Historical Society.....	165
<i>Pennsylvania</i> .—The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia.....	165

BOOK-GOSSIP.....	166
------------------	-----

MISCELLANY.....	168
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nants of De Soto’s troops reached Mexico they bragged loudly of their exploits, but especially of the discovery of the Province of “Cosa,” averred to abound in gold, silver and pearls, and inhabited by a race not less cultivated than the subjects of Montezuma. Even the prudent

days’ journey north-west of St. Augustine, “among the Mountains of Gold and Chrystal” (1586, Hackluyt, Voyages, III, p. 432). Clearly, therefore, the gold deposits of Georgia were no secret to the Spaniards. Did they attempt to exploit them?

Joseph Crele was the man meant. He was first married in New Orleans in 1755, after having grown to be a bachelor of thirty. A few years after his marriage he settled at Prairie du Chien, while Wisconsin was yet a province of France. Before the Revolutionary war, he was employed to carry letters between Prairie du Chien and Green Bay. A few years ago he was called as a witness in the Circuit Court of Wisconsin, in a case involving the title to certain real estate at Prairie du Chien, to give testimony in relation to events that transpired eighty years before, and many years before the litigants were dreamt of.

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It has recently been brought to light that the Spanish colony in Florida established a mission on the coast of South Carolina, and another on the shores of Chesapeake Bay: that it also instituted mining operations in the gold fields of Northern Georgia, has, I believe escaped the notice of historians. I shall briefly sum up the evidence in favor of such an opinion.

The cupidity of the first explorers of our southern coast was strongly excited by the grains of gold seen in the possession of the natives. For its origin, they were referred to a mountain range north-west of Florida, marked on the map of De Bry as the "Apalatey montes auriferi," and spoken of by Fontaneda as "Snowy mountains on the northernmost confines of Abolachi." When the remnants of De Soto's troops reached Mexico they bragged loudly of their exploits, but especially of the discovery of the Province of "Cosa," averred to abound in gold, silver and pearls, and inhabited by a race not less cultivated than the subjects of Montezuma. Even the prudent

Luis de Velasco, second viceroy of New Spain, was intoxicated by their representations and sent his general, Tristan de Luna to open communication to Cosa by way of Pensacola Bay. Of this unfortunate undertaking suffice it to say, that three hundred Spanish soldiers penetrated quite to the valley of the Coosa river in Northern Georgia, and there passed the summer of 1560, among the friendly Muskogee (Barcia, *En. Cron sub an.*) Doubtless instigated by the same representations, no sooner did Aviles, the first governor of Florida, feel himself secure in his territory, than he sent Juan Pardo one hundred and fifty leagues inland to establish a fort at the foot of the mountains north-west of St. Augustine in the province of the chief *Coabá* (1567, Barcia, p. 133). This is probably what Pedro Morales referred to by the name of "La Grand Copal," which he says was a town about twenty days' journey north-west of St. Augustine, "among the Mountains of Gold and Chrystal" (1586, Hackluyt, *Voyages*, III, p. 432). Clearly, therefore, the gold deposits of Georgia were no secret to the Spaniards. Did they attempt to exploit them?

The German traveler Johannes Lederer, who in 1669-70 visited Virginia and North Carolina, and wrote an account of his adventures in Latin, asserts that the Spaniards were then working gold and silver mines in the Appalachian mountains. He avers that he saw specimens of the ore among the western tribes, and brought samples of it back with him. "Had I had with me," he adds, "half a score of resolute youths who would have stuck to me, I would have pushed on to the Spanish mines" (Harris, *Voyages*, Ed. 1705, Vol. II, Lib. IV, p. 23). Twenty years afterward (1690) James Moore, subsequently secretary and then governor of the province of South Carolina, but at that time only a roving Indian trader, pushing his excursions far west of the settlements, quite "over the Apalathean mountains," was told by his guides that twenty miles farther was a colony of white men engaged in digging and smelting metals, and using bellows and furnaces. These the Indians described and offered to guide him to the spot (see *Colls. Hist. Soc. S. Car.* I, p. 209, for an abridgment of the original letter in the State Paper Office, London). Nine years afterwards when further rumors of these mines had reached the English settlements, and something of a gold fever was created, Mr. Moore volunteered to lead a party to the mine. The scheme fell through, but so strongly was it impressed on his mind that when he became governor of the province and made his expedition against

St. Augustine, (1703), he promised his soldiers that they should find there "plenty of gold and silver," and no doubt believed it (*Carroll, Hist. Colls. S. Car.*, Vol. I). Much of either there probably never was in Florida, for in 1703 the home government sent out a quantity of debased specie, "because," says Barcia—and this is the only hint he gives of mining operations—"the amount of bullion obtained in the Province was small" (p. 321).

Doubtless the exploitations had been discontinued at the outbreak of hostilities with the English. Some signs of them should, however, have been subsequently discovered had they really existed. Such is the case. The early settlers of Northern Georgia found near the Nacooche Valley and at various points of the Dahlonega gold field evidences of an anterior civilization. Rows of cabins built of logs notched and hewn, articles of earthenware which our miners called "crucibles," others of stone resembling "mortars," remains of "furnaces" and "dykes," seemed to indicate previous mining operations of an unknown date (see Lanman, *Letters from the Allegheny Mountains*, pp. 9, 26, White, *Hist. Colls. of Georgia*, p. 487).

Some of these cabins were covered with loose soil and a great antiquity was assigned them, but this may have arisen from a desire of the Spaniards on deserting their works, to conceal them from the English. A buckle in the shape of a heart of unalloyed silver has been

found in the Etowah valley (which joins with the Oostaula at Rome to form the Coosa); it was ascribed to the ancient natives, but is more likely to have been the product of white artificers. (Jones, *Monumental Remains of Georgia*, p. 79.)

It thus appears that the Spaniards were familiar with the metalliferous deposits of Georgia at an early date, and that the English colonists believed they were working them in the seventeenth century, and when the gold was re-discovered in the present century, signs of previous exploitation hardly attributable to any other than a European source, were brought to light. If this does not establish the existence of such a mining colony, it at least renders it highly probable.

D. G. B.

### INDIAN SECRET SOCIETIES.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY, MARCH, 1866, BY DR. D. J. MACGOWAN.

Schoolcraft, Catlin and other writers on American Aborigines have given us much information concerning the medicine men among our Indians, a great secret society, whose teachings partake of magic and sorcery, rather than of the healing art; who admit candidates after the administration of solemn oaths, and who compel the neophyte to undergo tortures, and mystify him by frightful ordeals. From the consideration that I have been able to give the subject, I should say that priesthood is the fittest

designation for the medicine men. Certainly, the *Ni-co-ta-ni* of the Cherokees, concerning whom I have a few facts to communicate, may well be characterized as priests.

So far as I can learn, no account of a form of priestcraft that prevailed among the Cherokees from a remote period up till about a century ago, has been published, and the traditional accounts which I derived of the Nicotani from Governor John Ross and Dr. J. B. Evans are so imperfect, owing to the absence of written record, that a glimpse only is afforded us of Cherokee priestcraft. But for the kindness of those gentlemen in giving me the information that I solicited, it is highly probable that this interesting feature in Indian history would have soon passed irretrievably into oblivion.

The facts, though few, are interesting. The order was hereditary; in this respect peculiar, for among Indians seldom, and among the Cherokees never, does power pertain to any family as a matter of right. Yet the family of the Nicotani—for it seems to have been a family or clan—enjoyed this privilege. The power that they exercised was not, however, political, nor does it appear that chiefs were elected from among them.

The Nicotani were a mystical, religious body, of whom the people stood in great awe, and seem to have been somewhat like the Brahmins of India. By what means they attained their ascendancy, or how long it was maintained, can never be ascertained. Their

extinction by massacre is nearly all that can be discovered concerning them. They became haughty, insolent, overbearing and licentious to an intolerable degree. Relying on their hereditary privileges and the strange awe which they inspired, they did not hesitate by fraud or violence to rend asunder the tender relations of husband and wife when a beautiful woman excited their passions. The people long brooded in silence over the oppressions and outrages of this high caste, whom they deeply hated, but greatly feared. At length a daring young man, a member of an influential family, organized a conspiracy among the people for the massacre of the priesthood. The immediate provocation was the abduction of the wife of the young leader of the conspiracy. His wife was remarkable for her beauty, and was forcibly abducted and violated by one of the Nicotani while he was absent on the chase. On his return he found no difficulty in exciting in others the resentment which he himself experienced. So many had suffered in the same way—so many feared that they might be made to suffer—that nothing was wanted but a leader. A leader appearing in the person of the young brave whom we have named, the people rose under his direction and killed every Nicotani, young and old. Thus perished a hereditary secret society, since which time no hereditary privileges have been tolerated among the Cherokees.

After they became civilized and Christianized, and Christian churches were formed among them, Free Masons and Odd Fellows' lodges were also introduced, and the Sons of Temperance.

To those benevolent secret associations were added, during the excitement which preceded the rebellion, the order of the Knights of the Golden Circle and Blue Lodges; the former introduced by disloyal whites, the latter an Indian product of the former, both having treasonable objects in view. On the other hand, those Cherokees who were loyal to the Union combined in a secret organization for self-protection, assuming the designation of the Ketoomha Society, which name was soon merged in that of "Pins." The Pins were so styled because of a peculiar manner they adopted of wearing a pin. The symbol was discovered by their enemies, who applied the term in derision; but it was accepted by this loyal league, and has almost superseded the designation which its members first assumed. The Pin organization originated among the members of the Baptist congregation at Peavine Going, Snake District, in the Cherokee Nation. In a short period of time the society counted nearly three thousand members, and had commenced proselytizing the Creeks, when the rebellion, against which it was arming, prevented its further extension, the poor Creeks having been driven into Kansas by the rebels of the Golden Circle. During the war the Pins rendered ser-

vices to the Union cause in many bloody encounters, as has been acknowledged by our generals. It was distinctly an anti-slavery organization. The slaveholding Cherokees, who constituted the wealthy and more intelligent class, naturally allied themselves with the South, while loyal Cherokees became more and more opposed to slavery. This was shown very clearly when the loyalists first met in convention, in February, 1863. They not only abolished slavery unconditionally and forever, before any slave State made a movement towards emancipation, but made any attempts at enslaving a grave misdemeanor.

The secret signs of the Pins were a peculiar way of touching the hat as a salutation, particularly when they were too far apart for recognition in other ways. They had a peculiar mode of taking hold of the lapel of the coat, first drawing it away from the body, and then giving it a motion as though wrapping it around the heart. During the war a portion of them were forced into the rebellion, but quickly rebelled against General Cooper, who was placed over them, and when they fought against that general, at Bird Creek, they wore a bit of corn-husk, split into strips, tied in their hair.

In the night, when two Pins met, and one asked the other, "who are you?" the reply or pass was, "Talequah—who are you?" The response was, "I am Ketoo-wha's son."

On the other, the rebel side, the two

secret societies, Blue Lodges and Knights of the Golden Circle, by means of their organizations, enabled the traitorous white men, who were appointed to office by the General Government, to subvert for a time the Federal authority through the entire country occupied by the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles. The power of organizing men and administering government is supposed to indicate, in any people, a high capacity for civilization. Submitted to this test, all the tribes above-named will be found to acquit themselves admirably.

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#### PAPERS RELATING TO FORT DUMMER.

CAPT. DWIGHT TO DR. HASTINGS.

*Fort Dummer, Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>, 1724-5.*

S<sup>r</sup>. you some time since Enquired of me whether I had ever spent my tho'ts upon the circumstances of our Gov<sup>mt</sup>. Respecting their medium of Trade (viz.) how they might be Restored to their Original, & I should esteem it a risque to show myself to you on that weighty point were it not for your undoubted candour to all.

& my opinion is that as much as possible to avoid the Emiting such vast Quantities of Bills would be a very likely Expedient, & to prevent that I would propose that the tax on all Imported liquors should be double what it is now, & on all other Imported goods (that we may

be suffer'd to lay a tax upon) in that proportion. the advantages I propose by this are 1: all the money we get this way will help to Ans<sup>r</sup> the charge of the Govern<sup>t</sup>, & that by the persons most able to bear it, for it is they that drink and wear these Imported goods that draw all the Effects of this Country. & 2: this would tend to suppress the Import & also the Extravagance in use of such Commodities & 3: this would tend to prompt & encourage those manufactories which would produce the most needful Commodities among ourselves. Our Govern<sup>t</sup>. I know have done Considerable to Encourage the raiseing of Hemp, the makeing of Duck, good linnen cloth &c; & if they had at the same time obliged such commodities & many others to pay Custom (when Imported) that do not, it would have done well, this would not only help to pay our charge, but it would also greatly Encourage the making of such things in this Country for what is made here is as good as that which is Imported, would command as much as that, when the merch<sup>t</sup> has paid the duty and advanced his 350 P cent upon it, & most certainly when any commodity is und<sup>r</sup> such circumstances that two men & a Gov<sup>r</sup>m<sup>t</sup> get in their Several Capacities, a living by it, another man y<sup>t</sup> can procure the same Commodity without the two latt<sup>r</sup> encumbrances must be greatly Inclined to do it. If your patience lasts I would Entertain you with one blunder more which is I should think it very proper

when the Charge is so great that the County Tax should be in proportion this has been omitted so long that I think it high time to begin, for this also would greatly tend to prevent the passing of such vast Quantities of Bills among us, which are now (I suppose purely by their multiplicity) become but Just half so good as our former money, it's very strange if the wages of such as go to warr cant be so proportioned to other mens advantages as that 20: 30: or possibly the proportion may be 6: or 100 that stay at home cant maintain one to go to warr and pay him down. I am sensible it would be dangerous at once to make an act that should be so Extensive as to make it appear by what time the whole of the bills now Extant should be brought in, for by that, Rich foreseeing men will monopolize their Coffers full, & thereby Extort upon poor people that must pay their Rates, therefore let us now begin to pay Every yeares tax within the year & Involve ourselves no farther for we have as many bills out now as all this Country can find out how to call in & not Ruin a Considerable part of the people When bills were first made it should have been so ordered that y<sup>y</sup> would have been Equal to Silver or it should be enacted y<sup>t</sup> any public tax whatsoever might be discharg'd by any of the Country produce at Reasonable Rates or prizes I know it is objected that this to make Every Salary man a merchant which is very much beside their proper business, but there is

not one Salary man in this County but by himself or others does much more than to dispose of his Salary when paid in such things besides the business of his office & besides I think that man is more likely to be a trader who has none of the necessaries of life & must take money & Convert it to them all than he that has all these things & but little money.

Sr. this is the Effects of but one half day & any man that knows me will say its impossible it should be too valuable & if you dont like it all that I desire of you is that you would when you go to your house of office take it with you & defile it so that no man alive will dare to read it (for since I dont love to show my own Ignorance) in so doing you will very much Oblige him who is at all times disposed to pay you abundance of Hon<sup>r</sup> & Circumspect Reg<sup>ds</sup>.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

DOCT<sup>R</sup> HASTINGS.

THE SOLDIERS PETITION.

*Fort Dummer, November 16: 1724.*

D<sup>R</sup> HASTINGS, Sir, We whose Names are under writon Being In his majesties sarvis at the Block house and suforors In want of severall Nasaries that we ware used to have concluded to peticion to the generall Cort Now siting at Boston for that foloing things or paticulars that Is to say first that we have Beding aLowed us and that we may have suplies of English Goods sent to the fort that we may purches them at a Resonaboll Rate and thirdly that our Drams may be

multiplied which are but three Days in a week about half a Jill a Day and for the acomplishment of our petition we Desire you would Draw or write on to this our Blanck within this Letter we Being , puting it in form Intreet you.

[Endorsed]

"The Soldiers Petition

to Doct<sup>r</sup> Hastings."

COL. STODDARD TO CAPT. DWIGHT.

*N<sup>th</sup> Hampton Febr<sup>y</sup> 23—172<sup>4</sup>*

S<sup>R</sup>.

You will see by the within order an enlargement of your care, it will be best that you give the Gen<sup>l</sup> directions for the Souldiers Duty especially about Scout-ing. I have still some Snow-shoes which I shall scarcely be rid of this Winter, unless they be speedily sent for.

The Lieu<sup>nt</sup>. Gou<sup>nr</sup>. approves of some of the Souldiers taking a march, of which I shall write more particularly to Lieut<sup>nt</sup>. Pomry, I know not whether any of the men at the fort incline to goe.

I am your servant

JOHN STODDARD.

[Addressed]

"To

Capt. Timothy Dwight

att

Fort Dummer"

COL. STODDARD TO CAPT. DWIGHT.

*N<sup>th</sup> Hampton March 17—172<sup>4</sup>*

S<sup>R</sup>.

I receiv<sup>d</sup>, your<sup>s</sup>, of the 12<sup>th</sup> Instant. and think it best for Woolcot to goe on

the Expedition, for he may divers ways be serviceable, moreover I have told the men already that he would goe. the Officers of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Kellogg's Company have enlisted twenty men and I suppose that five of yours will be sufficient.

Lieut<sup>nt</sup>. Pumroy writes to me that he will have ten cannoes ready, but Inasmuch as more men will goe than was first projected I think it will be necessary that that you provide two cannoes with all speed, and if for want of workmen or Pitch you cannot finish them, it will be best that they be wrought rough, and then sent to N<sup>th</sup>field seasonably to be finished. We have agreed to have all the men ready at Deerfield on Monday next. I doubt not but your men will be fixed seasonably.

I am your Humble Servant,

JOHN STODDARD.

[Addressed]

"To

Cap<sup>t</sup>. Timothy Dwight

att

fort Dummer."

[Endorsed]

Col<sup>l</sup>. Stodd<sup>ds</sup> Orders to  
prepare two Canoes.

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COL. STODDARD TO CAPT. DWIGHT.

*Hatfield, April 21—1725*

• S<sup>a</sup>. there is an Express arrived at Albany from our Gent<sup>mn</sup>. in Canada, with two letters only, one to the Lieut<sup>nt</sup>. Gov<sup>nr</sup>. the other to Mr. Philip Schuyler of Albany, whereupon Schuyler writes

to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Ashley that our Gent<sup>mn</sup>. desired him to let Cap<sup>t</sup>. Ashley know, that before their arrival all the Enemy Indians were gone out to Invade our frontiers, and that they likewise desired that Cap<sup>t</sup>. Ashley would send to me to strengthen the frontiers on Connect<sup>st</sup>. River for the present Juncture. you will take care that the scouting be managed to the best advantage for the general safety.

I am Your Humble Servant

JOHN STODDARD

[Addressed]

"To Cap<sup>t</sup>. Timothy Dwight

att

fort Dummer."

[Endorsed]

"Col Stod<sup>ds</sup> Letter w<sup>th</sup> an  
Acco<sup>t</sup> from Canada"

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PROTEST OF CADWALLADER COLDEN, JR., AND OTHERS, AGAINST THE PROVINCIAL AND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, AND A REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT.

WHEREAS a number of Persons did on the 7th Day of April Inst. meet at the Town of New Paltz in this county, and did then and there assume to themselves the style, and Title, of Committees, elected by the Inhabitants, of the several Precincts and Districts, within this county, with authority, when collectively assembled, to elect and appoint Deputies to meet in Provincial Congress at the City of New York for the purpose of nominating, electing and appointing

Delegates to meet those of the other Provinces on this Continent subject to the Dominions of his Britanic Majesty our Liege Sovereign at the City of Philadelphia the 10th Day of May next in Continental Congress. *And whereas* the said pretended Committees did then and there Nominate *Charles De Witt, George Clinton, and Levi Pauling, Esqrs* as their Deputies for the purpose aforesaid; *and whereas* a great Majority of the said Persons so presumptuously assuming the Style Title and authority of Committees as aforesaid, were not duly elected by the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Precincts, and Districts, for which they pretended so to have been chosen and appointed, but some of them privately without any election, or even the Knowledge of the one Hundreth part of the Persons they pretended had constituted them. Others by Deceptive arts, after having given public notice by advertisements to the Inhabitants, and appointed a day for meeting for the purpose of Electing Deputies, But on finding a great Majority against the measures, privately anticipated the day of their Election by preposing to themselves free adherence and declaring they wou'd go as Deputies to the Paltz if only three Persons in the Precinct chose them. *And whereas* we do profess and acknowledge that we are the subjects of *his most Excellent Majesty George the Third*, we are intitled to all the Rights, privileges, and Immunities, of Inborn Englishmen, *And whereas* the Honorable House of Assembly our only

Legal Representatives have as the faithful Guardians of our Liberties with wisdom that will immortalize their Names, taken Constitutional measures for obtaining a Redress of our Grievances, and Reestablishing peace, and harmony, between this Country and the Parent State, on the Efficacy of which we do with fullest confidence rely—

*And whereas* the Election of Deligates to meet either in Provincial, or Continental Congress's, even conducted with that candour, firmness, and Justness, which all Elections ought to be, is a measure unwarranted by Law, and unknown to the British Constitution, repugnant to the Genius and Spirit thereof; subversive of every principal of alienated Monarchy, an invasion of the rights, and Privileges, power, and authority, of the Honorable House of Assembly, our Legal Representatives; and has a direct tendency to sap, undermine, and destroy, our most Excellent Constitution, and Introduce a Republican Government with its Horrid Concomitants, Faction, Anarchy, and finally Tyranny.—

*And Whereas* we conceive that such measures will only tend to widen instead of healing the breach between this Country and its Parent State, and bring on us all the Calamaties of an unnatural Civil War, which will Inevitably terminate in the Total Abolishing of all our Liberties.—We do therefore hereby publicly protest against the same, (That is to say) against the proceedings and as-

humbled authority of the Persons calling themselves Deputies when met at the Paltz on the Day before mentioned, and against any Provincial Conventions, that may meet at the City of New York, or elsewhere in this Province, as well as against all and all manner of proceedings, Acts, or Deeds, of any Illegal Congress's whatsoever,—And we do hereby declare that we will not pay any obedience to any of their Resolutions, or Illegal Mandates. But as the faithfull subjects of a most *Excellent* King, firmly attached to our parent State, and the British Constitution, will pay obedience only to the good and wholesome Laws of the Land, and these will at the Hazard of our lives support and defend.

CADWALADER COLDEN JR

PETER DU BOIS

WALTER DU BOIS.

*Ulster County*

14th April 1775.

E. B. O'C.

## MEMOIR OF JARED SPARKS, LL. D.

THE name of JARED SPARKS is intimately associated with the historical literature of this country, and his public career is one of the most distinguished in our literary history, presenting many characteristics worthy of special notice. His fame was not confined to America, but his writings have gained for him a reputation in foreign countries. He was one of numerous individuals who have

risen from humble circumstances to high positions. He has exerted a wide and beneficent influence; he has finished a good work and gained for himself a brilliant renown. Those who represent the scholarship, the literary, historical, collegiate, and Christian interests, (and these cover a wide space,) uniting the sympathies and the utterances of eminent, faithful, and true men in our community, have awarded to him those tributes which give him one of the highest places among us. His life commenced ten days only after the establishment of the Federal Government. Fortunate and wise in his early interest in its history, which caused him to devote an important portion of his life to recording, with an impartial hand, the first crisis through which his country passed in the American Revolution, as illustrated in his lives of its principal founders—Washington, Franklin, and others; and happy in having seen it, before he closed his eyes, emerge in triumph from its second, and, it is to be hoped, its last terrible ordeal, he has passed away in peace, in the enjoyment of the merited respect and affection of personal friends, and honored by all.

Mr. Sparks was born in Willington, Conn., on the 10th of May, 1789. His early life was spent upon a farm, and occasionally he was employed in a grist and saw mill. He eventually was apprenticed to a carpenter, where, after two years, his employer relinquished his legal claim upon his time that he

might give himself more devotedly to study.

Dr. Ashbel Woodward, of Franklin, Conn., author of the life of Gen. Lyon, and a native of the same town, says: "He was regarded in his boyhood as a lad of great promise. He had intense thirst for learning, and, while engaged in his menial employments, gave all his leisure moments to study." Rev. Hubbel Loomis, the clergyman of the town, encouraged and aided him in his studies, taught him mathematics, of which he was particularly fond, and induced him to study Latin. In return for his good minister's kindness and instruction, he shingled his barn, thus turning his carpenter's knowledge to account. The Rev. Abiel Abbot, then of the neighboring town of Coventry, Conn., and more recently of Peterborough, N. H., when visiting Mr. Loomis, one day, noticed young Sparks in the chimney corner, very intently engaged with his books. Mr. Loomis said to Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Abbot, in another room, before he left, "Did you notice the young man in the other room with his books?" "Yes," replied Mr. Abbot. "He is a very remarkable young man," said Mr. Loomis, "has a great thirst for knowledge, and ought to be helped to obtain a liberal education; I have promised to give him two months' instruction, and hope to interest the neighboring clergy to do as much for him." Mr. Abbot, always ready on such an occasion, said: "Most certainly I will help him; I will

try to do better for him than to give him tuition at my own house; I am acquainted with the trustees of Exeter Academy, in New Hampshire, where there is a provision for worthy scholars who may be unable to pay their expenses, and I think I can get him a place there." The result was successful. Young Sparks was thus secured a scholarship at the Phillips' Exeter Academy, on a charitable foundation, which provided not only education, but a home, free of cost. Mr. Abbot went over to Willington, after his success, and informed young Sparks, who, as may well be understood, was overjoyed at the good news. Mr. Abbot asked him how he could manage to get to Exeter. Sparks said, "If it were not for my trunk, I should walk." Mr. Abbot said, "I shall, within a few weeks, make a journey to Boston and vicinity, with my chaise, and if you can get along till that time, I will tie your trunk to my axletree and bring it to you." That arrangement was made. Soon after, when ready to start, young Sparks walked first over to see Mr. Abbot, at Coventry, and traveled from thence to Exeter, all the way on foot. This was in 1809. He remained for two years under the care of Dr. Benjamin Abbot, teaching a school one winter in Rochester, N. H. Among his fellow-students at Exeter were John Gorham Palfrey, afterwards minister of Brattle Street Church, Boston, and now Postmaster of that city, who was his classmate at Cambridge, and George Ban-

croft, who was later by two years, both of whom have since shared with him the highest distinction as laborers in the field of American history.

The intimacy with each other, which was formed by these eminent men when boys at Exeter, ripened into the most cordial friendship in subsequent life, and did not, with the lapse of years, lose its freshness and its charm. The dedication, by Dr. Palfrey, of one volume of his "History of New England" to his friend, is a touching memorial of their personal and literary relations, and is equally honorable to the character of both.

Mr. Sparks entered Harvard in 1811, at the age of twenty-two years, a period when many of the graduates of Cambridge have already commenced their professional studies. He at once stood high in a class of unusual talent. In some branches of study he had scarcely a superior, especially in mathematics and natural philosophy. In his senior year he gained the Bowdoin prize by his memoir on the physical discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton. This essay is remembered among the traditions of the University as a master-piece of analytic exposition, philosophical method and lucid and exact statement. His diligence in study, his attention to collegiate rules and his admirable disposition made him the object of general confidence and love, alike with his classmates and instructors. Young Sparks was assisted by President Kirkland, who understood his merits and his circumstances, and who was ever after

his warm friend, to a scholarship on entering college, the resources of which he eked out by district-school keeping, a portion of the year, in New England, and an engagement in the first two years of his undergraduate course at a private school at Havre-de-Grace, in Maryland, to which he was recommended by President Dwight, of Yale. While in this latter place, in 1813, it was invaded by the British troops. He served at that time in the militia, and witnessed the conflagration of the town before he left. It has been said that there were inducements offered him at this time to finish his collegiate course at New Haven. But the influence and kindness of Dr. Kirkland drew him back to Cambridge, where he graduated in 1815 with high honors. He then taught a classical school for a short time at Lancaster, Mass., after which he studied divinity under Dr. Ware, at Cambridge. In 1817, he was appointed a tutor in mathematics and natural philosophy in the College, discharging these duties for two years while pursuing his theological studies. As one of the associates to whom Mr. Tudor assigned the *North American Review*, he became its working editor—the numbers of that work from May, 1817, to March, 1819, inclusive, were edited by him. Thus, he had three distinct labors before him, that of tutor in two branches, editor of the leading Review of the country, and student in theology.

In May, 1819, he was ordained pastor of a new Unitarian church at Baltimore,

Md., which had at that time been recently established, mostly by natives of New England, who had settled in that city. One of the most splendid church edifices of that day was built for the Society. Dr. Channing preached the discourse at the ordination of Mr. Sparks. This was a famous discourse, and probably caused more remark upon its theological views, and more controversy grew out of the statement of doctrines therein declared, than any other single religious discourse in this country ever occasioned. It brought Harvard and Andover into earnest, but dignified, controversy, and caused the famous letters which passed between Doctors Ware and Woods, which were published at the time. Mr. Sparks published at this time, in Baltimore, his letters on the "Comparative Moral Tendency of the Unitarian and Trinitarian Doctrines." They were acknowledged to be "a model of argument, learning, and polemic dexterity." Dr. Miller, of Princeton, N. J., was among Mr. Sparks' antagonists, and answered these letters. The controversy with Dr. Miller had one remarkable effect, if no other—that of bringing the two parties nearer to each other in their personal relations, and increasing their mutual confidence and respect. Many years after, when Mr. Sparks wanted a life of Jonathan Edwards for his "American Biography," he selected Dr. Miller as the writer. The latter accepted the proposal, and, it is said, was not a little surprised at the catholic spirit of Mr.

Sparks in publishing the memoir of the mighty Calvinist without the alteration of a word or syllable.

Mr. Sparks' position was an isolated one in the denomination. He was surrounded by opposers of all other denominations. Rev. Dr. William E. Wyatt, an Episcopal clergyman of his neighborhood, preached a sermon leveled at his doctrines, which led Mr. Sparks, in 1820, to publish a volume of Letters on the Ministry, Ritual and Doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1821, as a proof of his worth and standing, he was elected Chaplain to the House of Representatives. The same year he commenced a monthly duodecimo periodical entitled *The Unitarian Miscellany and Christian Monitor*. The motto of this work was, "Those Creeds are best which keep the very words of Scripture; and that Faith is best which hath greatest simplicity."—*Jeremy Taylor*. Three volumes of this publication were printed, edited by Mr. Sparks; and, subsequently, the work was continued through five volumes more, edited by Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, Mr. Sparks' successor at Baltimore. It is a curious fact, that the names of four ministers who have occupied the Baltimore pulpit were Sparks, Greenwood, Furness and Burnap—all able men, and, as their names indicate, possessing sufficient fire and fuel to burn up many evils about them, or to kindle a holy fire upon the altar at which they ministered.

Mr. Sparks also commenced, while in

Baltimore, editing "A Collection of Essays and Tracts in Theology, from various Authors, with Biographical and Critical Notices." It was afterwards completed at Boston, in 1826, in 12 Nos., making six duodecimo volumes. The selections were from Wm. Penn, Bishop Hoadley, John Hales, Jeremy Taylor, Locke, Watts, and a great number of others. This plan, though somewhat like Bishop Watson's, was more comprehensive, liberal, and less formally arranged. Bishop Watson, by his order of arrangement, attempted to support certain tenets, one after another, but Mr. Sparks looked more directly to practical Christianity and liberal inquiry. In 1823, his health becoming impaired by his ministerial labors and duties, he resigned his position at Baltimore, after a ministry of four years, expressing his earnest desire, in his letter of resignation, for the success of the religious views he had cherished, and which he believed to be most "honorable to God and salutary to men." Mr. Sparks traveled a few months in the Western States for his health.

In the latter part of the year 1823 he returned to Boston, purchased the *North American Review*, and became its sole editor from the number for January, 1824, to April, 1830, making seven years and six months in which he was the editor and presiding genius of this well-known periodical. W. F. Poole, Esq., Librarian of the Boston Athenæum, who has a complete list of all the writers

in the *North American Review*, informs us that it contains more than fifty articles written by Mr. Sparks. Some of these are quite elaborate, and many of them of great research, and making, by themselves, a very extensive contribution to the solid literature of our country.

His settlement at Baltimore may be considered a successful one in a double sense; it was indeed fortunate, for it was undoubtedly the near position to Washington, with his eminent ability and excellent character, which brought him into an intimate acquaintance with Chief-Justice Marshall and Judge Washington, thus securing for his use the possession of all the Washington papers at Mount Vernon. He had previously formed the purpose of making a collection of all the writings of Washington, for publication. He, in 1826, had completed a personal examination of the revolutionary papers in the public offices of all the thirteen original States and the department at Washington. In 1828, he made a voyage to Europe for the purpose of transcribing documents in the State archives at London and Paris. By the aid of Sir James Mackintosh, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Holland, in England, and La Fayette and the Marquis de Marbois, in France, these archives were for the first time opened, for historical purposes, to his investigation.

In 1829, he returned with a valuable collection of materials to America. After nine years of preparation he com-

menced publishing the work in 1834, which was completed, in twelve volumes, in 1837—the first volume being occupied with a Life of Washington, which was also published separately.

The work was received with great favor here and abroad. It was reviewed by Mr. Everett in the *North American*. In France, Guizot edited a selection from the correspondence, prefixing to it his highly-prized Introductory Discourse on the Character, Influence and Public Career of Washington. In Germany, Von Raumer, the historian, prepared an edition at Leipsic.

During Mr. Sparks' visit to England and France, he had also gathered much valuable documentary material beside what was required in his Life and Writings of Washington—especially of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution, with which title he, by the aid of Congress, published, in 1829–30, twelve volumes, mostly derived from the American State Department, omissions being supplied from Mr. Sparks' European and other collections. This series consisted of letters of Franklin, Adams, Jay, Lee, Deane and Dana, and other agents abroad, as well as the French minister's, to Congress, during the period of the Revolution.

In 1830, he edited the American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge. In 1832, he published the Life of Gouverneur Morris. He also commenced in 1834 (which was finished in 1838) the first series, in ten volumes, of American

Biography. The second series of Biography, in fifteen volumes, was published from 1844 to 1848. To these extended undertakings another, with almost equal interest with the Washington Papers, was added in 1840—the ten volumes of Franklin's writings, with notes and his life. As a proof of the author's industry, two hundred and fifty-three of Franklin's letters were there printed for the first time, and one hundred and fifty-four first brought together from scattered publications. The work also included numerous letters to Franklin, from his distinguished foreign correspondents. Mr. Sparks also edited from the original MSS., which had been in his possession, Letters of Eminent Men to George Washington. This publication appeared, in four volumes, at the end of the year 1853.

"No scholar," says one who knew him well, "in this country has presented a more praiseworthy example of industry, perseverance and faithful endeavor. No degree of labor could divert him from the execution of his task. With no morbid passion for fame, he was content to apply his fine powers to the performance of duties which gave him no brilliant prominence in the public eye. Amid the glare and rush of American life, his career of quiet energy and faithful working deserves to be held in grateful and honorable remembrance."

We have taken but a glance at the vast labors of Mr. Sparks. His most busy and working period seems to have

been soon after his return from Europe, in 1829.

Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D. D., informs the writer of this article that Mr. Sparks lived at that time as a boarder at Mrs. Clarke's, in Ashburton place, Boston. He was then in the habit of working in his room all day on the *Life of Washington*. The walls of two rooms were covered with books from floor to ceiling, and he gave ten or twelve hours' solid work every day to his studies. For weeks together he would not leave the house until the evening, when he would go out to call on his friends. This was during the two or three years immediately preceding his first marriage.

Mr. Sparks' first wife was Frances Anne, daughter of William Allen, Esq., of Hyde Park, N. Y., to whom he was married October 16, 1832. She died of consumption, at Hyde Park, July 12, 1835, leaving one daughter, Maria Verplank. This daughter died at Cambridge, January 3, 1846, aged twelve years and four months. Mr. Sparks' second wife was Mary Crowningshield, daughter of Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, of Salem, Mass., to whom he was married May 21, 1839. Their children now living are Florence, William Eliot (now of the Freshman Class, Harvard College), Elizabeth and Beatrice. Mr. Sparks' own death occurred on Wednesday, March 14, 1866. Rev. R. M. Hodges, of Cambridge, his classmate, writes as follows:

"I had occasion the other day to make out the following synopsis of Mr. Sparks

character:—*Habit of mind*.—Logical and methodical, the result of his mathematical studies. *Hence*, his opinions and the method of presenting them were very carefully formed and adopted. *Hence*, also, he seldom wavered or varied from his preconceived opinions, and, *hence*, he was disposed to be conservative. The result of his controversy with Lord Mahon and others shows the carefulness of his investigations and the stability of his decisions. Imagination and fancy were not characteristics of his mind. He was methodical and indefatigable in every work he had immediately in hand.

In regard to his affections, he was kind and lenient, not easy or free in conversation, but comprehensive, and with few words illustrating the leading thought at the time occupying attention. There was not the least rancor or animosity in his disposition. As President of the College, he set Dr. Kirkland before him as his model."

The pecuniary assistance that he received he never ceased to be grateful for. He, in turn, gave material encouragement where industry and promise, in depressed circumstances, called for it. And in the days of his prosperity he returned to his original benefactors, not only the amount of money he had received from them, but more than the interest. President Lord, of Dartmouth, in an address to the students of his College, commemorated this honorable and grateful act of Mr. Sparks. He never ceased to do large honor to Rev. Abiel

Abbot, D. D., who aided and encouraged him in getting an education as before stated.

Mr. Sparks, as President of the University, was not in favor of a martinet discipline, but wished to govern the College on the basis of confidence—treating the students as gentlemen and men of honor, and expecting them to behave as such. But there are always in the Faculty some persons, oftener among the youngest members, who have no faith in such a course and prefer a system of police, turning themselves into detective officers for that purpose.

On one occasion, one of the scholars in the institution made a noise somewhat derisive to one of the tutors as he was coming out from recitation. The tutor stated the case to the Faculty, and gave the names of several who, if not guilty, he thought might know who was. These young men were summoned before the President, who was requested to ask them, one by one, if they made the noise or knew who made it? President Sparks had previously said to the Faculty that they could not expect them to inform against their fellows—the temptation to falsehood was too great. Dr. Sparks addressed them when they came before him in substance as follows:

“I have been requested by the Faculty to ask you if you made, or know who made, the disturbance at the close of your recent recitation. I have stated to you their request; but if you know who

made the noise, I do not intend to ask you to tell.”

They answered one after another, some did not know, some said they knew, but did not tell. Finally, one was called forward, who said:

“I did it myself; I know I ought not to have done it; I am sorry that I did it; I hardly know why I did it; yes, I should say it was because I did not like the tutor, as I thought he had not used me fairly in some of my recitations.”

He had told the truth, and acknowledged his fault openly and candidly. President Sparks told the Faculty that he ought rather to be commended than punished, but the tutors outvoted the others, and he was suspended. Dr. Sparks wrote a note to his father, saying that he considered it no dishonor, as young men did not often have such an opportunity to show themselves so frank and noble.

For the above anecdote I am also indebted to Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D.

Mr. Sparks was McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History in Harvard College from 1839 to 1849, and from 1849 to 1852 he held the office of President of that institution. He was engaged, after his resignation, in preparing a History of the American Revolution, in which, we believe, he had made considerable progress. He informed the writer of this, some years since, that he hardly thought he should live to complete it—intimating that he

was too far advanced in life to finish it to his own satisfaction. He never allowed any thing to go from his hands in an unfinished state.

No one was more delighted in encouraging the young. The trials of his young days had proved him, and wherever he could he bestowed in kind words or charitable deeds such favors as he had himself received amid the stern experiences of his youth.

Dr. Sparks was extremely kind and liberal in imparting any special information, if desired by others, and in the loan of books, papers and documents to those pursuing any particular branch of knowledge or history which he only might have, and which may have cost him great labor and expense. He gave his countenance and encouragement in the original establishment of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*. He selected the name from a large number submitted to him, and added the remaining words of the title as now borne upon the cover. He subscribed for it in the commencement, and his subscription is paid to January, 1867.

Dr. Sparks was noble in person, dignified in bearing, graceful, exact and solid in his public address and private conversation, and pleasant, engaging and cordial in demeanor. He was revered and loved by all who knew him. The consciousness that you were in a superior presence was immediately forgotten by the influence of his most affable and Christian courtesy, and when you left him, you felt that you were, or at least that

you ought to be, a better person. He inspired you with a love of inflexible virtue and solid learning. He gave you an elevated view of humanity, and caused you to think better of its possibilities and more of its charities. Mr. Webster said in his address at the completion of Bunker Hill Monument: "America has furnished to the world the character of Washington! And if our American institutions have done nothing else, that alone would have entitled them to the respect of mankind. \* \* \* This structure," placing his great dark eyes most expressively high up on the monument, "by its uprightness, its solidity, its durability, is no unfit emblem of his character. His public virtues and public principles were as firm as the earth on which it stands, his personal motives as pure as the serene heaven in which its summit is lost."

Dr. Sparks' character, in its foundation, in the principles of its composition, and the simplicity and massiveness of its structure, was not unlike that of his beloved Washington, and Mr. Webster's emblem is a fit one for both.

#### LIST OF MR. SPARKS' WORKS.

The Life of John Ledyard, the American Traveler. 12mo. Cambridge, 1829.

Inquiry into the Comparative Moral Tendency of Trinitarian and Unitarian Doctrines. 8vo. Boston, 1823.

Letters on the Ministry, Ritual and Doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church. 2d Edition. 12mo. Boston, 1844.

A Collection of Essays and Tracts in Theology. Nos. I. to XII. April, 1823—March, 1826. 6 vols. 12mo. Boston, 1823-'26.

An Account of the Manuscript Papers of George Washington, which were left by him at Mount Vernon; with a Plan for their Publication. 8vo, pp. 24. Boston, 1827.

The Life of Gouverneur Morris. With Selections from his Correspondence. 3 vols. 8vo. Boston, 1832.

Sermon Preached in the Hall of the House of the Representatives, March 3, 1822, on the Death of Hon. William Pinkney. 8vo, pp. 15. Washington, 1822.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution. 12 vols. 8vo. Boston, 1829-'30.

The Library of American Biography. Conducted by Mr. Sparks. First Series. 10 vols. 16mo. Boston, 1838-'39.

The Library of American Biography. Second Series. 15 vols. 12mo. Boston, 1852.

In the two series of Biography there are fifty-two lives written by various popular authors, and eight (making sixty in all) are from Mr. Sparks' own pen). Those written by Mr. Sparks are Benedict, Arnold, Ethan Allen, Father Marquette, De la Salle, Count Pulaski, John Ribault, Charles Lee, and a reprint of the Life of Ledyard.

The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1830. This number was edited by Mr. Sparks, thus establishing the work, which

was afterwards continued by others to the year 1861. The National Almanac of Philadelphia now takes its place.

The Writings of George Washington, with a Life of the Author. Notes and Illustrations. 12 vols. 8vo. Boston, 1839.

The Works of Benjamin Franklin; with Notes, and a Life of the Author. 10 vols. 8vo. Boston, 1840.

Letter to Lord Mahon; being an Answer to his Letter addressed to the Editor of Washington's Writings. 8vo, pp. 48. Boston, 1852.

Reply to the Strictures of Lord Mahon and others, on the Mode of Editing the Writings of Washington. 8vo, pp. 35. Cambridge, 1852.

Remarks on a "Reprint of the Original Letters from Washington to Joseph Reed," &c. 8vo, pp. 43. Boston, 1853.

Illustrations of the Principal Events in the Life of Washington. 4to. 1842.

Life of Washington; Abridged. 2 vols. 12mo.

Correspondence of the American Revolution; being Letters of Eminent Men to George Washington. 4 vols. 8vo. Boston, 1853.

Unitarian Miscellany. Baltimore, 1821-1823. 3 vols.

*North American Review*. 15 vols. In this work he has written over fifty articles.

Several of the above works were translated into different languages. There were various contributions to other periodicals and works not here enumerated;

and it is quite possible this list does not comprehend all his works. Several of the above have been republished, and some several times.

Some appreciation of the extent of his literary labors may be attained by a statement of the fact, that *more than six hundred thousand copies of his books have been printed.*

## Notes and Queries.

### NOTES.

#### MASSACHUSETTS ELECTION SERMONS.—

The election sermon for the current year, by Rev. Alonzo H. Quint, of New Bedford, contains a list of the preachers of election sermons, as far as known, from the settlement of the colony to the present time. Similar lists were published as appendices to the sermons of Rev. Samuel Deane, D.D., of Portland, 1794; of Rev. David Osgood, D.D., of Medford, 1809; of Rev. Andrew Bigelow, D.D., of Taunton, 1836, and Rev. John Pierce, D.D., of Brookline, 1849. The earliest election sermon of which there is any record is that of Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, 1634. The earliest printed sermon known to be in existence is that of Rev. John Norton, of Boston, 1661, of which there is a copy in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; the next is that of Rev. John Higginson, of Salem, 1663, of which there are several copies.

The preacher of the earliest election

sermon, now living, is Rev. William Allen, D.D., then of Pittsfield, now of Northampton, in 1813, or fifty-three years ago. He is the author of the well-known biographical dictionary. The next living preacher is Rev. William Jenks, D.D., of Boston; and after him are Rev. William B. Sprague, D.D., of West Springfield, now of Albany, N. Y., 1825; Rev. Orville Dewey, D.D., of New Bedford, 1826; Rev. James Walker, D.D., of Charlestown, since President of Harvard College, 1828, and Rev. Leonard Withington, D.D., of Newbury. Most of the later preachers are living.

Mr. Quint, in his appendix, gives lists of the election sermons in the libraries of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Harvard College, the Boston Athenæum, the American Antiquarian Society, New England Historical Genealogical Society, and the American Congregational Association. Perhaps some of your readers may be able to furnish lists of those in other libraries, public or private.

MEMO.

"OLD BOSTON."—The *Journal* recently contained an inquiry respecting a model of the town of Boston as it was in 1800, which is thus answered in a later date of the same paper by an occasional writer for the *Waltham Free Press*, living in Watertown:

"Fifty years ago—say about 1816—a young friend of mine owned such an article as you refer to. A tolerably large chest was filled with small model blocks,

and each block was an exact representation of some one house, or store, or church, in its precise color, form, &c., showing windows, doors, steps, chimneys—all so exactly and so carefully made and painted that it must have required much time, artistic skill and immense patience to have perfected it.

"We used to find an occasional evening's amusement in setting up (on the table) a few principal streets. It was, I understand, the work of an ingenious French lady.

"The owner of that property (of course fifty years older) is now a respectable Boston merchant, S. C. T., office over the Bank of the Republic, State street.

"Very respectfully, JAMES SHARP."  
*Boston Transcript.*

ERROR IN WIRT'S HENRY.—The following error occurs on page 433, Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry (5th Ed., N. Y. McElrath & Bangs, 1832):

"The historian to whom I allude is Mrs. Mary Warren, who is said to be the widow of the celebrated General Warren, the hero of Bunker's Hill."

Mrs. Mary Warren was the wife of James Warren, sometimes styled General from the circumstance of his having once (1775) held the office of Paymaster General of the Army.

The wife of General Joseph Warren, "the hero of Bunker's Hill," was Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Hooton, a Boston merchant. She died in 1773.

J. F., Jr.

*New Rochelle, Westchester Co., March 19th, 1866.*

FEMALE FARMERS.—The following is from the *New England Courant* for September 5, 1776:

"Philadelphia, August 27. Since the departure of the able bodied men from the forks of Brandywine in Chester County, on the service of their country, the patriotic young women, to prevent the evil that would follow the neglect of putting in the fall crop in season, have joined the ploughs and are preparing the fallows for the seed, and should their fathers, brothers and lovers be detained abroad in defense of the liberties of these States, they are determined to put in the crop themselves, a very laudable example, and highly worthy of imitation."

W. D.

## QUERIES.

CARTERET.—Among the papers in the Secretary of State's office, Albany, is a certificate that Philip Pipon, Esq., of the Island of Jersey, married Mrs. Elizabeth De Carteret, daughter of the Hon. James De Carteret and of Frances Delavall, 11th November, 1699, and had the following named children: James, bapt. 1st October, 1700; Elias, bapt. 22d Nov., 1702; Delavall (a dau.), bapt. 14th May, 1704; Louise, bapt. 26th March, 1707; Jeane, bapt. 10th March, 1709; Philip, bapt. 22d July, 1711; John, bapt. 5th Aug., 1716. Mrs. Elizabeth De Carteret, aforesaid, was buried in the church of St. Brelade, in the Island of Jersey, on the 11th No-

vember, 1720. The above entries are extracted from the registers of the parishes of St. Helier and St. Brelade, Jersey, and are certified as correct by Thomas Le Breton, Dean of Jersey, 21st June, 1721.

As these facts may be somehow connected with the history of New Jersey, a place is requested for them in the *Hist. Mag.* E. B. O'C.

It may be that some of the readers of the Magazine can give a sufficient reason why an erroneous date is allowed to stand on the monument at Sudbury, Massachusetts? The monument was erected in 1852, to replace an old one, and is in memory of the bloody engagement there between the English and Indians, in King Philip's war. The date of the surprise and slaughter of Capt. Wadsworth, and some fifty men, was put upon the old monument as having happened April 18th, 1676. Now has it not been clearly shown that it was on April 21st? Also *how* the error occurred? In the *N. Eng. Hist. & Gen. Register* for 1853, pages 221-224, the error is exposed and explained, and yet the false date still disfigures the monument. Was it not taken for granted that the old date was correct, without *any* investigation, when the new one was put up? INVESTIGATOR.

PONTIAC'S MEDAL.—I have in my possession a medal taken from the grave of Otussa (a son of the celebrated Pontiac) on Presque Isle, at the mouth of the

Maumee River. Otussa, during his lifetime, valued this medal highly for having been worn by his illustrious father. The medal is of silver, and two inches in diameter, bearing on its obverse a bust of George III.; legend, "Georgius III. Dei Gratia." On the reverse, a lion, in a recumbent posture, complacently watching a barking cur. In the background, immediately behind the lion, are houses, and all the evidences of civilization. In the background, immediately behind the cur, seems to be an unbroken wilderness.

Can any of your readers explain these devices? H. H.

Toledo, Ohio, March 27, 1860.

"BAY OF FUNDY."—What was the origin of this name?

This bay was explored by Champlain in 1604, and named by him "Baye Francois," and so appears on the French maps.

On Bowles' English map, published at London, 1715, it is called "Fundi Bay."

On Jeffries' map, published at London, 1775, it is called "Bay of Fundy, or Argal," probably in commemoration of Capt. Argal, who came from Virginia in 1613 and destroyed the French settlements at Mount Desert, in Maine, and Annapolis and Saint Croix, about the Bay of Fundy.

On Senex's map, published at London, 1710, it is called "French Bay."

E. L. H.

It is said, in Mr. Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors*, that there was published in

Dublin, in 1755, a Narrative of the Captivity of Dudley Bradstreet among the Indians, and that said Bradstreet was taken from Andover in 1698, his residence at that time. Can anyone give us a more extended account of that work?

In Abbot's *History of Andover*, page 19, we find that "in 1698 the Indians made an assault on Andover, took Dudley Bradstreet and his family prisoners, carried them about fifty rods, and dismissed them," &c. Now a question naturally arises—how much of a book could be, or was, made out of such a captivity?

S. G. D.

In Mr. Lauman's Biography of Congress, there is an unpardonable error respecting the origin of the name of *Rhode Island*. It has been so often corrected in years past, that it seems strange so accurate a compiler was not cognisant of it. Nothing further is needed for the regular readers of the Magazine, but for the benefit of casual readers I will refer to sources of first-class authorities, where the origin of *Rhode Island* will be found accurately given: Egbert Benson's valuable little *Memoir*; Moulton's *Hist. of New York*; Brodhead's and O'Callaghan's *Histories*; but especially Mr. Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*. NOESHOW.

"A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN IN CONNECTICUT TO HIS FRIEND IN NEW YORK."—A pamphlet with this title was printed [in New York?] in 1760 or 1761. It was answered by another, entitled, "A Regulator for Crazy Will's Death-Watch,"

&c. Can any collector or bibliographer inform me where a copy of the "Letter" may be seen, or give me its full title and imprint?

Hartford, Conn.

J. H. T.

PLACENTIA ISLANDS.—There are several small islands lying south of Mount Desert Island, on the coast of Maine, called the Placentia Islands. What is the origin of this name?

This name appears on Des Barre's map, published by the English Admiralty about 1780.

E. L. H.

Bangor, March, 1866.

The Narragansett Club are desirous of *looking* at a volume (or tract) printed in London in 1643. Can you give us any information? It is entitled "Apologetical Narration," and was published by Thomas Godwin, Sidrach Simpson, and others representing the Independents at the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

G. T. P.

TARANTEENS, TARRENTINES.—What writer first applied this name to the northern or north-eastern Algonkins? Where, and in what connection, is it first found in print?

J. H. T.

## REPLIES.

ANNE HUTCHINSON (H. M. 10, p. 121), was murdered by the Indians in the latter part of September, 1643, at her residence on Pelham Neck, Westchester County, New York. The small stream

that divides the town of Pelham from the town of Eastchester, was then, and still is known as Hutchinson's River.

Hubbard's History N. E. (Mass. Hist. Soc., Coll. Vol. 6, p. 345, second series); Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., Vol. 1, p. 72; Winthrop's Hist. N.E., Vol. 2, p. 136; Welde's Rise and Reign of the Antinomians; O'Callaghan's Hist. New Netherlands, Vol. 1, p. 287; Bolton's History Westchester Co., Vol. 1, p. 513, &c.; Brodhead's Hist. N. Y., Vol. 1, pp. 366, 367; Drake's History of Boston, 228; Drake's Book of the Indians, 132, 133 (eleventh edition).

See also Hubbard's Indian Wars, Vol. 1, p. 18 (Drake's edition, 1865), where the following note occurs:

"The melancholy fate of this unfortunate lady and her family appears to have been early known in Massachusetts, while the full particulars of it have but recently appeared. These lay locked up in the Dutch records, in the form of depositions, until within a few months, but have been translated by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, to whom we are, in other respects, much indebted."

The undersigned has the highest authority for stating that the intimation thus thrown out by Mr. Drake is based on a mistaken estimate of some of the learned doctor's recent translations from the Dutch Records, relating to the Dutch and Indian war. These translations disclose no "particulars" of the time, place, or manner of Anne Hutchinson's death not to be found in Mr. Drake's own valu-

able contributions to the history of the affair.

J. F., Jr.

New Rochelle, Westchester Co., N.Y.,

April 16, 1866.

DR. KRAITSIR (H. M. Vol. x, No. 3). He died at Morrisania, N. Y., May 7, 1860.

I add: He was born at Szomolnok, county of Zips, Hungary, Jan. 28, 1804; graduated at Pesth, as M. D., 1825; was surgeon in the Polish army, 1831; despairing of the Polish cause, came to America, 1833; taught with success in Maryland, Virginia and Massachusetts; studied chiefly comparative philology, and published one or two works on it. He was a man of considerable literary and scientific attainments and much originality. These facts are from an 8vo pamphlet biography of Dr. K., without date or place, but probably New York, 1860, in the New York Mercantile Library. P.

## Societies and their Proceedings.

### ARIZONA.

ARIZONA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—A meeting of this society was held in Prescott on the 5th inst., the President, Hon. Richard C. McCormick, in the chair.

The following resolutions were adopted regarding the death of the Hon. Gilbert W. Hopkins, viz.:

*Resolved*, That we record with deep regret the death, at the hands of the barbarous Apache, of our fellow-member, Hon. Gilbert W. Hopkins, Vice-President of this society from Pima county, and member of the first Legislative Assembly of the Territory.

*Resolved*, That his zealous efforts as a pioneer in the development of the resources of the Territory, and in the preservation of its history, as shown in his lively interest in the establishment of this society, entitle him to our grateful recollection, and that in his untimely demise this society has lost a valuable friend and officer, and the Territory an intelligent, upright and useful citizen.

*Resolved*, That we will wear the customary badge of mourning for thirty days, in accordance with the provision of the by-laws of this society.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the relatives of the deceased at Ravenswood, New York, and that they be published in the *Arizona Miner*.

The officers of the society since its organization were re-elected, excepting that, owing to the absence of W. Claude Jones, Hon. Henry A. Bigelow was made Corresponding Secretary, and Hon. Coles Bashford was chosen Vice-President from Pima county, in place of Mr. Hopkins. Messrs. Giles, Bigelow and Bidwell, were appointed a committee to consider the propriety of a union of the society with the Pioneer Society, recently organized, as the objects of the two organizations are much alike.

The Historical Society was chartered by the First Legislative Assembly, Act approved November 7, 1864. It was organized in the same month. Its seal is a representation of Casas Grandes on the Gila, the best preserved ruin in Arizona, with the sun rising, and the motto "Only a shadow remains." The officers of the society for 1866 are:

*President*, Richard C. McCormick; *Vice-Presidents*, Coles Bashford, of Pima county; Thomas J. Bidwell, of Yuma county; William Walter, of Mohave county; Capt. A. L. Anderson, U. S. A., of Yavapai county; Octavius D. Gass, of Pah-Ute county; *Corresponding Secretary*, Henry A. Bigelow; *Recording Secretary*, James S. Giles; *Treasurer*, James Garvin; *Librarian*, Capt. Charles A. Curtis, U. S. A.; *Directors*, Norman S. Higgins and Ammi S. White, of Pima county; Herman Ehrenberg and Richard Gird, of Yuma county; Edward D. Tuttle and Samuel Todd, of Mohave county; Henry A. Bigelow and King S. Woolsey, of Yavapai county; Amos Gustin and Thomas S. Smith, of Pah-Ute county.—*Arizona Miner*, Jan. 24th.

## AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—*Boston, Friday, April 20.* A quarterly meeting was held this afternoon; the President, Edward Jarvis, M.D., in the chair.

The death of Jared Sparks, LL.D., a resident member of the association since 1849, was announced, and resolutions of respect to his memory were passed.

The President, in behalf of E. B. Elliott, Esq., Secretary of the United States Revenue Commission, presented a copy of a new life-table for Prussia, constructed by Mr. Elliott, while in Europe, with a statement of the data from which the same was derived, and also a description of the processes and methods of calculation adopted.

The processes are, to a certain extent, novel and summary; and, although brief, are possessed of all the scientific accuracy and completeness of the larger and more tedious processes commonly followed in the construction of similar tables. This life-table is said by Dr. Engel, of Berlin, the accomplished and eminent chief of the Statistical Bureau of Prussia, to be the second ever constructed for that country. The earlier table was also computed by Mr. Elliott, and has been published at length, with the proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at Albany, N. Y., in 1856.

On motion of Rev. Rufus Anderson, D. D., the thanks of the association were presented to Mr. Elliott, and his document was referred to the President for disposal.

Dr. Jarvis gave statistics showing the proportion, in different countries, of persons of different periods of life that survive and pass to the next period. He also gave the order of ratios of death, from specific causes, in different States of the Union.

Hon. Samuel H. Walley read a paper showing that the effect on the industrial interests of the State by raising the legal rate of interest from six to seven per cent. would be beneficial.

The President made remarks upon the same subject, concurring in the views of Mr. Walley, as did also J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., and Ebenezer Alden, M.D.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

**BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.**—*Boston, March 1st.* The regular monthly meeting was held this afternoon at the usual hour. The President read a letter from the Secretary, Mr. Appleton, dated Jerusalem, Dec. 21, 1865. Mr. Pratt exhibited a beautiful gold coin of the Emperor Nero, having on the obverse a head to the right, with the legend "Nero-Cæsar Avgvstvs," and on the reverse, the figure of Safety, and the legend "Salvs."

Mr. Fowle exhibited a large and very elegant collection of Greek and Roman gold and silver coins, two hundred and fifty-eight in number. They were of various classes and sizes, from the earliest Greek autonomous coins to the rude pieces of the later Roman empire: staters, tetradrachms, denarii, obolli, &c. Among them were five fine daries of Arsaces, coins of the Ptolemies, the Antiochi, Demetrius, Soter, Lysimachus, Philip, and Alexander the Great. One denarius of Vespasian, with the figure of Judea Capta on the reverse, and the legend "Ivdæa;" another coin with the lotus on it, and many others, possessing a peculiar interest from curious designs or delicate workmanship, attracted much attention. They were all in as perfect a condition as possible, and many of them were exceedingly rare and valuable. They were too numerous, however, to admit of a detailed description.

Dr. Green exhibited one of the Washington medals struck to commemorate the evacuation of Boston. It was in silver, and particularly valuable from its having been struck from the original die.

Mr. Davenport, who had just returned from Philadelphia, where he had been acting as one of the assay committee at the mint, exhibited a proof set of the silver and copper coins for this year. By the fifth section of the Act of Congress of March 3, 1865, the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, was authorized to place upon all the gold and silver coins of the United States, susceptible of such addition, thereafter to be issued, the motto, "In God we Trust" (Finance Report, 1865, p. 232). This recognition of the nation's trust in God accordingly appears in this manner, for the first time, on these silver coins, though it had already been placed on the two-cent piece of bronze alloy.

**BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.**—The regular monthly meeting of this society was held April 12th. The President read a letter from the Secretary, dated Naples, March 14th, containing an account of some of the coins he had recently procured, and some of the foreign collections he had visited. A collection of Confederate paper money and postage stamps was exhibited, being a present to the society from Mr. R. Alonzo Brock, of Richmond, Va. A copy in bronze of the medal struck by order of Gen. Butler, for presentation to the colored troops, was received from Mr. Charles W. Kennard, of this city. The following is a description of the medal: On the obverse, two colored soldiers storming a fort; legend, *Ferro iis Libertas Perveniet*. In the exergue, U. S. Colored Troops. On the reverse, within a wreath of oak leaves, Campaign before Richmond, 1864; legend, Distinguished for Courage.

Dr. Green exhibited three beautiful silver medals, the "Libertas Americana:" one of Columbus, struck at Genoa, 1846; and one the Emperor Nicholas of Russia, 1826. Also a set of the Pine Tree money, and a cent of 1799, in perfect condition. Dr. Lewis exhibited some elegant medals, principally of silver and bronze. Among these were two very rare Cromwell medals in silver; a large bronze one of Pius IX. (size 26), struck in commemoration of the rebuilding of the Basilica of St. Paul, outside the walls of Rome, Dec., 1854, and having on the reverse a magnificent view of the interior of that imposing edifice; another bronze medal with the Cathedral of Strasbourg on the reverse; a beautiful gilt one of Thorvaldsen, of the most delicate workmanship; and a very curious old Venetian medal. The latter is of oxidized copper (size 28), and has on the obverse a man's head, with long, flowing hair; on the reverse the Lion's head of St. Mark, and this legend stamped in: "P. Lombardi opus MCCCCXCIX."

Mr. Pratt exhibited some gold coins, principally Greek and English. Among the latter were a half noble of Richard II., a Scotch laurel and a Scotch sword and sceptre piece 1601, of James I. (VI. of Scotland), a two-guinea piece and a half guinea, 1734, of George II., a guinea of George III., 1769, and a proof sovereign of George IV. There was also a Dutch ducat of 1745, and an Ecu d'or of Francis I. of France.

The President presented to the society five medals, and three copies, two, of the Confederation and one of the rare Connecticut cent of 1737.

Mr. James H. Taylor, of Charleston, S. C., was unanimously elected a corresponding member of the society.

**MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society was held on Thursday, the 12th of April, the President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in the chair.

The Hon. Horace Gray, Jr., the Chairman of the Standing Committee, read the annual report of that committee.

Mr. Thomas C. Amory, the Librarian, read his report, Dr. Samuel A. Green, the Cabinet-keeper, read his report, and the Treasurer, the Hon. Richard Frothingham, presented his report in print.

The Hon. Solomon Lincoln, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year, which was adopted by the Society (Judge Gray and Dr. Ellis retiring from the Standing Committee, having served the appointed time).

For President—Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D.

For Vice-Presidents—Col. Thomas Aspinwall, A.M., Hon. John C. Gray, LL.D.

For Recording Secretary—Charles Deane, A. M.

For Corresponding Secretary—Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D.

For Treasurer—Hon. Richard Frothingham, A.M.

For Librarian—Thomas C. Amory, A.M.

For Cabinet-keeper—Samuel A. Green, M.D.

For Standing Committee—Leverett Saltonstall, A.M., Charles Folsom, A.M., Amos A. Lawrence, A.M., Henry W. Torrey, A.M., Samuel Eliot, LL.D.

**MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—TRIBUTE TO JARED SPARKS.**—A special meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society was held April 3d, in commemoration of their late distinguished associate and Vice-President, Jared Sparks. The number of members present was unusually large. The following resolutions, by authority of the Standing Committee, were presented by the President, Mr. Winthrop, who introduced them by an appreciative and eloquent tribute to the character of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That in the death of Jared Sparks this

Society has lost one of its most valued and distinguished members, whose private virtues and whose literary achievements have alike entitled him to our respect and admiration.

*Resolved*, That the contributions of our lamented associate to the history of our country have been exceeded in amount and value by those of no other man among the living or the dead, and that we cannot doubt that posterity will confirm the judgment of Irving and Everett in pronouncing him "one of the greatest benefactors of American literature."

*Resolved*, That the President be requested to nominate one of our number to prepare a memoir of Dr. Sparks for our next volume of proceedings.

The resolutions were seconded by Hon. John C. Gray, who also addressed the meeting; and he was followed by Prof. Parsons, a classmate of Mr. Sparks, by Hon. Chas. G. Loring, Col. Aspinwall, Rev. Dr. Ellis, Mr. Savage, Dr. Peabody, Prof. Bowen and Rev. Mr. Waterston.

Letters from Mr. George Ticknor and from Mr. Francis Parkman, who were prevented by illness from being present to join in tributes to their late associate and friend, were read to the meeting.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

A copy of the admirable bust of President Sparks, by Powers, found a place in the room, among other memorials of a like nature; and a copy of each of his works, representing his written and editorial labors (numbering over one hundred volumes) was exhibited upon the table.

**NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.**—*Boston, April 4th.* The regular monthly meeting of this society was held this afternoon, Dr. Winslow Lewis in the chair. Since the last meeting there have been received as donations: Bound volumes, 32; pamphlets, 205; manuscripts, 8; and several portraits and pictures.

Wm. B. Trask, the historiographer, read a biographical sketch of Wm. Bowers Bradford, who died in Boston, April 16, 1865, aged 77 years, of Jared Sparks, LL.D., who died in Cambridge, March, 14, 1866, resident members; and of Alfred Louis Baury, D.D., a corresponding member, who died in Boston, December 26, 1865, aged 71 years.

Rev. Elias Nason, read an eloquent and able paper

on the bearing of America upon the great French revolution, and the relations of America to France during that tremendous struggle for liberty. He gave a vivid picture of the labors and influence of Silas Deane, Dr. Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Joel Barlow, Thomas Paine, and J. P. Brissot, in behalf of popular government in France; defending the course of the first-named gentleman from the aspersions of historians, and stating the fact that the preliminary articles of the National Assembly of France were drawn up under the eye of Thomas Jefferson.

After sketching the subsequent train of events through the revolution, and the part Wm. Foster (who lately died in Boston, at the age of over 90), Joel Barlow, Thomas Paine and others took in them, the speaker referred to the prospective grandeur of America, the march of liberal principles at home and abroad, to the probability that though America wielded great influence in the old, she would of necessity exercise a still more potent one in the new French revolution which in the course of time is sure sooner or later to come.

Dr. Lewis presented to the society various exceedingly valuable documents from France, written upon vellum, containing the autographs of Francis I, 1517, Francis Due d'Anjou; Henry III., 1585; Louis XIII., 1618; Louis XIV., 1745; Louis XV., 1779; and Louis XVI., 1779 to 1792. These documents, in connection with the eloquent paper of Mr. Nason, as it were, transported the audience to the very time and scenes of the history of France and the revolution there.

Hon. E. L. Hamlin of Bangor exhibited a very ancient brass box, recently found in Maine, with various Dutch characters engraved upon it.

Frederic Kidder, Rev. Frederic A. Whitney and Gen. Adin B. Underwood were chosen a committee upon the date of the Sudbury fight, April, 1676.

Resolutions were passed upon the death of Dr. Sparks and Rev. Martin Moore, recently deceased, members of the society.

The thanks of the society were voted to Rev. Mr. Nason for his eloquent paper, and to Dr. Lewis for his donation of rare and valuable manuscripts.

**NEW ENGLAND NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.**—A number of gentlemen of Boston and its

vicinity, interested in the study of numismatics and archæology, met in this city on the evening of April 6th, and organized a society, to be called the New England Numismatic and Archæological Society, and elected the following officers for the ensuing year:

*President*—Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff. *Vice-Presidents*—Maine, Thomas L. Stanton, of Monmouth; New Hampshire, H. G. Hutton, of Concord; Vermont, Chauncey R. Williams, of Rutland; Massachusetts, Charles Chaplin, of Boston; Rhode Island, George T. Paine, of Providence; Connecticut, C. W. Betts, of New Haven. *Recording Secretary*—T. E. Bond. *Corresponding Secretary*—S. H. Chadbourne. *Treasurer*—Henry Cook. *Curator*—Sylvester S. Crosby. *Librarian*—Dudley R. Child.

## OHIO.

**FIRELANDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—The third quarterly meeting of the society, for the current year, was held at Plymouth, on Wednesday, March 14th, at 10 o'clock, a. m.

The meeting was called to order by Vice-President Z. Phillips, of Berlin, who announced that the President was unable, on account of the increasing infirmities of age, to be present, but had sent word that although he could not be present in body he would in spirit.

The minutes of the last quarterly meeting were read by the Secretary and approved.

On motion, the reading of the roll of Township Committees was dispensed with, after which sixteen new members were added.

Mr. Ezekiah Rooks made some very interesting remarks in regard to the early history of the country in the vicinity of Plymouth, after which the meeting, on motion, took a recess until 1 o'clock, p. m.

*Afternoon Session.*—The society met pursuant to adjournment, in the same place, at 1 o'clock, p. m., Judge Z. Phillips still presiding.

A number of relics and curiosities were then exhibited, among which were:

By Mrs. Angeline Bodine, a pair of earrings, made of old Spanish beaten gold. They were the bridal presents of Mrs. Mehitabel Elliott, wife of Laban Elliott, of Kingsbury, Washington county,

N. Y., who served his country in some capacity during the seven years of the Revolutionary war. In the year 1783 they were purchased in the city of Albany, when that city was occupied by the Colonial force. Mrs. Elliott, living so near the seat of war, was subjected to a great many changes. At one time she came near being taken prisoner by the British, she and her family escaping in a wagon the latter part of the night. The next morning her house was burnt, and everything available was appropriated to the use of the British soldiers. This lady was sister-in-law to Colonel Elliott and Captain Daniel Elliott, of Revolutionary memory; mother of Asa and Charles Elliott, who were musicians in the war of 1812-13, and great-grandmother to Captain James Elliott and Lieut. Peter Elliott, of the Army of the Potomac. She was also the great-grandmother of George Bodine, who was murdered June 8th, 1865, by the Cheyennes and Apaches, at Sage Creek Station, Idaho. Mrs. Elliott dying in 1823, the earrings and her wedding-ring were given to her daughter, Mrs. Maria Carpenter, who died in 1840, when they were given to the present owner. They have thus had eighty-four years of wear.

By F. Swalley, an old brass button, found in an old dwelling in Cumberland county, Penn., and bearing the inscription "Long live the President, G. W.," and the initials of the original States of the Union.

By Mrs. Conkling, a small silver spoon, presented to a young lady, as part of her "setting out," one hundred and ten years ago.

A series of very interesting papers, prepared by J. H. Niles, Esq., of Norwich, entitled "Geology of the Firelands," "Bear Hunt on the Marsh," "Last Charivari of Greenfield," and "Anecdote of Gen. Wayne."

Judge Parish then addressed the meeting, stating the object of the organization of the society, its benefits to the community, and its plan of operations.

The names of new members were then read by the Secretary, and the thanks of the society were returned to the citizens of Plymouth and the Committee of Arrangements for their hospitality.

TOLEDO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Pursuant to adjournment, a meeting to organize the Toledo Histori-

cal and Antiquarian Society was held March 26th, at the office of Messrs. Hill & Pratt.

Mr. C. T. Wales, in behalf of the committee, reported a draft of a constitution and by-laws, which were unanimously adopted.

The following officers were then elected: *President*, William Baker; *Vice-President*, Charles B. Phillips; *Corresponding Secretary*, Henry Hall; *Secretary*, C. T. Wales; *Treasurer*, John J. Manor.

The society adjourned to meet on the last Tuesday of April next.

WM. BAKER, *President*.

J. J. MANOR, *Secretary*.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

THE NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—A stated meeting of the society was held on the evening of the 5th of April, Joseph J. Michly, Esq., President, in the chair. A report was received from the Publication Committee, advising the publication of the transactions of the society, which report was adopted. A number of valuable donations were received, among them a three-dollar note of the town of Sumter, S. C., issued 1866, from Henry Phillips, Jr., Esq., who also presented his "History of the American Colonial Currency," 2 vols. 4to, which has just issued from the press of Mr. Munsell. From Dr. Bronson, of New Haven, was received his "History of the Connecticut Currency," and from Mr. Hickox, of Albany, his "History of the New York Currency." The Corresponding Secretary read several interesting letters he had received since the last meeting, one from Hon. R. S. Field, Princeton, accepting Honorary Vice-Presidency for New Jersey; also, one from the Secretary of the Treasury, respecting the fractional currency. A letter was also received and read from Prof. James D. Butler, of Madison, Wis., inclosing photographs of a medal found in Buffalo County, Wis., commemorative of the Peace of Westphalia, 1698, with his printed account of it, and asking information relative to it, and other matters, for the society.

Charles H. Hart, Esq., Corresponding Secretary, communicated to the society a very interesting paper on the newly-discovered ancient cities in Mexico, together with a copy of the dispatch received at the

State Department, Washington, from Hon. B. W. Sanders, U. S. Consul at Tabasco, near which the ruins were found, which was kindly placed at his disposal by the Hon. Secretary of State.

Henry Phillips, Jr., Esq., read a brief paper on "The best means of extending the present usefulness of the Society," which suggestions were full of utility and value.

Hon. William Duane then announced, in eloquent terms, the death of Jared Sparks, and offered a series of appropriate resolutions of respect to his memory.

The resolutions were seconded by Wm. P. Chandler, Esq., and appropriate remarks made by Mr. Phillips, Mr. Hart, and Mr. S. L. Taylor.

A verbal communication was received from M. P. Simons, photographer, offering to take the portraits of all the members of the society at his own expense. Mr. A. B. Taylor exhibited three colonial notes of the State of Vermont, of an issue unknown to investigators, and one also which does not appear in the printed laws of the State. It has been thought that Vermont made but one issue of paper money, and is so stated by Mr. Phillips, in his new work on the Colonial Currencies, who searched all sources, but found no other record. The notes exhibited bear date *Windsor, February, 1781*. Those formerly known, and the one mentioned in the State Laws, are dated *Andover, May, 1781*. Mr. Duane exhibited some fine American medals, and Mr. Jenks a number of foreign gold coins, in the most perfect state of preservation, including one, "The Augsburg Confession Medal, 1530," which appeared as fresh as from the mint.

The President presented to the consideration of the society the following memorial to Congress, which, after a lengthy and animated discussion, was unanimously agreed to :

*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled :*

The petition of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, a corporation created by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for the promotion of numismatic science and antiquarian research, respectfully sheweth :

That, in the opinion of the society, the coinage of the United States might be made of interest and of permanent value, by becoming the repository of events of note, whether civil or military, in the history of the country.

That a long and unmeaning series of coins, whose chief variety is a mere difference in date, is almost an anomaly and a retrograde step in civilization. A reference alone, of all other examples, to the series of ancient Roman coins, will amply prove the correctness of these views. Were all traces of Roman history obliterated, it could be rewritten from the coinage which survives.

The minor details necessary to carry such a plan into successful operation, as, for example, to certain classes of coins the allotment of classes of events, as on the National Bank currency, might easily be devised by the wisdom of your assembled bodies.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

— — —, *President.*

— — —, *Recording Secretary.*

[Seal.]

The society then adjourned.

NOTE.—During the present month, the society will have delivered before it a lecture on "The Evidences of Christianity; with some notice of the coin and money times of the Bible, which corroborate its authenticity and credibility," by Hon. James Ross Snowden, Corresponding Secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

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## Book-Gossip.

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WE find in the *South Carolinian* of March 6th the following sensible remarks in connection with a notice of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The last two sentences, particularly, are as applicable to men of the North as to those of the South. Let each observer, in his own sphere and in his own fashion, collect, for future use—both as regards the past and the present—such facts as come within the scope of his own knowledge. Thus shall the future be richer for our having lived.

"We are pleased to find that Richardson's 'Historical Magazine,' of New York, has survived the war, and still continues to make those useful records, from the certain chronicles and documents of our past history, which shall constitute the necessary material for our national history in the future. It is really only now that we are beginning to know for certain what were the undoubted facts in our revolutionary history of 1776. It will require fifty years

of painstaking and painful waiting—fifty years of a new conscience, and the uncerowning and the disrobing of passion—before our children will be able to get at the truths of history, in this our late war of secession. The scum must disappear from these waves of agitation before anything will make itself clear to our eyes in the troubled waters of our condition—before the leaden lies will sink out of sight—before the froth and foam and yeasty matter of vanity and pretense, and puff and policy, shall disappear; and, uninfluenced by a present and pressing policy, real, or conjectured only, society will begin to desire the truth for its own sake, and gradually slough off the corruptions which must continue to accumulate, until the normal condition of a settled society shall be again attained. Meanwhile we entreat of all the public men of the South, all who have been engaged in the struggle, whether in civil or military position—all who have had the opportunity to observe events, or who possess the clues which have conducted to events, to put on record their knowledge, experience, and opinion. No matter how humble the rank of the individual, it is enough, if he knows and has seen events of moment, let him set the matter down, and put his name to it, and he will be a witness to the future, to be tried by the rules of evidence as a witness, according to the intrinsic matter of his record, and his manner of giving his testimony.

THE NINIGRET RELICS.—We had the pleasure of, within a few days past, seeing a letter from the venerable Dr. Usher Parsons, in which he states that he has recently become the owner of the curious relics found in the grave of the chieftain *Ninigret*, and which, it will be recollected, were exhibited in this city some years since, exciting much interest among all who examined them; and states, also, that it is his intention shortly to present them to the New York Historical Society.

The June number of the MAGAZINE will contain an excellent steel portrait of the Doctor, accompanied by a carefully prepared biographical sketch.

MR. HORACE W. SMITH, of Philadelphia, has recently published a small edition of Mr. John Coles' *History and Antiquities of Ecton, in Northamptonshire, England.* This village was the residence of

Dr. Franklin's ancestors three hundred years ago, and the work contains a notice of their residence and monumental inscriptions, besides a very interesting notice of Bishop Percy, the editor of the "*Reliques*," who was at one time the rector of Ecton church. The edition is of seventy copies only, at one dollar a copy.

WASHINGTONIANA.—We have recently received from one of our Philadelphia friends a couple of card photographs of the *silhouettes* of General and Mrs. Washington, formerly in the possession of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Bordley Gibson, of Philadelphia, and now the property of Edward Shippen, Esq., of that city, who has kindly permitted these copies to be made. Each card has, on its reverse, a photographic *fac-simile* of Mrs. Gibson's certificate of their authenticity. They are exceedingly interesting and life-like.

WE learn that JOSEPH L. CHESTER, Esq., now residing at London, England, has been making a complete copy of the Matriculation Registers of Oxford University, from 1564 to 1750, permission having been afforded him. It will consist of more than one hundred thousand entries—name, parentage, residence, age, &c., and will be invaluable, as such a list never will be printed. He has already identified members of the early New England families, and, among other things, has settled the ancestry of the famous Anne Hutchinson.

MR. LEDYARD BILL, the enterprising publisher at No. 75 Fulton street, New York, is gathering material for a *Genealogy of the Bill Family* in this country, and will feel obliged to any one who may feel disposed to furnish any information relative to the subject. Suitable compensation will be made, to such as desire it, for matter thus furnished.

FRANCIS LEVEC, 101 years of age, is living at Farmington, N. H. He was born at Havre de Grace, Jan. 2d, 1765, was a soldier under Napoleon, was engaged at Waterloo, and soon after came to America. He is a spare man, stands erect, and walks with a light, quick step, and his sight and hearing are yet good.

## Miscellany.

**DEATH OF PHILIP KENJOCKETY.**—The aged Indian Ska-dyoh-gwa-deh, or, as he was more familiarly known, Philip Kenjockety, died on the afternoon of the 1st of April, at Newtown, on the Cattaraugus Reservation.

Kenjockety was the oldest resident of this region. He came to "Buffalo Creek" with the Senecas soon after the Revolutionary war, when they were driven from their homes in the Genesee Valley by the devastating expedition of Gen. Sullivan. His great-grandfather was a member of an almost mythological race—the Kah-kwas, whose rude wigwams, tradition tells us, were once planted on the site of our beautiful city. The Kah-kwas were exterminated by the more powerful and war-like Senecas, about the year 1651, and the great-grandfather of Philip, one of the few survivors, was adopted into that nation. His grandson John acquired great influence in the nation, and became a chief. It was through his representation that the Senecas were induced to settle upon the banks of the Niagara when driven from the Genesee. When the whites came here they found him living near the creek which now bears his name. He died in 1808.

Philip Kenjockety was a person of wonderful vigor, and died at a very advanced age. It is generally believed that he was from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty years old, but this estimate is probably incorrect. It is impossible to ascertain his exact age, but it is well established that he was nearly a hundred years old at the time of his death. His mind was clear and his memory unusually correct, and much information about the Indians, as connected with the early history of Buffalo, has been lately gathered from his lips. With him has passed away one of the few remaining links between the past and the present. May his spirit find rest in the happy hunting grounds of his fathers.—*Buffalo Courier*, Wednesday, April 4, 1866.

**THREE CENTURIES AND A HALF AGO.**—"I have seen a man who conversed with a man who fought at Flodden Field," may be said by a venerable octogenarian gentleman, to whom we are indebted for the

following most interesting memorandum: The writer of this, when an infant, saw Peter Garden, who died at the age of 126. When twelve years old, on a journey to London, about the year 1670, in the capacity of page in the family of Gardner of Troup, he became acquainted with the venerable Henry Jenkins, and heard him give evidence in a court of justice at York, that he "perfectly remembered being employed, when a boy, in carrying arrows up the hill at the battle of Flodden."

It was fought in.....	A. D. 1513
Add Henry Jenkins' age.....	169
Less.....	11
	158
Peter Garden.....	126
Less his age when at York.....	12
	114
The writer of this in 1865, aged.....	80

A. D. 1865.

*Edinburgh Courier.*

**ROBINSON CRUSOE.**—The *London Reader* says: "It is erroneously supposed that 'Robinson Crusoe' first appeared piecemeal in the *Original London Post*; or, *Heathcote's Intelligence*, a small folio journal, which was commenced on the 19th December, 1718. The first volume, 'The Strange, Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe,' was published, in octavo, on the 25th of April, 1719; and the second, 'The Further Adventures,' on the 20th of the following August. It was not till the 7th of October, in the same year, that the *Original London Post* commenced giving two pages of 'Robinson Crusoe' beyond its two pages of news, &c. 'The Further Adventures' were not concluded in that paper till the 17th of October, 1720. Mr. W. Lee, in *Notes and Queries*, calls attention to this fact, we presume, because 'Robinson Crusoe,' as published in *Heathcote's Intelligence*, is a book sought after by book collectors, under the impression that it is the purest text, and fetches almost its weight in gold when sold by public auction."

THE New Hampshire Historical Society has received, through Ex-President Pierce, the "Records in the Court of Sessions" in the Province of New Hampshire, from 1692 to 1704.

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. X.]

JULY, 1866.

[No. 7.]

## I.—IN JCTORY.

The readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE have learned, from the card of my friend, Doctor Stiles, which was published in the number for June, that that work has again passed into my hands, as its Editor and Proprietor; and it seems proper, in the outset, to inform those readers what they may hereafter expect to find in its columns.

The title of the work indicates with sufficient clearness the subjects to which it was originally devoted; and I trust that nothing which I shall admit into its pages will discredit either the judgment of its founders or my own. It will be steadily devoted, as it has hitherto been, to the History, Antiquities, Biography, and Standard Literature of America; and I believe I may safely say, that there will not be found in its columns, with my knowledge and consent, any place whatever for any subject which does not seem to bear "the guinea stamp" of Historic Truth and Genuineness, unless for the purpose of exposing its character and denouncing its author.

I am deeply sensible that all is not History which is called History, and that all are not Historians who have claimed to be thus considered; but I have yet to learn that the former is entitled to any more respect as *History* than the counterfeit which has not the true ring of the genuine coinage, or that the latter can rightfully demand a place among

those unto whom they are only foreigners and strangers.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, while it shall remain under my control, will never recognize any pretended necessity to remain silent on any subject which may properly be discussed in its columns; nor will it ever hesitate to follow those who shall venture to display their authorial dexterity on the slippery paths of Personal or Political History. It will not lose sight, however, of the fact that the doings and sayings of Soldiers and Politicians, in times past, form the great staple of what is generally called History; and as both Soldiers and Politicians have always been human, and sometimes of rather questionable integrity and judgment, both these "makers of History" and the History which they have made, as well as those who shall undertake to narrate it, will receive that attention in the columns of this work to which their merits or demerits shall justly entitle them.

What is known to be historically untrue, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will fearlessly expose and condemn, no matter by whom it may have been uttered; and he will be fearlessly exposed and denounced therein, no matter from whom he may have descended, who shall seek to remove any of the landmarks of our Country's History, for the purpose of sacrificing the Truth on the altar of Expediency.

With such a course marked out for THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I can con-

fidently appeal for sympathy and support to the more earnest and honest of my countrymen, who are neither ashamed nor afraid to follow the Truth, whithersoever she may lead them. To the mere time-server and the sycophant, to the historically self-righteous, and to "him who loveth and maketh a lie" in the name of History, this work will neither commend itself nor prove useful; and their sympathy and support are neither expected nor solicited.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

## II.—THE PROFFERED RE-CESSION OF NEW JERSEY TO THE DUKE OF YORK, 1669.

SUBSTANCE OF MR. BRODHEAD'S REMARKS BEFORE THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JUNE 5, 1866.

In the course of some remarks before the New York Historical Society, at its meeting in June, 1865, I had occasion to refer to the proposed surrender to the Duke of York, of the territory of New Jersey, by its proprietors, in 1669, they taking the Delaware territory in exchange. The arrangement was not carried out, however, although Sir George Carteret informed his brother Philip, the Governor of the Province, in the Spring of 1669, that it had been actually "returned" to the Duke.

The news quickly spread, and seems to have been generally believed, for some time. An interesting confirmation of this lately-revealed historical fact, is in the recently-published "*Records*" of Newark, which state that at its meeting, on the 28th of July, 1669, "*the town made choice of Mr. Crane and Mr. Treat, to take the first opportunity to go over to York, to advise with Col. Lovelace concerning our standing, whether we are designed to be part of the Duke's colony, or not.*" The real meaning of this action of the Town of

Newark was never understood until the revelation, last year, of the intended return of New Jersey, to the Duke of York; who, it was then supposed, would annex it again to his own colony of New York.

J. R. B.

## III.—THE BATTLES OF BRANDY-WINE AND GERMANTOWN.

BY GENERAL CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.\*

CHARLESTON, Nov. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1820.

*Dear Sir:* In giving you some time ago, some account of the Actions of Brandywine & German Town I recollect mentioning that I knew Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington had very early detached a Regiment of Cavalry commanded by Col<sup>l</sup> Bland, to keep as near as possible to the Enemy's left, with a view of obtaining early and authentic information of any movement they might make: And about 11 or 12 O'clock on that day, while we were near Col<sup>l</sup> Proctor's Battery, on the height above Chad's ford, I heard him bitterly lament that Col<sup>l</sup> Bland had not sent him any information at all, & that the accounts he had received from others were of a very contradictory nature. About one O'clock, intelligence was brought that the Enemy's left wing were marching in the Valley rout & were about crossing the Brandy Wine above its forks. At length Col<sup>l</sup> Bland sent intelligence that he had seen two of the Enemy's Brigades marching in that road. Sullivans & Lord Sterling's Divisions were ordered to march up the Brandy Wine to attack them in case they should cross, & some Light horse were dispatched above the Forks of the Brandy Wine to see if they actually had there crossed; & they, when they returned,

\* I am indebted for the use of this unpublished letter from Gen. Pinckney, who at the time referred to therein, was a member of Gen. Washington's military family, to my late friend, the venerable Doctor HENRY JOHNSON, of Charleston, S. C. H. B. D.

brought information that there was no appearance of the Enemy in that quarter, which induced the General to suppose that the movement of the Enemy was a feint, & that they were returning to reinforce Knyphawsen at Chad's Ford. This uncertainty was at length removed, & authentic intelligence was brought between 3 & 4 O'clock in the afternoon, that the Enemy were crossing in great force at Jones's Ford, about 4 miles higher up the Brandy Wine than Chad's Ford. Sullivan's, Lord Sterling's & Stevens's Divisions were ordered to oppose them. When Sullivan's Division were about to display on the ground above Bermingham Court house, it was found that Lord Sterling's Division would be on the right of Sullivan's, & it is said the latter division was so tenacious of etiquette that it insisted to take the right, & while it was counter marching for that purpose, it was attacked by Lord Cornwallis, & after being thrown into disorder, dispersed.

Greene's Division had been ordered to support our right, & while Wheeldon's Brigade were marching over a ploughed field, Sullivan proposed to the General to halt it there & to display & take the Enemy in flank as they came down. This Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington acceded to, & I was directed to carry the Orders, & then to go to Muhlinburgh's Brigade (also a part of Greene's division) & order him at the same time to attack the Enemy in front. Both these Maneuvers were performed critically, and Stewart's Pennsylvania Regiment, & Stevens's which formed part of Muhlinburgh's Brigade in Greene's Division behaved most gallantly, checked the advance of the Enemy & covered the Retreat.

Previous to the battle of German Town, every measure was taken to prevent the Enemy from supposing that a serious attack was meditated, their Patrols were regularly driven in, and their Picquets assaulted by the Light Infantry & Cav-

alry for three or four nights previous to the attack. This was done too on the night immediately preceeding the attack, but after having been done, Pulaski who commanded the Cavalry drew it off, & when the head of Sullivan's Division arrived near the point of attack, we found he had lain down, & gone to sleep; for which he was very severely reprimanded by the General. Conway's Brigade which had led Sullivan's Division again drove in the Enemy's Pickett, & Sullivan who then commanded the right Wing, displayed his own division on the right of the road, & Wayne's Division on the left (Wayne though a Brigadier, then commanded a division as well as at the Brandy Wine, the Division which was Lincoln's who was then with the Northern Army.) The British Light Infantry under Col<sup>l</sup> Maitland & six Companies of the 40<sup>th</sup> Regiment under Col<sup>l</sup> Musgrove, who were posted at the head of Germantown, near a Mile in advance of Chew's House, were then attacked & driven in; & Musgrove in his retreat took possession of Chew's House, & threw the men of the 40<sup>th</sup> that remained into it; he commenced a brilliant & incessant firing from the windows without being able to see very clearly what he fired at, for the Fog was very thick, & kept the Smoke down so low, that the battle was fought without the adverse parties scarcely seeing each other, & the only way we knew of the Enemy's being drawn up in opposition to us, was by their fire & the whistling of their Balls, and it was some time after they retreated before we knew of it, & that only by our not hearing the whistling of their Balls, & seeing no flashes in our front. At Chew's house the men unfortunately halted, & when one of the French Engineers mentioned to me, & requested that I would state it to the General, that he remembered such a thing occurring in Italy, but the Army passed on & gained the Victory, &

the Cassino full of soldiers fell into their hands—General Knox exclaimed against the impolicy of leaving an inimical armed force in our rear; but the General said to me—do tell the Colonel I have already directed the Army to file off to the right & left, & ordered Col<sup>d</sup> Ogden to remain with his Regiment to watch the house, & to fall on the soldiers in it, if they attempted to quit it. I think there never was a battle in which a Commander took more care to insure success, than General Washington did at the battle of Germantown, & I attribute the loss of it principally to the thickness of the Fog which did not permit us to see immediately when the enemy retreated; by which means our Soldiers continued firing & expending their ammunition when the Enemy were gone, & before the March forward was resumed; & this happened two or three times before we arrived at Chew's house; that when the General ordered us to rally the men after the retreat had commenced, many showed me their cartouch boxes without a single Cartridge in them; & I knew before they went into action, that each man was supplied with 60 rounds of Cartridge.

Wishing you every success in the completion of your arduous undertaking, I remain with the greatest regard and esteem,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

Honble JUDGE JOHNSON.

#### IV.—WHO KILLED TECUMSEH?

BY THE LATE CAPTAIN JAMES DAVIDSON, OF COLONEL JOHNSON'S REGIMENT, AND THE LATE GENERAL LESLIE COMBS.\*

LINCOLN Co., Ky., Oct. 22, 1859.

*Gentlemen:* I have read with much interest, the two very different accounts of

the death of Tecumseh, recently copied into your paper. You say you do not purpose to enter deeply into this discussion. Perhaps you do not know the amount of interest a number of your subscribers take in this question. I will give you some idea of it. I have been solicited by a number of gentlemen, to give you my opinion on the subject, and to put you in possession of *facts*, which I *know to be facts*. This by way of explanation, that I do not enter this arena to challenge any man's veracity—all men may be honestly mistaken, myself being as liable as others. You can judge whether my statements possess interest to a sufficient number of your subscribers to entitle them to a place in your columns or not.

In regard to Mr. Hamblin's account, I think he is totally mistaken in supposing that Col. Johnson killed Tecumseh. He must have been mistaken in supposing the Indian Col. Johnson killed to be Tecumseh. I will presently make it appear why I think so.

My account tallies somewhat with that of Capt. Ferguson. I believe him to be mistaken as to the man who killed Tecumseh, but the discrepancies between our statements are so nearly reconcilable, that the truth can be almost positively established. I commanded a company of 144 volunteers, in the battle of the Thames, in Col. Johnson's Regiment; they were mounted riflemen. In enlisting my company, I had collected 133 men, when an old Indian fighter, named *Col. Whitley* (miscalled *Maj. Whistler* in the above mentioned article), avowed his determination of going. In vain his friends endeavored to deter him. He had acquired a taste for Indian fighting (having already figured in seventeen battles), and was determined to go. He accordingly enlisted, but being so old a man, the company voted him free from camp duty. This, connected with the fact that all discipline

\* This paper was communicated to me, in June, 1860, by General Combs, the widely-known friend of Henry Clay.  
H. B. D.

was slack among the volunteers, might erroneously lead a stranger to suppose that he was "fighting on his own hook." This man had few faults and many virtues, conspicuous among the latter was his, dauntless bravery, amounting almost to recklessness.

After we forded the Thames, Whitley caught sight of four Indians on the opposite side of the river, and lingered behind, trying to get a shot at them. We went on, and when we had gotten about a mile on our road, we were overtaken by Whitley, who rode up with a triumphant air, holding aloft the scalp of an Indian. He gave me the account of his having killed the Indian, in a singularly venturesome manner. I reprimanded him for it, and received for answer: "Don't fear, Captain, the ball is not run nor the powder made that is to kill me." This was a favorite saying of the old fellow. He was as complete a fatalist as either of the two Napoleons. This, I think, proves that Capt. Ferguson and I refer to the same man.

Capt. F. says: "Furthermore, there were no Indians in that part of the British line which was charged by Col. Johnson and the Kentucky mounted volunteers; and he was wounded in the very commencement of the charge, before the two lines had come in close contact, and was immediately borne from the field, his brother, next in command, then leading the charge, and commanding the regiment during the remainder of the day."

Capt. F. is mistaken in supposing that Col. Johnson did not charge upon the Indians. They were the only foes we had, but they were enough, as they numbered about three to one. The mistake arises from the fact that Col. Johnson divided his men. He and Lieutenant-Col. Johnson (his brother) arranged it that Col. R. M. Johnson was to charge the Indians, and Lieut.-Col. Johnson the British. After Col. J. was wounded, he

was succeeded in the command (in our part of the field) by Maj. Thompson, of Scott County (an uncle of Johnson's, I believe).

We were posted at the extreme right, in a dense forest, with thick undergrowth. A short time after the charge commenced, and in the heat of the battle, I saw Johnson pass, supported on his horse, badly wounded. He was immediately borne from the field. It was so short a time from the commencement of the action, that it would have been a most fortunate chance if the first Indian he met was Tecumseh (for he had scarcely time to meet two), and he killed him. It is enough to make one a fatalist, and believe it was his "manifest destiny" to kill Tecumseh, and that he was "raised up" for that purpose.

I do not wish to be thought in any way to detract from Col. Johnson's reputation. He was undoubtedly one of the bravest men I ever saw. I did not see him the moment he was wounded, and therefore cannot say he did not shoot Tecumseh; but I was not more than ten yards from him all the time he was on the field. I had held a conversation with him just before the charge was made, and I think it likely I would have seen or heard something of it. I think Mr. Hamblin was incorrect in saying that Johnson's horse fell on the field. The horse, on which he was carried off the field was a white one, with a terrible-looking wound in his side, with the blood streaming at every step. I have always understood that he did not fall until he reached the river-bank, when (Johnson being taken off) he fell, and immediately died. Dr. *Samuel Theobald* (of the South, near Lake Providence), was one of Col. Johnson's supporters, and can probably settle this question.\*

\* Dr. Theobald states that he was Surgeon's mate of Col. Johnson's regiment; went with him in his charge, and saw him wounded at the first fire of the enemy. Afterward took his holsters and pistols from his saddle-bow when his horse

Soon after Johnson was carried off, the Indians charged on us, and one of them shot and killed Col. Whitley, who fell near my horse's feet. The Indian sprang forward to scalp him, which I endeavored to prevent by striking at him with my sword, but he evaded the blows, and persisted in his attempt, until a man by the name of Massey, from Georgetown, aimed at him under my horse's belly and shot him dead.

I will now proceed to tell you who I think did kill Tecumseh. In my company was a private of the name of *David King*. He was a splendid specimen of a backwoods-man, brave as Cæsar, an honest man, and an unerring marksman. Whilst we were awaiting another charge from the Indians, King, in loading his gun, put in his ball, forgetting the powder, and had no means of drawing the ball. He was much vexed, and told me about it, saying: "Captain what shall I do?" I told him Whitley had a fine gun, but it was hazardous to attempt to get it. He immediately crawled toward Whitley, keeping the body between him and the Indians, and succeeded in getting his gun and shot-pouch, and regaining his tree. The Indians peppered the spot with balls, but fortunately none hit him. He and some five or six of his comrades asked my permission to go a little further to the right, as they wished to prevent the Indians flanking us. They outnumbered us so far, that it was with great difficulty we could keep from being surrounded. I detached them a short distance to the right, but their eagerness to get to the Indians made them move faster than the left wing; on perceiving which, I started toward them to warn them. I was afraid they might be cut off from the rest of the

company. When I got about half way to them, I heard a fellow named Clarke, exclaim: "Look out, King, an Indian is aiming at you!" Whereupon, the Indian turned to fire upon Clarke, thereby exposing his left breast to King's aim, who instantly fired, and the Indian fell, King exclaimed: "I've killed one d—d yaller Indian booger!"

(I should have mentioned above that it was Whitley's custom to load his gun with *two bullets*, and that when King got the gun, it was cocked, but not discharged. He therefore used the charge that Whitley put in.) I got the men in the right place, and returned to my other men. I was soon after severely wounded three times, and saw no more of King and his comrades until after the battle.

That evening, I was lying on the field, feeling (like Charles Lamb) "ratherish unwell," when some of my men, among them King, came to hunt for me. Whilst they were getting ready to carry me off, King said to me: "Captain, I wish you would let us go by and see the Indian I killed; I wish to see if I made a good shot. If I did, two of old Whitley's balls went in at his left nipple. I took aim by it, and if the yaller devil has any knives, I want them." At first, being in great pain, I demurred, telling him I knew he could not find the Indian, and if he could, he couldn't identify him. "Oh! yes, Captain," he replied. "*My Indian* is right behind that old dead tree," pointing to one about fifty yards off. It being on the line of march to the camp, I consented. When we got there, we found the Indian behind the tree. They turned him over, and, sure enough, his left breast was pierced with two balls, about half an inch below the nipple. The Indian was plainly but more comfortably dressed than the rest of the Indians, having on the finest wampum belt I ever saw; and his knives and arms were superior to those of the Indians

fell and died, and carried them back to camp; both of the pistols being loaded. This being so, it is certain Col. J. did not shoot Tecumseh, or any other Indian in that battle. Davidson and Theball are men of unquestionable veracity, and are still alive. I know nothing myself of the facts. The Johnsons were both brave men.

LESLIE COMBS.

June 7, 1860.

around. I mentioned to Davy, I thought he "might be a chief." The men all thought the property belonged to Davy, and he took possession, and divided it out with his friends. I had a twin brother, Michael, who also commanded a company in this battle, in Shelby's Corps. He came to see me, while I was lying wounded, and I told him about "King's Indian," as we called him. It was reported that Tecumseh was killed, and every one was on the alert to find the body. I was informed that next day, Mike (my brother) and Charles A. Wickliffe, of Bardstown, determined to have a look at "King's Indian." They went to the spot, and found the Indian. Whilst they were looking at him, Gen. Harrison and two British officers came up, and one of the latter exclaimed: "I believe that is Tecumseh." The other also thought it was him. They reported that Tecumseh had a scar on his left cheek, and one leg was shorter than the other. This Indian had a small scar on his left cheek, and, upon examination, one of his legs *was* more than an inch shorter than the other. They agreed that this was Tecumseh. It was soon noised abroad that the body was found, and the skin was taken by the soldiers to make razor-straps. Because Tecumseh was killed where Johnson made his charge, Johnson got the credit of killing him, and as there was a great rivalry between Shelby's and Johnson's Corps, we were glad that the Colonel of our regiment got the credit of it. King never cared a cent for it, and I thought it made no difference who killed him. It is only at the request of friends, that I make this public. King brought Whitley's gun home, and restored it to his family. Some of Whitley's descendants are living in this county. King moved to Tennessee, and died there about twelve years ago. All his comrades who were with him when he shot the Indian are dead, but there are a

number of persons in this county who have heard it from their lips.

I have to employ an amanuensis, and it may be that some mistake has crept into this account; but I have heard it carefully read, and I believe it to be a true statement of what I know concerning this matter.

Respectfully,

JAMES DAVIDSON.

To the Editors of the *Louisville Journal*.

#### V.—A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE BATTLE OF MONTEREY; WITH DETAILS OF THAT PORTION OF IT, WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THE EASTERN EXTREMITY OF THE CITY.

BY THE LATE COLONEL ELECTUS BACKUS, U. S. A.\*

On the 19th of Sept. 1846, Genl. Taylor arrived in front of Monterey, with an Army of 6,220 men, of which 2,831, were Regulars, and 3,379, were Volunteers. It was organized into four Divisions. The 1st was commanded by Genl. Twiggs; the 2d, by Genl. Worth; the Volunteer Division by Genl. Butler, and the Texans, by Genl. Henderson. Lt.-Colonels Garland and Wilson, each commanded a Brigade in the 1st Division. The two Brigades of the 2d Division were commanded by Lt.-Colonel Staniford, and Col. P. F. Smith, and in the Volunteer Division, the Brigades were commanded by Genls. Hamer and Quitman. Worth's Division had preceded us to Serralvo, and had gained much information in reference to the strength of the Mexican Army, and of its preparations to meet us at Monterey. Much difference of opinion existed among officers of the Army about the probable defence of Monterey, Genl. Taylor inclining

\* This sketch was written for me while I was engaged in writing the *Battles of the United States*, some years since; and its great value will be widely recognized. H. B. D.

to the opinion that the Mexicans would evacuate the city, at our approach. Genl. Worth held a contrary opinion, and wagers were freely offered and taken, that a hostile shot would not be fired. So firm was Genl. Taylor in his views, that he did not even halt, to reconnoitre the approaches to the city, but marched directly towards the citadel, until the booming of the enemies cannon, and the hissing of his balls near his person, advised him of the error he was committing. He then retraced his steps to Walnut Springs, where he encamped, and then sent out his Engineers to make the requisite examination of the town and its defences. Major Mansfield and his assistants reported that the works at the west of the city could be turned. On Sunday the 20th of Sept. Genl. Worth was detached with his Division and Hay's Regt. of Texans, to pass the Bishop's palace—gain the Saltillio road, and cut the enemies line of communication with the interior. He halted at night, near the Bishop's palace, but out of reach of his guns. On the morning of the 21st he advanced, and meeting a large force of the enemies Cavalry and Infy., an action ensued, which lasted about 15 minutes, and resulted in the defeat of the enemy with the loss of about 100 men. Genl. Worth gained a desirable position on the Saltillio road, and detached Capt. C. F. Smith of the Arty., with his skirmishers, and the Texans, to carry the works on Federacion Hill. The 5th and 7th Regts. of Infy., under Col. P. F. Smith were soon added to the assaulting party, and the two works on this range, were handsomely carried, with but small loss on our part. Two guns, were captured.

To divert the Mexican troops from Worth's operations, and to gain information of the defences at the east end of the city, Genl. Taylor determined to display a large force in front (north) of the city, and to send Col. Garland, with a

suitable command, to make a forced reconnoissance in that direction, and "to carry one of the works, if it could be done, without too great a loss." On the previous night, a ten inch mortar, and Webster's 24-pounder howitzers, had been advanced to a ravine, within range of the citadel, guarded by the 4th Infy., and Kentucky Volunteers.

Early on the morning of the 21st, Col. Garland advanced towards the city, with the following troops of Twiggs' Division: 1st Infy.—187 men. 3d Infy. 296. Total—483 Regulars. Baltimore and Washington Battallion, 334—817. With this force Col. Garland marched on the road towards town, but before he reached the mortar Battery, he inclined to the east, and placed his command under the cover of some low shrubbery. Maj. Mansfield, Lt. Scarrett and Lt. Pope were in front, with Mr. Kinney as a guide, ready to commence the reconnoissance, and Capt. Field's company of the 3d Infy. was deployed as skirmishers, to protect the engineers. A moment before we moved Genl. Worth's column was seen advancing over Federacion hill, and some indiscreet person called out "three cheers for General Worth; he has carried the heights."

Three hearty cheers were given, but our position was thus revealed to the enemy, who prepared for us a warm reception. We now moved out on the plain, and rapidly formed our line—the 3d on the right, under Major Sears—the 1st in the centre under Maj. Abercrombie—the Baltimoreans on the left, under Lt.-Col. Watson. We moved forward in line, at quick time, and had scarcely marched one hundred steps when the guns of the citadel opened upon us, with effect. Lt. Dilworth fell with the loss of a leg, and several soldiers were cut down. Capt. Field was soon engaged with the enemies skirmishers, and two other companies were sent forward at a trot, to assist him. Maj. Mansfield sent Mr. Kin-

ney back to Col. Garland, and requested him "to change his point of direction more to the right." To change direction in line under fire, is always difficult and hazardous, even for well drilled troops. With Volunteers it is simply impracticable, and so proved to the Baltimore Battalion. It first wavered and then broke into fragments. Two companies are said to have reached town, but I saw but two officers and fifteen men, during the day. Some plunged into the open stone quarries for protection and some, including Officers, returned to Walnut Springs. Genl. Taylor met one of the captains running to the rear. He halted him, with a gentle rebuke and sent him back. But evading the General's eye, he again turned and fled to the camp at Walnut Springs. A few days subsequently, the Genl. discharged him and sent him home to Washington. They were unfortunately dressed in the uniform of the Regulars, and thus gave the impression that the Regulars were whipped and had dispersed. The 1st and 3d advanced steadily, and as they approached the town, ran over an unfinished breastwork, without opposition. As fences and walls intervened, we changed direction by the right flank and entered a street running south, into the city. The 3d was in front, and already suffering. Our loss was small (1st Infy.) and we had not yet fired a gun. At the foot of this street was a deep ditch of running water, which was crossed by a log or narrow bridge. The 3d crossed the ditch, and the 1st was halted near it, and faced to the front—east.—A fire was opened upon us by troops in an area in front of us, in the shrubbery. We returned the fire, and drove them back. We were ordered to advance, and we jumped a wall covered with thorns, and formed our companies in the enclosure. Maj. Abercrombie was wounded and retired. Capt. Miller was ordered with his co. to escort Braggs Battery, and I thus found myself the

senior officer of the 1st Infy. present, and in command. I had but two companies of 44 men each. I marched eastwardly about 100 yards to some small adobé buildings, and then crossed the ditch on a log, to the street on which the 3d was yet standing, and which ran east and west. We marched eastwardly, down this street, which soon brought us opposite a tannery filled with Mexicans, who discovered themselves by delivering across the wall, a tremendous discharge of musketry. It was so close, that I at first apprehended that my command was destroyed, but a moment's glance, showed that no vital harm was effected. We returned the fire across the wall, and from behind some large trees, and very shortly, the Mexicans were either running, or begging for quarter, with their hats on their bayonets. We ceased firing, but before we could secure the prisoners, they again fired on us, and compelled us to shoot down all except eight. These were the 1st prisoners taken. I now had possession of the Tannery, and it was never lost from that moment. I mounted a stone wall, and clambered up, on its flat roof, and now had a fair view of the enemy and his defences. On my right (south) about 250 yards, was Fort Diablo, or Battery No. 2. But we were partially concealed from it by shrubbery. In front of us, east, about 120 yards, was a strong stone building used as a distillery and tannery, having a large flat roof, which was covered with Mexican troops. On its north face, was a parapet of sand bags, but we were on its left (west) flank, which was not protected. On the front of this, was Redoubt No. 1, which had four guns in embrasures, and one howitzer in the centre. The men on the distillery overlooked and defended this work. But we did not approach it in front. We entered about 300 yards to the west of it, and had passed around nearly in its rear. Its gorge opened towards us, but was concealed by a pile

of brush. All this, I saw in a moment, and I called my men up on the roof. Capt. I. M. Scott, whose co. had been deployed as skirmishers, had collected some ten of his men and was the first to join me. About 15 or 20 men covered the front of this roof, which had a stone parapet about 2 feet high, on its eastern face. Behind this, we lay flat upon our stomachs, and opened a careful fire at the enemy on the distillery. It was now after 9 O'clock, a.m. In about five minutes I saw a great commotion among the Mexicans on the distillery. Some were plunging down the ladder—some were lying down, and some jumped from the roof to the ground. The roof was soon cleared, and a body of men issued from the building and fled across the creek to Diablo. Between the Tannery and Distillery were several small buildings, occupied by Mexican troops, who were watching for shots, at detached parties, or individuals. Capt. Lamotte, undertook to dislodge them with but five or six men, but was severely wounded in the arm and breast, and compelled to retire. Four men of his company endeavored to remove him, and as they were stooping to pick him up, two were instantly killed by a cannon ball, and a third lost his leg. The 3rd Infy. was yet in its original position, firing at Mexicans in the trenches west of Fort Diablo. The Mexicans were sheltered by breast-works, while the 3d was exposed in an open street and suffered much, both from a direct and cross fire. Major Barbour fell soon after crossing the ditch, and Capt. Williams of the topographical Engineers, and Lt. Terret, Adjutant of the 1st Infy. fell as soon as we had entered the city, mortally wounded. Col. Watson reported to Col. Wilson with much indignation, that the Baltimore battallion had fled and dispersed. Col. Wilson directed him to collect his men and assault No. 1 Battery. He moved in that direction with a mere handful of

men, and just opposite the Tannery, on the north side, was shot. His body remained there until sun set, when it was removed by Lt. Schuyler Hamilton of the 1st Infy. and men of our Regt, aided by Lt. Taylor, and a few men of the Baltimore Battallion. At about 10 a.m., I saw some Mexicans emerging from the door of the distillery, and was about to fire on them, when I discovered a party of women and children behind them. They were again followed by a party of men. I ordered my men not to fire on them, and they moved off towards Fort Diablo. In doing so, the last party of men were apart from the women, and I ordered some shots fired at the men. These men suddenly plunged in among the women and children, and the whole domestic rabble, fled in disorder to Fort Diablo, on the south side of the creek. From this period, not a shot was fired from the Distillery. It was untenable, and its garrison had deserted it, at about 10 a.m. Yet Genl. Taylor says, "The "Volunteers carried this work at 12 m." The Volunteers did not find a live Mexican in the work, except the wounded. Col. Kinney, *singly* and *alone*, entered the tannery after the Mexicans fled from it, and was there *before the Volunteers came in to town*. He stated this fact to Genl. Quitman, in my presence, at Tampico. (See Kinney's letter to Capt. Backus, dated Tampico, March 6th, 1847.)

I have fully detailed the facts about the exodus of the women and children, because it was stated that "Genl. "Twiggs ordered me *not to fire on the women*." Such is not the case, and for the simple reason, that *Genl. Twiggs was not there*. He was sick, and did not arrive in town, *until after all these works had fallen*. After the distillery had been silenced, Major Mansfield passed on to the east corner of the tannery, on which I was standing. His efforts to obtain a closer observation were frustrated, for as often as he raised his spy-

glass, just so often were Mexican muskets presented towards him, by Mexicans behind the adjacent buildings. At length, he turned back, and seeing me on the roof, asked me where he could find Col. Garland, and I understood him to say, "*He should advise him to retire.*" I replied, I was sorry to hear him say so, as I thought we could carry Battery No. 1, before us. He said, "we had not men enough," and passed on towards Col. Garland, but receiving a ball in his leg, he stopped to tie it up with his handkerchief. Soon after, Maj. Lear, came up to the same corner, and made a deliberate examination of the works before us, and of those over the creek. He then commenced his return towards his Regt., and in passing me I said to him, "Major, with two or three companies of your Regt., I think we can carry that work." He replied, "No—we are in a tight place, and the sooner we get out of it, the better." I replied, "I am sorry you think so. I can hold this place."

He added, "We have not men enough," and passed on. He had scarcely made five steps, before he was struck in the face, by a musket ball, and fell. He was carried off by Mexican prisoners, (under a guard), that I had just captured. Soon after, I heard an order passed down the line, "Retire in good order—slowly—slowly." Who gave it, I could not say, and it did not come to me, *through an officer*. I ordered my men not to move. And yet, I saw the troops falling back, and heard the command repeated, "*Slowly—Slowly.*" Our troops retired, and the Mexicans in Battery No. 1, gave three cheers, or vivas. It was repeated by the garrison of Fort Diablo, and by the troops in the trenches; and then, the bells of the cathedral rang a merry peal. I was in yard of the tannery, where some of my men were cleaning their foul guns. Others were on the roof, and some in rear of an adjacent building. A man on the roof

called out, "Captain, the Mexicans are running up this street." It was true. They were running up rapidly—probably to hang on to Col. Garland's rear—and supposed we had all retired. I jumped into the street, with about fifteen men, and found them almost upon me. My only alternative was to charge; and it instantly changed the tide of affairs. We sprang towards them, and they fled precipitately, without firing a shot. I regained the tannery, and held it. This, in my opinion, *was the turning point of the day*. Had I abandoned this post, it could not readily have been retaken, and it was evidently, *the Key to the eastern entrance of the city*.

Shortly after, I heard heavy firing from Battery No. 1, and again mounted the roof. The fire had been drawn, by three small companies of the 4th, under Major Allen, who had failed to receive their orders in time, and only arrived in front of this work, after Genl. Garland had crossed the plain, retiring. They were unmercifully handled, and forced to recede, with great loss of officers and men. The gorge of No. 1 had been closed with brush, and its embrasures did not point towards us. The Mexicans now opened the gorge, and brought out a piece of Artillery to bear upon us. We were evidently in their way. I could now see through the gorge, into the interior of the work, which was crowded with men and mules. The Artillery was twice discharged at us, and by this time, most of the gunners were killed or wounded by our musketry. (See *Col. Kinney's letter of March 9, 1847*). We then concentrated our fire on the troops in the Redoubt, and before we could reload, the whole mass was in full retreat towards Diablo, or No. 2. I jumped from the roof, and with the men I found in the yard, pursued the Mexicans to the creek, where I captured about 20 prisoners. Up to this period I had neither seen or heard of Volun-

teers since the flight of the Baltimoreans, at 8 a. m., but while I was crossing my prisoners over the creek, my men called to me: "The Mexicans are coming 'in our rear.'" I faced about and prepared for defence, when I discovered the error. Instead of Mexicans, the Volunteers were coming up in our rear, and cheering vociferously at their success in gaining the deserted Battery. (My prisoners, except four, thus escaped.) The Volunteers came dashing down towards us, and mistaking us for the enemy, were about to fire. I raised both hands and my voice at the same time, and eventually succeeded in persuading them we were friends and not enemies. They came down to my position, and occupied the same ground the 1st and 3d had occupied all the day. They fired on Fort Diablo and the trenches, but retired, without carrying a single new point. I fell back to the tannery, filled my boxes with cartridges from those of the dead men, and in thirty minutes was again ready for action.

I have already said, Col. Garland's force of Regulars was 483 men. The force which operated against the Tannery, distillery, and No. 1 Battery, did not exceed *ninety men*, at any one period. Genl. Quitman's force was 877 men, viz.: Tennessee Reg't, 443, Mississippi Reg't, 434. He had also the aid of Capt. Backus's force, (say eighty men,) and two out of the three works had fallen, before he was ordered to march in that direction. Not a shot was fired at him from the Tannery and Distillery. The approach of his command, at the moment Capt. Backus was firing on their rear, produced *its mortal effect*, but the enemy fled before he reached the Battery, and no collision occurred at that point.

Soon after 1 O'clock, Col. Garland was ordered with the 1st, 3d and 4th Regts, and Ridgely's Battery, to assault the bridge-head, called Purissima—the strong-

est point of the city. I commanded three cos. of the 1st, and escorted Ridgely's Battery, while Capt. Miller of the 1st, my senior, escorted Bragg's Battery, with his own co. and some men from others. Ridgely placed his Battery one square from the Bridge Head, and fired into the barricades for several hours; but no great impression was made on the stone walls. The 3d and 4th were closely engaged near us, for three hours, and suffered an immense loss. The force was entirely inadequate to the duty required, and it is strange indeed that no Volunteers, or mounted troops, were employed to aid this hazardous and useless enterprize.

After the fall of Major Lear, Capt. Bainbridge succeeded to the command of the 3d, and, receiving a slight wound in the hand, he retired and was succeeded by Capt. Lewis Morris. At about 4 p. m., Capt. Morris fell, and Capt. Henry commanded the Regt., from that time until it left the field. The 1st, 3d and 4th each lost an adjutant, and in this last and fruitless assault, many officers and men were cut down by an enemy they could not reach. . . . At about sunset, the troops fell back to Battery No. 1. The killed and wounded officers were taken back to the same place, excepting Capt. Williams and Lt. Terrett, who were left in a stone building with two drummer boys, and at night, fell into the hands of the enemy, and died in the Mexican Hospital. Thus ended the operations of the first day, and the same troops which had been constantly engaged and had suffered most, were ordered to remain in town, and hold the captured works. These were the 1st, 3d, and 4th Regts of Inf'y, and Ridgely's Battery. To these were added Capt. Shivers' co. of Texas Volunteers. Col. Garland commanded. The other troops returned to the Walnut Springs. The night was wet and cold. The enemy lighted

his front perpetually, with Rockets, to prevent a night attack.

Capt. Shivers' co. was placed as a picket in the tannery, and early on the morning of the 22d, a few Mexicans crawled up and fired into the work. Capt. Shivers' arms were not in order. A few guns were snapped, and the company then fled to the Redoubt (No. 1) in confusion, while the Mexicans were running in an opposite direction. Col. Garland ordered them to return and they did so, without finding an enemy. On the 22d, we threw up a Traverse, to cover the Battery from the fire of the citadel, and opened a communication into the distillery by knocking a hole in the wall.

The liquor in the vats was run off, to prevent indulgence among the troops. Lt. Taylor and 15 men of the Baltimore battallion was with us, on the night of the 21st and morning of the 22d, and these were the only men of the Regt, excepting Col. Watson and his staff, which I saw after 8 a. m. on the 21st of Sept. The only troops which remained all of the 21st in the city, were the three companies of the 1st Infy, under my command, and Mr. Kinney, Qr.-Mr. of the Texas Volunteers, who was all the morning in my vicinity.

At about 12 m., on the 22d, General Quitman's Brigade came in and relieved Col. Garland's command, and we arrived at Walnut Springs at about 1 p. m.

Gen'l Worth's division had already carried the Bishop's palace, and the stars and stripes were waving over it. . . .

On the 23d, our Regt, 1st Infy, was in reserve, and under arms for many hours without firing a shot. Gen'l Quitman's Brigade—the 3rd Inf'y, and Texans—were actively engaged and pressed the Mexicans back to the main Plaza, with much loss. Hamers Brigade had handsomely repelled a charge of Lancers on the 21st, and had done good service on

the 22d. The Kentucky troops were on escort duty on the 21st, but were not afforded an opportunity for distinction which they ardently desired.

On the 24th, the capitulation was signed, and the dead were buried.

## VI.—DR. FRANKLIN'S RETURN FROM FRANCE, IN 1785.\*

JUNE, 1785.

*Tuesday the 28th.* The clerks of the Custom House are come to day to mark our boxes with lead. At the end of the ropes of each box, they put a little piece of lead with the stamp of the King's Arms and that of the City of Paris, that the contents may not be inspected in the cities through which they pass. A dozen of these leads are hardly worth 6s. and yet they make people pay 24s. apiece for them. It is a kind of impost.

*Wednesday the 29th.* The water-diligence, by which the goods are to be transported to Rouen, ought to have been opposite Passy and ready to be loaded very early. On this account I arose at 4 o'clock, but it was not arrived. I sent to Paris to know why. The errand-boy met it in the sandbank between Paris and Passy. They were making every effort to free it, and calculated to be at Passy in the evening. They said that the goods might still be carried to the water's edge, and in case they did not arrive they would send some sails to cover them; in consequence of which we have carried a large part of the goods to the water's edge, but they are not arrived; they have sent some folded sails to secure them from the rain, and a man remained there all night as a sentinel.

*Thursday the 30th.* It arrived and

\* This article is translated from the diary of Dr. Franklin's grandson, Benjamin F. Bache, from which some extracts were given in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for 1865. In June, 1785, the writer was in his sixteenth year. We are indebted for it, to William Duane, Esqr., of Philadelphia.

everything was loaded the same day to the number of 128 boxes.

### JULY.

*Tuesday the 12th.* We were to set out from Passy early yesterday, but the departure was then postponed until to day; at four o'clock in the morning my grandfather's litter came, but again we were unable to start, on account of the quantity of accounts which my grandfather had to settle; we positively resolved to start after dinner, and we accomplished our design at ten minutes after 5 in the evening; after having dined at Mr. de Chaumont's, my grandfather ascended his litter in the midst of a very great concourse of the people of Passy; a mournful silence reigned around him and was only interrupted by sobs. Mr. Le Veillard, my cousin, his domestic and myself got into a coach with two horses. We left our luggage behind because it was not yet laden in the cart which was to take it to Havre in our train. It was to rejoin us at St. Germain (where we have lodged) the same evening. We are arrived at the Misses Alexandre's at St. Germain. They have given my grandfather a bed and we have been to lodge at the inn.

*Wednesday the 13th.* We have also breakfasted with them, and we had to bid them a long farewell; I confess that leaving (perhaps for ever) young ladies so good and beautiful has affected me much. We have been to lodge at Marite. It is a very pretty city, and in fact is surnamed the Pretty.

*Thursday the 14th.* We have been to lodge with the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault, Archbishop of Rouen. He has a superb and immense chateau upon a pretty eminence. He has a park of about two leagues in circumference, enclosed with walls and filled with roebucks for the chase. The place is called Galion. We have all been lodged magnificently.

*Friday the 15th.* We are arrived at Rouen at the house of Mr. Holker, Governor of this city.

*Saturday the 16th.* To day we have remained at Mr. Holker's: I have been to see the city. In general it is very badly built and dirty. It is surprising for the number of churches. I met with three merely in going to the cathedral, and yet it was not very far from the lodging. To reach the top of the steeple of the cathedral, I ascended 464 steps of about seven inches high, which makes 270 feet in height; besides, the point of the steeple was eighty feet higher. I saw a bell very remarkable for its size, 27 feet in circumference, 9 feet in diameter, ten inches thick and nine feet high, weighing 45 thousand weight. The clapper weighs 2400, and is 5 feet in circumference. The whole church has been built 800 years.

*Sunday the 17th.* Dined in Ivto, in the country of Cau. I observe that all the women have lost their front hair, owing to a certain bonnet which removes it and pulls it out. Slept at Bolbeck, a very pretty city.

*Monday the 18th.* Dined at an isolated hamlet, at the sign of the Boot. We could not obtain water fit to drink. The only drink was some very bad cider. We arrived at Havre at about 5 o'clock, at Mr. Buellard's, behind the bason.

*Thursday the 21st.* Dined at Mr. Lisnouzin's. Arrangements were made with Mr. Jennings, the captain of the Southampton packet, to carry us thither. They were to start at 9 o'clock in the evening; but, the wind being contrary, it was put off until the next day.

*Friday the 22nd.* We started at 10 o'clock in the morning. We made but little headway, the wind being contrary.

*Sunday the 24th.* We were in the road of Portsmouth; and saw in passing, the tall masts of the Royal George, which was lost in the\*. We arrived at South-

\* A word illegible here.

ampton at 9 o'clock in the morning and went to lodge at the Star Inn. All the passengers have been sick except my grandfather. Mr. Le Veillard has accompanied us so far, to see the vessel which is to carry us to America; but it has not yet arrived. Mr. Houdon has come with us, to go to America to execute the statue of G. Washington. He had joined us at Havre. My uncle, the Governor,\* was at Southampton. We found him going to Cowes, where he was to rejoin us.

*Tuesday the 26th.* The bishop of St. Asaph,† a very great friend of my grandfather, on the news of his arrival at Southampton, has come to see him with his wife and one of his daughters.

*Wednesday the 27th.* Mr. Vaughan and Mr. — have also come from London for the same purpose. We went on board *the London Packet*, Capt. Truxtun, with the whole party which had come to see my grandfather. It is a very large vessel, with three masts, well supplied with poultry, sheep and pork, and also a goat which is to supply us with milk. They supped on board, and waited until the next day to separate.

*Thursday the 28th.* The whole party left at 4 o'clock in the morning, without our knowledge, and when I awoke I found the vessel under sail; they had raised the anchor at 5 o'clock.

#### AUGUST.

*Monday the 1st.* Up to this time the wind has been contrary. We are now keeping our course, the weather good and fine; we have passed the Channel.

*Tuesday the 2nd.* This evening, the captain caught a land bird which had rested upon the vessel, and which was so tired that it allowed itself to be caught by the hand.

*Thursday the 4th.* We perceived a vessel upon the wind which was hold-

ing the same course as ourselves. Having noticed that it had made a change in its sails, which showed that it wished to join us, we have taken in our sails and hoisted our American flag; she has done it at the same time and has fired towards us; and on nearing, we learnt that it was Capt. Keeler, going from London to Philadelphia. He had bent his mizzen mast, and they were repairing it. He proposed going to the north of the Azores and we to the south fearing the gulf stream, and he, the Algerines.

*Friday the 19th.* Yesterday we saw a turtle which might be fifteen feet in length, of the colour of dead leaves. We have caught a very handsome dolphin. I had never seen one; and it may be imagined how its beautiful colours have struck me. In the water, it was a very handsome King's blue; but sometime after having been drawn out of the water with the\* its blue colour faded; it then became green; then becoming dead, it became yellowish. It is to be observed that the nearer we approach the belly, the more the colours fade, so that being of a handsome blue upon the back, the belly is of a pale yellow and dead white.

*Monday the 22nd.* We collected a few grasses which came from the Gulf of Florida, and which the current conveys. We found them inhabited by crabs half an inch long.

*Tuesday the 23rd.* This morning the wind sprang up towards the south, and has continued increasing until 12 o'clock; then it whistled with unparalleled impetuosity. The only sail which was left was a very small one of the bowsprit, which has been carried away with a terrible crash, so loud that I have heard that the masts of the vessel broke; we remain without a single sail, and are going at the pleasure of the wind, which, fortunately, was not unfavourable. The

\* William Franklin.

† Dr. Shipley.

\* A word illegible here.

sea was frightfully agitated; the waves were in such a way that the mainyard dipped three times in the water; and the particles of water which the wind carried up into the air, prevented our seeing to a greater distance than fifty feet. I was with Mr. Houdon for the purpose of contemplating the beauty of this spectacle; and now and then I went to bale out the water which had come into the bunkers in great quantity, and to tie down the sick who were turned upside down. Finally the wind began to lull at 2 o'clock, and at 4 it had abated considerably; and, according to the admission of the bulk of the sailors and the Captain, they had never seen the like.

*Wednesday the 24th.* We are enjoying a very fine day which serves us to dry some of our things which were damaged. For my part I was very well satisfied with having enjoyed so fine a spectacle, and with having escaped the danger without accident. I believe that I shall remember all my life a moment which the danger rendered interesting.

#### SEPTEMBER.

*Saturday the 10th.* This morning we saw in broad daylight two sails which came towards us. They were those of some whalers of New York. They had been four months at sea. After having bid us farewell, they asked if we could give them a bottle or two of porter. We promised them a half dozen of them if they would come for them. It was no sooner said than, in less than five minutes, they launched their little boat into the sea, because it was fastened to the side of the sloop. Seven men jumped in and plied their oars vigorously, and rejoined us in a short time. We have fulfilled our promise, and they have returned with the same speed. The sea, which was not very rough, sometimes hid them from our eyes. After having fastened their boat as quickly as they had unfastened it, they have set sail to gain the

offing. We have sounded at 1 o'clock, and have found 29 fathoms of water and a bottom of sand; sounded again at 6 o'clock, and have found 22 of them. Toward night we have again perceived a sail. It was a shallop going from Boston to Virginia. We have raised some lights believing that it was a pilot-boat.

*Sunday the 11th.* We have perceived land, south of the Cape.

*Tuesday the 13th.* We are arrived at Philadelphia. The joy which I felt at the acclamations of the people, at seeing a father and mother and many brothers and sisters, may be felt and not described.

*Wednesday the 14th.* Here I am, returned at last, in my native country, where more important avocations will prevent my continuing this journal.

#### VII.—GENERAL SCHUYLER AND GENERAL PUTNAM.

[FROM THE SCHUYLER MSS.]

ALBANY, Aug<sup>st</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1777.

*Sir,* Yesterday afternoon, on my way to this place I received your letter of the fourth instant. It contains amongst others, the following paragraph, "I am surprised at the progress both the enemy's army and ours make towards Albany, in short the whole transaction to the Northward this Campaign appears to me as yet inexplicable, *but I will dismiss a subject which I confess I have not been sufficiently informed of fully to understand.*" If people in general would act upon this principle contained in the last sentence, and not condemn before they were "sufficiently informed" such injury would not be done to private or public characters as we daily experience to be the case.

Last night I received your letter of the third instant. I read it a second

and a third time, compared the signature with the other, but could hardly be brought to believe it came from the same person. As it is possible that you may not have retained a copy of it, I shall transmit the whole, that you may compare it with the above quotation from yours of the fourth and reconcile it, if you can.

"PEEKS KILL, August 3 1777.

"Sir,—Inclosed is a copy of General Washington's Letter to me, and by his directions forwarded to you. The late disasters of our military operations to the Northward; the precipitate evacuation of Ticonderoga; loss of ordnance, military stores, baggage, &c. &c. hasty flight of our garrison near equal in numbers to the enemy; strongly fortified; well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and within a day or two's march of thousands of militia, prepared to go immediately to their assistance has given the continent a universal alarm, staggered the confidence of the people in the northern commanders, and is in danger of being attended with serious consequences unless some spirited and successful exertions against the enemy, driving them back, and recovering, in some measure what we have lost, for jealousy is the *rage* of men.

"I am sir, respectfully your obedient humble servant.

"ISRAEL PUTNAM.

"The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major General Schuyler."

I believe Sir, you will rather find it a difficult task to reconcile the sentiments contained in this extraordinary epistle with those in that of the fourth. On the fourth of August you are not "sufficiently informed of a subject fully to understand it;" and yet was completely so on the third. This is very "inexplicable" indeed, and by some new arithmetical rule, you have found out that two thousand and eighty-nine Continental

troops with about seven or eight hundred militia were "near equal in numbers to the enemy consisting of six, seven, or eight thousand men, perhaps more.

I thought you Sir, so well acquainted with the country as not to assert that Ticonderoga is within "a day or two's march of thousands of the Militia." The country in the vicinity of Ticonderoga in which these thousands inhabit, we have not yet been able to discover, please to put us in a way of finding it, for we cannot. A month and more has already elapsed since the evacuation of Ticonderoga. The Militia were ordered to march before that. General Lincoln is on the Grants between forty and fifty miles from Ticonderoga, has a Continental regiment with him, and in a letter of the sixth instant he informs me "that none of the Massachusetts troops have joined him saving a man or two and but about six hundred or eight hundred from New Hampshire. Very few have come from the Grants." Are these Sir your "thousands prepared to go immediately?" But perhaps they have joined me! From the county of Berkshire, between twelve and fourteen hundred came up half of which we were obliged to consent should return, lest the whole should have gone off, but not one quarter of them remained, and those will leave in three or four days. Seven or eight hundred approached to within six miles of Fort Edward, remained not quite four days, when the far greater part of them deserted, and the rest will not stay longer than Monday next. From Connecticut we had about one hundred, ninety odd of which deserted in five or six days after their arrival. Two thousand from this state came up, half remained; but are now diminished to five hundred. Thus, with a handful of Continental troops; ill appointed, we have to support the Western Communication and make "successful

"exertions" against an enemy of between twice or thrice our number. perhaps some of the Southern Commanders, of which Sir, you are one may be able to overcome all difficulties, and drive back the enemy with a vastly inferior force.

Supported Sir, by the integrity of my intentions; conscious of the propriety of my conduct and convinced that not even you with all your great military qualifications could have done more towards defending the country than I have done, I shall smile at the malevolence of the envious or ignorant and continue to discharge my duty to my country, which will soon discover that if their confidence in me was staggered, that it was without cause. I am Sir,

Your humble servant

PH. SCHUYLER

P. S. The Lead which was to have been sent up from Fish Kill is not yet arrived, and we are much in want of that article.

#### VIII. THE "TRIMMERS" OF 1776, AND "THE SONS OF LIBERTY" IN NEW YORK.

BY CAPTAIN GERSHOM MOTT, OF THE NEW YORK LINE.\*

JOHNSTOWN 5<sup>th</sup> Novemr 1776.

*Dear Sir*—Most heartily and sincerely, do I congratulate you, on your return to your family. & friends, I can't recollect an Event or Circumstance, that ever has given me, such inexpressible pleasure, as there is not a man existing, who I shoud be so rejoiced to See, as yourself. Since I cam here, I have been anxiously expecting, to hear of your being at Albany, as Mr Aorson informed me, before I Came here, that you was to be there in a few Days, which is three

weeks since. I have ten thousand things to tell you, and many Questions to ask,—I find Scarsely any Body, with whom I can or dare commune, as with you, their minds are too weak, and prejudices too Strong, to bear reason, or if you please, Start naked Common Sense, in which, in a great measure, the Sweets of friendship Consists—I hope we shall again be permitted to See each other, and renew the Confidence, we have so long placed in each other, which has afforded me so much Satisfaction for Eleven years past—How matters stand with General Washington's army, and that of the enemy, Can't Say, our advices from thence are very imperfect, & therefore not to be depended on. However you doubtless know all about it—our accounts from Tie are, that Carltons army are within five Miles, and Expect them to attack Every Day.

We have at & near this place, about five hundred men Chiefly Militia, and Expect a thousand more, it being apprehended, that the Enemy will make a Diversion this Way—we have Several Scouts out, which may perhaps prevent a Surprise—If no misfortune happens to me, Expect to have the pleasure of seing you soon, as our Sweet Convension, have thrown me out of the appointment of Officers, for the New Establishment, tho' I am now the Eldest Captain, One excepted, in the Troops of this State; This, I will Venture to Say, is done in Contempt of Justice honour & Common Sense—as they know, they have not a Better Captain in the york Troops, this is not Vanity, but strict truth, for the Cause Sake, I wish it was not so—These Geneses will never for give those who have been the principal means of Obliging them to Join in the Continental Measures, you know how hard they have Strugled against it,\* and therefore will

\* From *The Lamb Manuscripts*, in the Library of The New York Historical Society.

\* The meaning of this will be evident to those who are acquainted with the differences, concerning Independence, which separated the inhabitants of New York into two parties, and

be revenged of those in their power, who have Offended as much as I have—Should thank you for a Line. You'll please to make my Respectful Compliments to M<sup>rs</sup> Lamb & Congratulate her in my Name, on the return of her Joney, also remember me, to M<sup>r</sup> Lamb & Miss Nancy—Adieu my friend—may happiness be the Lott of you & those Dear to you—Wishes your

Affectionate GERSHOM MOTT.

N B—Did Co<sup>l</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lean Deliver my Letter to you last January, with the Cash &c.

To Major JOHN LAMB.

paralyzed the efforts of both; to those who are unacquainted with these differences, the following from the *Journals of the Provincial Congress* of the Colony, will fully explain it:

"DIE MARTIS, 9 HO. A. M.

"June 4th, 1776.

"Mr. Lewis Thibou, [together with] a number of citizens who style themselves a Committee of Mechanics, having come into the Congress Chamber while the last mentioned witness was under examination, and delivered at the Chair a paper which they style an Address, the House was ordered to be cleared, in order that the said paper may be inspected to discover whether it is proper for this Congress to receive the same.

"The said paper and Address being inspected, the door was opened and the said citizens were desired to come into the Chamber; and the said paper or Address being read by the said Lewis Thibou, was delivered at the Chair.

"They therein set forth that they were devoted friends to their bleeding country; that they are afflicted by beholding her struggling under heavy loads of oppression and tyranny, and the more so, when they view the iron hand lifted up against them; that their Prince is deaf to petitions for interposing his royal authority for redressing our grievances; that one year has not sufficed to satisfy the rage of a cruel ministry in their bloody pursuits, designed to reduce us to be slaves, taxed by them without our consent; that therefore they rather wish to separate from, than continue connected with, such oppressors, and declare that if this Congress should think proper to instruct their Delegates in Continental Congress to use their utmost endeavors in that august Assembly to cause these United Colonies to become independent of Great Britain, it would give them the highest satisfaction. And they thereby sincerely promise to endeavour to support the same with their lives and fortunes."

The Provincial Congress declined to instruct its Delegates to vote for Independence, as requested by this Committee of Mechanics—as the *patriotic* Committee was then styled, (LEAKE'S *Life and Times of General Lamb*, 94, 95, Minutes of the Committee of Fifty-one,)—but it will be apparent from the above, what were "the Continental Measures" referred to in Captain Mott's letter, and who especially sustained them: Who were the persons who were most active in resisting those measures, and how they resisted them, are seen in their refusal to comply with the request of the Mechanics, and in the following, from the same work:

"DIE LUNE, 9 HO. A. M.

"June 10th, 1776.

## IX.—CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

BY CAPTAIN WILLIAM F. GOODWIN, U. S. A., CONCORD.

CONCORD N. H. May 11, 1866.

H. B. DAWSON, ESQ :

*Dear Sir:* Your letter to Hon. Walter Harriman, Sec. of State, dated the 7<sup>th</sup> inst., has been placed in my hands with the request that I should answer it.

The *First Constitutional Convention* in N. H. convened at Exeter Dec. 21, 1775, by recommendation from the *Continental Congress*, and adjourned January 5<sup>th</sup> 1776, by adopting the *FIRST CONSTITUTION IN THE UNION*. The Journal of the

"A letter from the Delegates of this Colony at Continental Congress, mentioning that the *question of Independence* was there agitated, and requesting instruction relative thereto, was read with closed door."

"MONDAY, 5 o'clock P. M. June 10th, 1776.

"The Congress then took into consideration the letter received this morning from the Delegates of this Colony at Continental Congress, which was again read.

"The powers of this Congress in the Resolutions for their election, and the powers of the Delegates at the Continental Congress, were also read, and after some time spent in the consideration of said letter, it was

"Ordered, That the further consideration thereof be postponed."

TUESDAY, P. M. June 11th, 1776.

"Several Resolutions on the subject of Independence, moved by Mr. Jay, and seconded by Col. Remsen, were read; and being again read by paragraphs, were amended and agreed to, and are in the words following, to wit:

"Resolved unanimously, That the good People of this Colony have not, in the opinion of this Congress, authorized this Congress, or the Delegates of this Colony, in the Continental Congress, to declare this Colony to be and continue independent of the Crown of Great Britain."

The consequence of this inaction of the Provincial Congress on the subject of Independence,—its opposition thereto, in fact—is seen in the following, from Mr. Jefferson's *Autobiography*:

"The Delegates from New York declared they were for it" [*the Declaration of Independence*] "themselves, and were assured their constituents were for it; but that their Instructions having been drawn near a twelvemonth before, when reconciliation was still the general object, they were enjoined by them to do nothing which should impede that OBJECT. They, therefore, thought themselves not justifiable in voting on either side, and asked leave to withdraw from the question" [*of Independence*, July 1st, 2nd, and 4th, 1776,] "which was given them." (*Works*, i, 18.)

It will be seen that it was the *patriotic* party, whose representatives were then known as "The Committee of Mechanics," who especially promoted "the Continental Measures," leading to Independence; and that "the Geneses," referred to by Captain Mott, who particularly opposed those measures and prevented New York from voting for them, in the Continental Congress, in July, 1776, were John Jay, Colonel Remsen, and other conservative members of the Provincial Congress of that period.

ED. HIST. MAG.

debates in this Convention cannot be found.

The *Second* Convention met at Concord, June 10<sup>th</sup> 1778, and June 5<sup>th</sup> 1779, sent out a Constitution for the People to vote on. This was the Instrument which contained the "Property Qualification" and "Religious Test" Acts. It was rejected by the People. The Journal of this Convention cannot be found.

The *Third* Convention met at Concord on the 2<sup>d</sup> Tuesday of June 1781, & after a short Session adjourned to the 2<sup>d</sup> Tuesday of Sept. when it formed a Constitution and submitted it to the People; and adjourned to the 4<sup>th</sup> Wednesday of January 1782. It was rejected by the People. The Convention reassembled, amended it and again, August 21, 1782, sent it to the People, and adjourned to the last Tuesday of December 1782, when it met and held Sessions by Adjournment till Oct. 31, 1783, when the Constitution as approved by the People *was adopted*, and it went into effect the first Wednesday of June, 1784. The Journal of this Convention is not to be found.

The *Fourth* Convention met at Concord, Sept. 7, 1791, and after a Session of ten days adjourned to Feb. 8, 1792, when a Committee reported *Seventy-two* Amendments, which the Convention sent out to the People: *Forty-six* of them were *adopted*. By the People thus acting some of those adopted were inconsistent with parts of the Constitution retained, and on the 5<sup>th</sup> Sept. the Convention again met and were in Session two days. The Constitution thus amended was adopted by the People—and took effect the First Wednesday of June, 1793. The Journal of this Convention is preserved in *Manuscript*, a huge vol. of 529 pages.

The *Fifth* Convention met at Concord, Nov. 6, 1850, and after two Adjournments, adjourned April 17, 1851. The Constitution as Amended by this Con-

vention was rejected by the People *on every point*. A second trial was made and only three Amendments sent out to the people, viz.: 1<sup>st</sup> dispensing with the "*Religious Test*"—The 2<sup>d</sup> abolishing "*Property Qualification*,"—and the 3<sup>d</sup> providing a new mode for making future Amendments.—And only the 2<sup>d</sup> was adopted. The Proceedings of this Convention were published at the time in a News-paper.

The Journal of the Convention which adopted the *Federal* Constitution in 1788, in the *State of N. H.* is *extant*. It contains only 39 pages.

\* \* \* \*

Yours Truly,

W. F. GOODWIN.

X.—LETTER FROM PRESIDENT MADISON TO GOVERNOR TOMPKINS OF NEW YORK, RESPONSIVE TO THE WAR-RESOLUTIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF NEW YORK, ADOPTED 1814.\*

WASHINGTON Nov<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1814

Sir

I have received your letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> instant conveying a unanimous Resolution of the two Houses of the Legislature of New York expressing the emotions with which they view the terms of peace proposed by the British Commissioners at Ghent, and recommending the most vigorous measures for bringing the war to an honorable termination.

This language does great honor to the patriotism and just sentiments of the State by whose public Councils it has been adopted. And the Resolution derives additional value from the unanimity stamped upon it.

Such a devotion every where to the

\* From the original, in my possession.

rights and dignity of our Country, is alone necessary to a speedy triumph over the obstacles to an honorable peace. And such an example could proceed from no source more entitled or more conducive to patriotic emulations.

Accept Sir assurances of my high esteem and my friendly respects.

JAMES MADISON.

The Governor of New York.

# XI.—GENL. SCOTT'S REPLY TO THE THANKS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.\*

HEAD QRS 4th & 10th MIL. DISTRICTS  
BALTIMORE, *Jany 12th*, 1815.

Sir,

I have had the honor to receive thro' your Excellency, a resolution, passed by the legislature of the State of New York, expressive of its approbation of my military conduct, during the late campaign.

I need not assure your Excellency and the legislature, of the pride and the satisfaction it has afforded me, to find my name so honorably enrolled by that State, among those who have deserved well of their country. To have attained this distinction is at once the soldiers' glory & reward;—and I beg leave to add my personal acknowledgments for the very handsome manner in which the resolution has been communicated.

I have the honor to be,

With high consideration,

yr Excellency's

Most Od. Serv<sup>t</sup>

W. SCOTT.

Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>. U. S. A.

His Excellency

D. D. TOMPKINS

Gov. of the State of New York

\* From the original, in my possession.

H. B. D.

## XII.—NEW YORK AND THE FEDER- AL GOVERNMENT, IN 1815.\*

DEPARTMENT OF WAR,

26. *December* 1815.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22<sup>d</sup> instant inclosing a copy of the Act of the Legislature of New York "authorizing the "Comptroller to loan to the General "Government a sum of money sufficient "to pay the Militia of this State, who "have been ordered into the service of "the United States," passed the 17<sup>th</sup> of March 1815.

The offer of a Loan of 350,000 Dollars, under this Act, is accepted, upon the conditions which the Act prescribes. The amount will be applied to the payment of the Militia of the State of New York, who have been ordered into the service of the United States, and who may yet remain unpaid for their services. And it is agreed, that the Loan shall be repaid within two years after the money is placed to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States in the Bank of America and the City Bank, or either of them, with an interest at the rate of six per centum per annum, to be paid annually.

I have the honor to be

Most respectfully

Sir, Y<sup>r</sup> m<sup>st</sup> ob<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>v</sup>

A. J. DALLAS.

His Excellency

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS

Governor of the State of New-York.

\* From the original, in my possession.

The date of this letter, when compared with that of the Act referred to therein, will be seen to be erroneous. The postmark and Gov. Tompkins's endorsement show that instead of "26 December, 1815," it should have been dated 26 *March*, 1816.

H. B. D.

## NOTES.

LAURENCE WASHINGTON.—“The benefice of Laurence Washington, rector of Purleigh, in the county of Essex, is sequestered, for that he is a common frequenter of ale-houses, not only himself sitting daily tippling there, but also encouraging others in that beastly vice, and hath been often drunken, and hath said that the Parliament have more Papists belonging to them in their Armies, than the King had about him or in his Army, and that the Parliament's Army did more hurt than the Cavaliers, and that they did none at all; and hath published them to be traitors that lend to or assist the Parliament.” This is from David's *Annal of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex County*, 1863, page 246, where is cited as authority, “*The First Century*, 4, Instituted 14th March 1632. Newcourt says he was sequestered for his loyalty! ii. 476.”

One of such habits and opinions would not have been likely to emigrate to the Northern or New England Colonies.

COOKHAM.

JARED SPARKS.—*To the Editor of the “Historical Magazine.”* It has been suggested to the writer of the notice of Dr. Sparks, in the May number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, that the authority for several of the facts there given of which the writer had not personal knowledge, may not inappropriately be stated.

The particulars of Dr. Abbot's first knowledge of Mr Sparks and the aid he then gave him were furnished the writer by Rev. David Reed, to whom they were personally related by Dr Abbot, in almost precisely the words given, at Brooklyn, Conn—previous to 1820—while Mr. Reed was supplying the pulpit in that place.

For the fact that inducements were

offered Mr. Sparks to finish his course of collegiate studies at New Haven, the writer is also indebted to Mr. Reed.

For the facts that Dr Sparks gave his countenance and encouragement in the original establishment of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and furnished a title for it, the writer has the authority of John Ward Dean, Esq. who first suggested this valuable periodical, and who was the Editor of the first volume. Dr Sparks was one of the first persons called upon by Mr. Richardson, the publisher, to obtain his opinion upon the proposed Magazine; and his decided approval given to the plan had much influence, Mr. Dean thinks, in inducing Mr. Richardson to undertake the publication.

The statement that more than six hundred thousand copies of his books have been printed, which statement originally appeared in *The Boston Transcript*, I am informed by Mr. Haskell, the Editor, was made by Dr Sparks to President Hill of Harvard College.—The statement should more appropriately read *volumes* instead of *copies*.

The writer was present at the delivery of the address of Mr. Webster on the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument, a short extract of which, on the character of Washington, is quoted near the close of the Memoir of Dr. Sparks, and he can say that it was the grandest and most impressive eloquence to which he ever listened. Mr Webster's powers were then in their zenith. In the delivery of this passage he first looked high up the monument, afterwards surveyed its foundation, then threw his head back as he glanced at the topmost stones, and closed the sentence: “as pure as the serene heaven in which its summit is lost.” The emblem was perfect and the orator himself made the scene and the representation complete.

W. R. D.

Boston May 26, 1866.

### QUERIES.

[Contributions to this Department are earnestly invited. Answers thereto will be given at the earliest possible moment.]

**CONNECTICUT AND NULLIFICATION.** It is said by Mr. Rives, (*Life and Times of Madison*, ii, 105), that Connecticut formally refused, by a vote of her Assembly, "to pass an Act for complying with the "requisitions of Congress," legally made. Where can the record of this act of Nullification be found, and, briefly, what were the circumstances under which it was passed?

Bronxville, N. Y.

DICK.

**MADOC'S EXPEDITION.** Can any of the readers of the *MAGAZINE* favor me with information of the authorities concerning this alleged expedition?

Bronxville, N. Y.

DICK.

**CONVENTION OF 1777.** It is said that a Convention of Committees from the four New England States and New York, was held at Springfield, Mass., in the summer of 1777. Can you inform me what the purpose of that Convention was, where its Proceedings may be found, and what was the result?

Bronxville, N. Y.

DICK.

**PRISON SHIPS.** Were *ships* ever employed by the Americans, as prisons?

Brooklyn, N. Y.

WALE BOGT.

**SLAVES IN THE ARMY.** Is there any evidence that *Slaves* were in the ranks of the Army of the Revolution? Reference is not wanted to *Negroes*, but to *Slaves*, as such.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

WALE BOGT.

**SIR JAMES JAY, KNIGHT.** Who was this gentleman, and how came he to be a

member of the Legislature of the State of New York?

Brooklyn, N. Y.

WALE BOGT.

**STATE ACTION ON FEDERAL AMBASSADORS.** Did any State, individually, ever take action concerning the official conduct of our Ministers abroad, or call them to account therefor?

Jersey City, N. J.

P. P.

**NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY.** There is a tradition in our family that *New York* voluntarily offered to give to the soldiers of the *New Jersey* line of the Revolutionary army, the Land Bounty which was promised by the *Continental Congress*. Can any of the readers of the *MAGAZINE* give any information on the subject?

Bergen Point, N. J.

A JERSEYMAN.

**JOHN HOPKINS.** What is known concerning this celebrated author; and where may be found, in print, anything relating to him?

BATON.

**JOHN WILKES.** Can any of the readers of the *MAGAZINE* inform its readers where the papers of this celebrated politician are deposited?

45.

**LORD CHATHAM AND THE STAMP ACT.**—Lord Brougham, in his *Character of Chatham*, i, 27, says:

"The Debates on the American Stamp Act in 1764, are the first that can be said to have been preserved at all, through the happy accident of Lord Charlemont, assisted by Sir Robert Dean, &c., and accordingly, they have handed down to us *Notes of Lord Chatham's celebrated Speech on that occasion*"

Where are these very important "Notes" to be found?

A. J. D.

Kennebunk, Me.

CAUGHNAWAGAS. (Vol. x, p. 115).—These Indians are described as being in Canada. May they not have been on the Mohawk? Is it true that the Canada tribe of this name were refugees from the tribe of the same name in this State? Where did they have their ancient home?

On p. 116, the Onontogoes are mentioned, as being "Abnakis or Tarranteeris" ["*Taranteens*] in Maine." This is indefinite or erroneous. The word Abnaki covered a wide extent of country, and embraced various tribes, who were, as the word indicates and Heckewelder explains, "Eastlanders." The Penobscots now pronounce it "Waunm-ben-ach-kee." The Taranteens were located on the Penobscot and its seaward portions, and are regarded as a subdivision of the Etchemins, who also were a subdivision of the Abnakis. The locality of the Onagongoes, like that of the Amalingans, mentioned Rale, is as yet a little mythical. Who can tell their home?

QUESTION.

### REPLIES.

THE STARS AND STRIPES IN THE THAMES. (H. M., x, 187).—The following extracts are from *The American and British Chronicle of War and Politics*, London [1783].

Feb. 7, 1783. First American ship in the Thames, from Nantucket.

Ap. 14, 1783. Two American ships from New England, with wheat and flour, arrived in port of London.

Ap. 20, 1783. An American ship from Rhode Island arrived at Cork, and, next day, two merchant ships sailed from Dublin for America.

I. I. G.

N. Y. June 16, 1866.

COL. ROBERT CARR.—In the June number of this Magazine, page 199, is a

notice of this gentleman, recently deceased. It is erroneous in stating him to have "learned the art of printing in "the office of Mr. Bache, Benjamin Franklin's son-in-law."

Dr. Franklin's son-in-law, Richard Bache, was a merchant, not a printer. He was at one time in partnership with his brother, Theophylact Bache of New York, and afterward with General John Shee of Philadelphia.

It was in the office of Dr. Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, the first editor of the *Aurora* newspaper, that Col. Carr was an apprentice.

D.

Philadelphia.

ASTROLOGY (Hist. Mag., x, 121).—Boderis was a French Physician living at Rouen. *Jocher, Gelehrten Lexicon*, i., 1158. The work in question will also be found by its full title in *Maittaire*, iii, 659 and by short title in *Georgii Bucher-Lexicon*, i, 169.

Boston.

L.

### XVI.—PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

#### 1.—THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Concord, N. H., June 13, 1866.—The Forty-fourth Annual Meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held at the Library Rooms of the Society, in Concord, on Wednesday, the 13th day of June, 1866, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

The President, Hon. W. H. Y. Hackett, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the proceedings of the Society during the past year.

A Memorial of the late Hon. Matthew Harvey, formerly President of the Society, and for more than forty-two years an active member thereof, who died April 6, 1866, was read before the Society by W. L. Foster, Esq.

On motion of P. B. Cogswell, of Concord, it was

*Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be

hereby tendered to Wm. L. Foster, Esq., for the able and interesting Memoir of the late Hon. Matthew Harvey, read before the Society this day, and that Mr. Foster be requested to furnish a copy of the same for preservation in the archives of the Society.

On motion of J. B. Walker, Esq., of Concord :

*Voted*, That a committee of three be appointed by the Chair, to take into consideration the subject of providing suitable seats for the Library of the Society, and take such action in relation to that subject as they may deem consistent with the means and wants of the Society.

Rev. B. P. Stone, D. D., of Concord, presented the Annual Report of the Standing Committee of the Society, which was accepted.

Rev. N. Bouton, D. D., of Concord, presented the Report of the Publishing Committee.

On motion of Hon. Franklin Pierce, of Concord, the Report was accepted.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Bouton,

*Resolved*, That a Committee of three be appointed by the Chair to determine the price to be charged for the eighth volume of the Collections of the Society just published, and also the compensation to be paid to the Editor thereof.

The President appointed as such Committee Hon. Samuel D. Bell, J. B. Walker, Esq., and P. B. Cogswell, Esq.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Bouton, it was

*Voted*, That a Committee of three be appointed by the Chair to take such action as they may deem expedient with regard to the presentation of copies of the eighth volume of Historical Collections to Societies and individuals.

The President appointed as such Committee Rev. Dr. Bouton, Wm. L. Foster and Capt. W. F. Goodwin, U. S. A.

Rev. Dr. Bouton also read the Report of the Librarian, which was accepted.

S. C. Eastman, Esq., presented the Report of the Treasurer, which was accepted.

John J. Bell, Esq., Hon. Asa Freeman and Hon. Isaac W. Smith were appointed a Committee to nominate a Board of Officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

J. B. Walker, Esq., Hon. C. E. Potter and John E. Mason, Esq., were appointed a Committee to nominate new members.

Hon. Franklin Pierce, Rev. Dr. Bouton and Hon. S. D. Bell were appointed a Committee to apply to the Legislature for an appropriation in aid of the Society.

Rev. Dr. N. Bouton, Rev. Wm. T. Savage and Hon. W. H. Bartlett were appointed a Committee to appoint an Orator for the ensuing year.

A communication from John M. Shorley, Esq., was presented, suggesting the expediency of

providing for a Series of Lectures before the Society, from gentlemen of each of the learned professions, relating to the subject of their respective professions.

On motion of Dr. Bouton, the subject was referred to the Standing Committee.

*Voted*, That an assessment of two dollars be levied upon each member of the Society.

Hon. Franklin Pierce, from the Committee appointed to nominate a Committee to apply to the Legislature for an appropriation in aid of the Society, reported that the following-named gentlemen be appointed as such Committee: Rev. Dr. N. Bouton, Hon. S. D. Bell and Hon. W. H. Y. Hackett; which report was accepted and the before-named gentlemen were appointed.

Hon. S. D. Bell, from the Committee appointed to determine the price to be charged for the eighth volume of the Collections of the Society, and the compensation to be paid to the Editor thereof, reported that they recommend to the Society that the compensation of the Editor be fixed at two hundred dollars, and that the price of the eighth volume of the Collections be fixed at two dollars and fifty cents, and that any member of the Society purchasing a volume of the Collections shall have the same by paying fifty cents in addition to the amount of the assessment provided for at this meeting.

On motion of Mr. Foster, it was

*Voted*, That the Treasurer be directed to send to each delinquent member a circular, stating the amount of his indebtedness and also containing a copy of the 4th Article of the Constitution of the Society.

J. B. Walker, Esq., from the Committee to nominate new members, reported the names of the following gentlemen for election, and the report being accepted, they were elected by ballot, as follows:

RESIDENT MEMBERS.—Hon. Mason W. Tappan, Bradford; George W. Murray, Esq., Canaan; Hon. O. A. J. Vaughan, and Ellery A. Hibbard, Esq., Laconia; Addison Prescott, Esq., Jaffrey; William H. Haile, Esq., Hinsdale; John W. Noyes, Esq., Chester; David Currier, Esq., Derry; Hon. Thomas J. Smith, Wentworth; Charles H. Roberts, Esq., Farmington; Prof. John J. Woodman, Hanover; George P. Cleaves, Lyman D. Stevens, John H. Albin, Abel Hutchinson, Edward A. Abbot, Parker Pillsbury, Esqs., and Hon. George G. Fogg, Concord; Robert C. Mack, Esq., Londonderry; Moses W. Oliver, Esq., Hon. David Cross, Lewis W. Clark, Clinton W. Stanley, William Little, Edward W. Harrington, Esqs., and Hon. Daniel Clark, Manchester; William W. Russell, and Henry W. Blair, Esqs., Plymouth; Greenleaf C. Bartlett, Esq., Derry; Rev. Daniel F. Smith, Pittsfield.

HONORARY MEMBERS.—William L. Stone, Esq., New York; John Jordan, Jr., and Joseph J. Mickley, Esqs. Philadelphia; Hon. James M. Edmunds, Washington.

On motion of J. B. Walker, Esq.,

*Resolved*, That the Publishing Committee be requested to publish, in the next or some future volume of the Collections of the Society, the Memoir of the late Hon. Matthew Harvey, this day read before the Society by William L. Foster, Esq.

On motion of J. B. Walker, Esq.,

*Resolved*, That John E. Mason, Esq., be a Committee to apply to the proper authorities at Washington, for such papers and documents relating to the Colonial History of New Hampshire as may be obtained for the use or as the property of the Society.

Hon. Isaac W. Smith, from the Committee on Nomination of Officers made a report recommending the election of the following Board, which report was accepted and the following gentlemen were then elected:

Joseph B. Walker, *President*.

Asa McFarland, *1st Vice-President*.

Franklin Pierce, *2d Vice-President*.

Nathaniel Bouton, *Corresponding Secretary*.

William L. Foster, *Recording Secretary*.

William R. Walker, *Treasurer*.

William F. Goodwin, *Librarian*.

Nathaniel Bouton, *Assistant Librarian*.

Samuel D. Bell,	{	<i>Publishing Committee.</i>
Nathaniel Bouton,		
Ebenezer E. Cummings,	{	<i>Standing Committee.</i>
Benj. P. Stone,		
William Prescott,		
Samuel C. Eastman,		

John J. Bell,	{	<i>Committee to settle with the Treasurer.</i>
John M. Shirley,		

On motion of J. B. Walker, Esq.,

*Resolved*, That a Committee of three be appointed by the Chair, with full powers to settle and arrange any matters of difference between the Society and the Executor of the late G. Parker Lyon, arising out of the publication of the seventh volume of the Society's Collections.

Whereupon the Chair appointed as such Committee Hon. Samuel D. Bell, Joseph B. Walker, Esq., and William L. Foster, Esq.

On motion of William L. Foster, Esq., it was,

*Voted*, That when this meeting adjourns it be to meet in the Senate Chamber this evening, at half-past seven o'clock.

*Voted*, To adjourn.

WILLIAM L. FOSTER,  
*Rec. Sec.*

June 13, 1866, 7½ o'clock P. M.—The Socie-

ty met in the Senate Chamber at half-past seven o'clock P. M.

The President, Joseph B. Walker, Esq., in the Chair.

On motion of Rev. Dr. E. E. Cummings,

*Voted*, That the Corresponding Secretary be paid the sum of fifty dollars in full for his services for the preceding year.

*Voted*, That all assessments now due (including those this day ordered) from the Treasurer and Librarian be remitted.

On motion of Rev. Dr. B. P. Stone,

*Voted*, That the amount of Insurance upon the property of the Society for the ensuing year be increased one hundred dollars.

On motion of S. C. Eastman, Esq.,

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be tendered to Capt. W. F. Goodwin, U. S. A., for the very valuable services he has rendered to the Society as Librarian during the past years in which he has so faithfully discharged the duties of his office, and that the Society earnestly request him to accept the office for the coming year.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Bouton,

*Voted*, That Mr. Foster be requested to repeat his sketch of the late Hon. Matthew Harvey, after the delivery of the annual address this evening.

*Voted*, To adjourn to the Representatives' Hall, for the purpose of listening to the Annual Address.

Assembled in the Representatives' Hall, the Annual Address before the Society was delivered by Rev. Alonzo H. Quint, of New Bedford, Mass., upon *Some characteristic Traits of the Early Settlers of New Hampshire*.

Wm. L. Foster, Esq., then repeated his Memorial of the late Hon. Matthew Harvey.

On motion of S. C. Eastman, Esq.,

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be hereby tendered to the Rev. A. H. Quint, for the able, interesting and valuable Address delivered before the Society this evening, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of the same for preservation in the archives of the Society.

*Voted*, To adjourn.

WM. L. FOSTER,  
*Rec. Sec.*

## 2.—MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*Boston, June 14th.*—A stated meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society was held at their rooms in this city to-day, the President, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in the chair. The President announced the death of General Winfield Scott, an honorary member of the Society

who died at West Point on the 29th of May last. He gave an eloquent sketch of his life and his services to the country, and submitted some appropriate resolutions to his memory.

Col. Thomas Aspinwall seconded the resolutions, and stated that he had known General Scott fifty-four years. They were in the army together in the war of 1812. He paid a just and fitting tribute to his valuable services in the army and to his great military skill as a commander.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The President also announced the death of Right Rev. George Burgess, D.D., Bishop of Maine, a corresponding member of the Society.

Rev. William S. Bartlett read an appropriate tribute to his labors and services in the ministry, and concluded by offering a suitable resolution to his memory, which was unanimously adopted.

After transacting some private business the meeting was dissolved.

### 3.—NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

*Boston, Wednesday, June 6.*—A stated meeting was held this afternoon, Winslow Lewis, M. D., in the chair.

John H. Sheppard, the Librarian, reported that since the last meeting there had been received: bound volumes, 11; pamphlets, 477; autograph MSS., &c., 11.

W. B. Trask, the Historiographer, read biographical sketches of Rev. Martin Moore of Boston, Benjamin Leeds of Roxbury, and Joshua Coffin of Newbury, deceased members.

Dr. Lewis presented the valuable autographs of Dugald Stewart, in a letter to the Viscountess of Kirkwall, of De Witt, of Goethe, and of A. Thiers.

John H. Sheppard, A. M., reported in behalf of the committee appointed at the last meeting to attend the bicentennial celebration by the New Jersey Historical Society of the settlement of Newark, he being the only one of the committee who was able to attend. He spoke in fitting terms of that energetic and enterprising society, and of the cordial reception and kind attentions shown him. The exercises of the day, in the Old Presbyterian Church, were of high order; the beautiful city of Newark, with its handsome mansions and wide streets, seemed all alive on this joyous occasion; and the Reception in the evening, which closed the festivities with music, dancing and a fine collation, was graced by a splendid display of the beauty and elegance of that hospitable city.

John Ruggles, of Longwood, read a paper

upon the history of Music. After an account of the origin and progress of Music in the old world, he gave a brief history of early music in New England, which was almost exclusively that of Psalmody. When our fathers left England they brought with them music of the character of Luther's chorals. Sternhold & Hopkins and Henry Ainsworth were their manuals. Ainsworth not being entirely satisfactory, some of the distinguished divines produced the "Bay Psalm Book," which was used in the Colony for many years, although at first it met with strong opposition. Some said that Christians should not sing at all; others thought it right to sing, but wrong to sing the Psalms of David under the new dispensation; others still, that one only should sing and the rest respond amen.

Rev. John Cotton introduced the practice of lining out the hymns, for the practice was not brought over by our fathers, but was an innovation of their own. Music was first printed in this country about 1690. At this time many congregations (for they had then no choirs) had not more than five or six tunes that they could sing. The introduction of a new tune called for the grave decision of the whole church, and sometimes for the parish vote. Music was at a low ebb when Rev. Mr. Symmes, Dr. Cotton Mather, Rev. Mr. Dwight and others preached and wrote upon the subject till a great improvement was effected.

Dr. Watts's hymns were first published in this country in 1741. When Dr. Watts first proposed writing his Hymns and Psalms, he sent a specimen of the Psalms to Dr. Cotton Mather for his opinion, who encouraged their publication. Billing published his first book of music in 1770. The old Worcester Collection by Isaiah Thomas was published in 1778, in which was printed Handel's Hallelujah Chorus, for which it was thought necessary to apologise, "because it was deemed by some too hard to be 'learned, or too delicate to be sung, even by 'the best performers in the country.'" Our musical societies are now considered behind the times if they do not every season bring out something new.

### 4.—PRINCE SOCIETY FOR MUTUAL PUBLICATION.

*Boston, May 25.*—The annual meeting of this Association was held this afternoon, it being the one hundred and seventy-ninth anniversary of the birth of Rev. Thomas Prince, the famous New England antiquary, in whose honor the society was named.

The Council and Treasurer made their annual reports, which were accepted.

Frederic Kidder and William F. Fowle were chosen a nominating committee, who reported the following list of officers for the coming year, all of whom were unanimously elected, namely:

Samuel G. Drake, A. M., *President*; John Ward Dean, J. Wingate Thornton, A. M., and Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A. M., *Vice-Presidents*; Wm. Henry Whitmore, *Corresponding Secretary*; Jeremiah Colburn, *Treasurer*; and Wm. S. Appleton, A. M., *Recording Secretary*.

Thomas Waterman, the first vice-president, having declined a re-election to that office, which he had held from the organization of the Society to the present time, a voice of thanks was passed to him for the faithful manner in which he had performed the duties of the office.

#### 5.—BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

The regular monthly meeting of this Society was held on Thursday afternoon. The President read a letter from the Secretary, Mr. Appleton, dated Paris, May 16, mentioning many rare coins and medals he had purchased in Rome, Florence, and elsewhere. He describes a visit to the Kirchenian Museum at Rome, formed by an old Jesuit two hundred years ago, and thought to contain the most perfect series in existence of the Roman As and its divisions; and to an exhibition of mediæval curiosities then open at Florence, lent by the owners, in which was a large collection of Italian coins of cities and provinces.

Mr. Fowle exhibited a silver dracon of Corinth and silver coins of Trajan and Vespasian, a Roman family coin and a number of fine bronze pieces, both Greek and Roman.

Mr. Wiggin presented to the society, in behalf of the inventor, Mr. Norbert Landry of San Francisco, Cal., a "coin album," designed for the safe exhibition of coins, so that they may be neither soiled nor stolen by the curious. The coins are placed between two sheets of glass, inclosed in wooden frames revolving on an axle within a box and occupying but half a circle, so that the box may be closed. The box may thus be opened and the separate layers of coins turned over successively and look at, something like the views in a large stereoscope. The invention was carefully examined by the members, who considered it very well adapted for small private collections; and a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Landry for his kindness in presenting it to the Society. Mr. Wiggin called

the attention of the Society to some exceedingly curious gold and silver Roman Catholic medals, charms, crosses, &c., recently brought from Mexico. Among them was a reliquary of "San Ignacio de Loyola," in the form of a book of heavy gold, with relics of St. Philip de Neri and St. Joseph.

A present of a Lincoln medal in white metal, having on the reverse his famous words, "*With malice towards none, with charity for all*," was received from the engraver, Mr. J. A. Bolen of Springfield, Mass. Mr. B. Alonzo Brock of Richmond, Va., was unanimously elected a corresponding member.

#### 6.—NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

This Society held its regular monthly meeting, in its Hall, on Tuesday evening, June 5, 1866. Frederic de Peyster, Esq., President, occupying the Chair.

After the minutes of the preceding meeting had been read, the President announced the death of Lieutenant-general Winfield Scott, an Honorary Member of the Society, and suggested that the Executive Committee be instructed to prepare and submit to the Society suitable Resolutions on the subject; which was accordingly done.

The President also submitted a letter from Hon. Hamilton Fish, dated "New York, May 18, 1866," accompanying "a very curious and rare collection of Chinese coins, a hundred and five in number, some of which are represented to be of a date anterior to the Christian era, and extending thence to the present age," a donation from the Hon. Gouverneur Kemble of Cold Spring, N. Y.

The President also submitted a letter from Mr. Blankman, Esq., accompanying a small parcel of the tea which was thrown into the harbor of Boston, December 16, 1773, together with the original letter of the gentleman who picked it up. The letter referred to, is as follows:

"Boston July 21<sup>st</sup> 1790

"Dear Sir

"I send you Some of the Tea that was thrown overboard from the ship dartmouth wich i pickt up i was an eye witness

"yours

"M. MANLY."

The President also submitted a letter from G. H. Colton Salter, U. S. Consul at Hankow, China, accompanying "a copy of Wheaton's *International Law*, translated into Chinese by the Rev.

"Doctor Martin, of the American Presbyterian Mission at Peking. His Highness, the Prince of Kung, Regent of the Empire, appointed four high literary officials to assist in revising the work, and ordered that it should be published at Peking at the expense of the Imperial Government."

Doctor D. J. Macgowan was called on to explain to the Society the character and value of the Chinese coins presented by Mr. Kemble; and he declared that he had no doubt of their genuineness. The Doctor also presented a few additional coins to be added to the collection; together with copies of *The Peking Gazette*, edited by the Emperor, and of *The Chinese and Foreign Gazette*, edited by himself—the only newspapers, we believe, then published in Chinese—and a Treatise on the Electric Telegraph and another on the Law of Storms, both in Chinese, by himself. Doctor Macgowan, also, at the request of the Librarian, called the attention of the Society to and explained the characters of two carved tablets of wood, presented by Captain James Pedersen.

Hon. George Bancroft moved that the thanks of the Society be tendered to Mr. Kemble for his interesting and valuable gift, which was ordered; and a similar vote, in favor of Doctor Macgowan, was passed, on the motion of Rev. Doctor De Witt.

The Domestic Corresponding Secretary communicated a letter from Commander R. Aulick, U. S. N., acknowledging his election to membership.

The Recording Secretary communicated letters from Major-general S. W. Crawford, U. S. A., acknowledging his election to membership and the vote of the Society at its last meeting; and from Samuel L. M. Barlow, Esq., regretting that absence from the city had prevented his attendance, as a delegate from the Society, at the Bicentennial celebration at Newark, N. J.

The Librarian reported donations from Samuel C. Perkins, Young Men's Association of Buffalo, James S. Loring, Hon. Wm. A. Darling, William T. Horn, Benjamin R. Winthrop, Edward Bill, Henry W. Lothrop, James B. Nicholson, Frederic de Peyster, George H. Moore, Hon. J. Winthrop Chanler, American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, N. Y. Association for the advancement of Science, American Freedmen's and Union Commission, Ticknor & Fields, George Gibbs, C. J. Hoadley, Sidney Hayden, Henry O'Reilly, and John F. Trow.

The Librarian reported, also, the receipt of a letter from Doctor Samuel W. Francis, dated New York, May 29, 1866, accompanying his gift to the Society, of Doctor Franklin's cane. It is as follows:

"New York, May 29th, 1866.

"George H. Moore, Esq.:

"Dear Sir:

"I take great pleasure in presenting to the New York Historical Society, Benjamin Franklin's Cane, which was used by him in his daily walks.

"It was presented by him to Benjamin Franklin Bache, Esq." [his grandson] "who gave it, in the year 1790, to Mr. Naphtali Phillips of New York, who is still living in this city, at the advanced age of 93.

"Mr. Phillips presented it to my honored Father, several years ago; and I now avail myself of this opportunity to deposit it in a fire-proof building and in the company of other valuable and historical antiquities.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours very truly

"SAM'L. W. FRANCIS."

On motion of Mr. Brodhead, the thanks of the Society was tendered to Doctor Francis for this interesting gift.

Mr. Benedict, from the Executive Committee, reported favorably on the following candidates for membership: Joseph M. Cummings, Rev. Doctor Holdich, and Joseph N. T. Leveck, all of whom were duly admitted.

Various nominations for membership were made and duly referred to the Executive Committee, under the Rule.

Mr. Brodhead offered some remarks on the proposed surrender of New Jersey to the Duke of York, in 1669, the substance of which are embraced in a separate article, from Mr. Brodhead's own pen, which appears in another page of the present number of the MAGAZINE.

The paper of the evening, entitled "*Hernando Magallanes and Estevan Gomez, Pilots who sought a western strait to India*," was read by Mr. Buckingham Smith, of Florida.

This paper, the result of careful labor and acute criticism, as will be seen, referred to two early attempts of the Spaniards to find a western strait leading to India; one of which resulted in the well-known discovery by Magallanes, the other in the knowledge of the continuity of the coast from Labrador to Florida.

The two enterprises, occurring within a few years of each other, are linked together in the circumstances of Estevan Gomez being an officer, in command of the largest ship, in the first expedition, and, subsequently the master of the armed caravel which, by order of Charles V, first ran along our eastern coast.

According to authorities on this subject, and Mr. Smith referred to an unpublished work of the geographer Céspedes, who wrote near the

close of the sixteenth century, as well as to the chronologists whose books are better known, a full report of the latter voyage—that of Gomez—was made, not as to the Geography of the country only, but descriptive of the animal and vegetable life on the soil, together with some account of the manners of the people inhabiting it. In a search for this voluminous document, Mr. Smith was unsuccessful while he resided in Spain; nor does it appear to have been seen by either Muñoz or Navarete. There are some facts, however, which are known, concerning this eventful voyage.

It occupied a period of ten months, beginning in the Fall of 1524 and closing in that of 1525. The navigator having proceeded so far to the Northward that he thought the value of a Strait beyond the point he visited would be valueless for any commercial purpose with India, he turned in the opposite direction, and appears to have been the first who fixed the position of Punta Raza (*Cape Race*) and to have drawn out the island of Breton, which before his time was supposed to lie far in the Gulf. He explored the Bay of Fundy, which he called *Bahia de los Gamos*; and on old maps, the Islands and waters that lie thence to Cape Ann, in the Gulf of Maine, are called for him, *Archipelago de Estevan Gomez*.

He visited, also, Long Island Sound, giving it the name of the *Gulf of St. Jago*; and what is a very interesting fact—and a very important one, also, in the discussion concerning the ancient boundary between New York and New Jersey—he named the entrance to the harbor of New York and the North River, *St. Jagos River*; and furnished a precedent to the Dutch who, following him, also considered the Hudson as emptying its waters directly into the ocean, at Sandy Hook.

Mr. Smith thus showed that ESTEVAN GOMEZ made the discovery of the sea-line, from Cape Sable to Barnegat, leaving nothing to be discovered from the Straits of Magellan to the coast of Labrador; and he rather disturbed the honors of Henry Hudson, and those of the Cabots, to say nothing of the assumed title to the territory, hereabouts, which the King of England claimed by virtue of the assumed discoveries of the latter.

It will be remembered that, in a similar paper read before this Society some months since, Mr. Smith claimed, and gave very conclusive reasons for the belief, that there were no grounds for supposing that the voyage to the same shores, the year before, (1523,) attributed to Verrazzano was ever made, or at least that the account bearing his name is not the evidence of it, and that his alleged exploit was unknown

both to the map-makers and the writers of that period. He has now advanced still further in his explorations; and by showing with tolerable certainty who *was* the discoverer of our coast, as well as who *was not*, he has added to the obligations which students of our history were under, for previous services in this very important branch of knowledge.

On the conclusion of the reading, the Society, on motion of General William K. Strong, tendered to Mr. Smith the usual vote of thanks.

Mr. George H. Moore, in behalf of the Committee on the Fine Arts, announced the complete transfer of "THE BRYAN COLLECTION" to the galleries of the Society.

This splendid collection of works of Art, numbers about three hundred pictures, all of them interesting and valuable, and many of them of the highest importance; and the Society now possess the most considerable and important public Gallery of Art in the Country—a Gallery which already numbers about six hundred pictures, and is destined hereafter to be perhaps the most attractive place of resort of its kind for the citizen as well as the stranger in New York.

Mr. Benedict submitted some suggestions concerning the Publication Fund of the Society, the shares in which have been raised in price to Fifty dollars.

The Society, on motion, resolved that when it adjourned, it would do so to meet again on Tuesday, the 19th of June,—the much-enjoyed annual "strawberry-meeting" of the Society.

Mr. Brodhead, thereupon moved that the Strawberry entertainment be dispensed with, and that its cost be appropriated to the Publication Fund; and Mr. Edward Bill moved, as a substitute, that none but subscribers to that Fund be allowed to taste the strawberries and cream. Neither of these propositions was seconded, and the former was received by the members of the Society with the most significant demonstrations of disapprobation.

On putting the question of adjournment, which was immediately afterward submitted, the President remarked, with reference to "the strawberry-meeting," that while the members of the Society would enjoy their usual privileges on that occasion, he would take care that the Publication Fund should receive the benefit of its cost; so that both his friend, Mr. Brodhead, and the Society should be gratified.

This announcement was received with great satisfaction; and the Society adjourned.

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BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

A monthly meeting of the Buffalo Historical

Society was held at their rooms on the 12th ult., O. H. Marshall, Vice President, in the chair. In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Chas. D. Norton, Esq., was appointed Secretary *pro tem*.

The monthly report of O. G. Steele, Esq., Treasurer, was submitted and referred to the Board of Managers.

W. K. Scott, Corresponding Secretary, read a letter from Bushrod D. Washington, Esq., of Chicago, offering to sell to the Society the seal used by General Washington in his private and official correspondence. The whole subject was, on motion, referred to the Corresponding Secretary.

The following persons were unanimously elected corresponding members of the Society: Benjamin A. Stanard, of Cleveland, Ohio, and Hon. Peter B. Porter, of Niagara Falls.

Horatio Seymour, Esq., called the attention of the Society to the propriety of taking further steps for the erection of a monument to the memory of the officers and soldiers from Erie County who had fallen in the late war. After some discussion a committee of five was appointed, consisting of Horatio Seymour, Oliver G. Steele, Orlando Allen, E. P. Dorr and Henry K. Viele, to consult with other societies and to unite in some concert of action on the subject.

On motion of Mr. Dorr, it was resolved that the President be authorized to tender to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the rooms of the Society for the use of the Association during its annual session to be held in this city in August next.

The Corresponding Secretary read the following letter from Col. Geo. B. Dandy, late of the 100th Regiment New York Volunteers, dated at St. Louis, Mo., May 16, 1866.

"To the Corresponding Secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society—

"Dear Sir:—I have the honor to forward herewith a Standard Eagle, presented by Maj. Gen. John Gibbon, commanding the 24th Army Corps, to the 100th Regiment N. Y. Vols., for gallantry and good service in the assault on Fort Gregg, near Petersburg, Va., on the 2d day of April, 1865.

"As a relic of the war, a token of the gallantry of a regiment raised in Buffalo and its vicinity, and as a part of the history of the country, this evidence of patriotism and heroic deeds, naturally finds its most appropriate place of deposit with your Society.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"GEO. B. DANDY,

"Late Col. 100th Regt. N. Y. Vols."

Donations were also announced, from C. F. S.

Thomas, Dr. Chas. C. F. Gay, Thomas T. Flagler, Sylvester Welch, E. Hensler, O. Bedell, J. Welch, Prof. A. D. Bache, Mrs. A. A. Blanchard, Hon. N. K. Hall, Henry G. White, Chas. W. Gibbon, Mrs. A. G. Williams, O. H. Marshall, and D. Lake.

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

#### 8.—BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

This Society, formed in 1853, but not heard of till within four or five years, has waked up to a life of vigor. Its anniversary was held in Boston recently, and from the Report we gather a few facts.

Cash receipts of the last year, \$399 57; added to the library, 620 volumes; 1,926 pamphlets; 18 manuscripts; 48 autograph letters of eminent Baptists deceased; 24 likenesses; 6 views of Baptist edifices. It now contains 2,790 volumes; 12,454 pamphlets; 278 likenesses; 83 views of Baptist churches, colleges, &c.; 197 autograph letters, &c.; 119 manuscripts; also medals, coins, relics, and the like. It has about 700 volumes of bound Baptist periodicals.

The oration at its late anniversary was delivered by the Rev. Charles Howard Malcom, of Newport, R. I. on "The history of Rhode Island Baptists," and was a very valuable production.

#### XVII.—NUMISMATIC NOTES.

—We have received a beautifully printed little pamphlet of ten pages, containing the Constitution and By-laws of the Rhode Island Numismatic Association, adopted February, 1864.

The officers of the association, are *President*, Charles Gorton; *Vice-President*, Desmond Fitzgerald; *Secretary*, Virgil Fisher; *Treasurer*, Charles T. Metcalf; *Cabinet Keeper*, Asa Lyman; *Executive Committee*, the President, *ex-officio*, John J. Meader, Albert V. Jenks.

Providence, R. I.

—MR. HENRY PHILLIPS, Jr., No. 131 South Fifth St., Philadelphia, is desirous of forming a list of the issues &c., of the *Confederate Paper Currency*, with a view to prepare an historical sketch.

All communications upon the subject will be thankfully received.

## VIII.—BOOKS, PICTURES, ETC., WANTED.

[In this Department, we propose to insert the titles of Books, etc., wanted *by our subscribers*, without any charge to them, except the necessary postage stamps for replies.]

Persons having copies for sale will please address the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, giving price, condition of the volumes, edition, binding, etc.]

Trumbull's History of the United States, Vol. II.

Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. II, Part I.

The same, Vol. IV, Part II.

The Archives of Pennsylvania, Vol.

Lord Mahon's Letter to Doctor Sparks.

Eulogies on Adams and Jefferson, *Pamphlet*.

Do. Daniel Webster, *Pamphlet*.

Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, Vols. IX. to XVI.

The Federalist, Vol. I.—McLean's Edition, N. Y., 1788.

Le Fédéraliste, 2 vols. Paris, 1792.

The Federalist, 2 vols. Tiebout's Edition, N. Y., 1799.

The Federalist, 1 vol. Warner's Edit. Phila., 1818.

The Federalist, Edit. Hallowell, 1827, 1837 and 1852:

The Federalist, Edit. Washington, 1845.

Do. Edit. Phila., 1847.

## XIX.—MISCELLANY.

—*The Pall Mall Gazette* has the following announcement: "A discovery, of at least as vital importance for Egyptology of the celebrated Rosetta stone itself, was made about three weeks ago by a party of four German explorers—Reinisch, Rosler, Lepsius and Weidenboch—at a place called Sane, the whilom Tanis, the principal scene of Rameses II.'s enormous architectural undertakings. A stone with Greek characters upon it was found protruding from the ground, and when fully excavated proved to contain a bilingual inscription in no less than thirty-seven lines of hieroglyphics and seventy-six lines of Greek, in the most perfect state of preservation, and dating from the time of the third Ptolemy, Euergetes I., in 238 B. C. The stone measures two metres twenty-two centimetres in length, and seventy-eight centimetres in width, and is

"completely covered by the inscription. Their first attempts at editing this important inscription having failed, the travelers returned to the spot, and during a stay of two days, the 22d and 23d of April, copied the inscription most carefully, and photographed it three times. The next post will bring particulars as to the contents, and copies of the document itself."

—The question of the authenticity of the collection of letters of Marie Antoinette, published last year by M. d' Hunolstein, still seems far from being settled. The *Allgemeine Zeitung* charges M. Feuillet de Conches, the gentlemen from whom M. d' Hunolstein purchased the manuscript letters, with having forged not only these documents, but also some pretended letters of Racine's, which have recently been brought to light. Having an official position at the Court of Vienna, M. de Conches was allowed the privilege of removing manuscripts from the Imperial Library for the purpose of studying them at home. The German journal alleges that when these bundles of papers were returned blank leaves were found to have been abstracted from them, and the inference is that it was upon these leaves the forged letter was written. M. Feuillet de Conches, however, contradicts these charges in the most emphatic manner; he knew nothing of the Marie Antoinette letters until they were published; he has had nothing to do with the Racine letters; the story of the abstraction of the blank leaves is a pure invention; he never consulted any document of the eighteenth century; and finally the documents have not been mutilated. Meanwhile scholars no less competent than M. Louis Blanc and M. Sainte Beuve have declared their conviction that the letters of Marie Antoinette are not genuine.

—*The Newport (R. I.) Mercury* celebrated its 108th anniversary on the 12th ult. It was first issued on the 12th of June, 1758, by James Franklin. He died a few years after, when it passed into the hands of Ann Franklin, the mother of James and Benjamin Franklin, and subsequently became the property of other parties.

—ST. JOHNS, N. B., *Friday, May 18, 1866.*—The Anniversary of the Landing of the Loyalists was celebrated to-day by the firing of the usual salutes. There was not much of the enthusiasm displayed in by-gone years.

# SUPPLEMENT. No. I.

## I. TRIAL OF JOSHUA HETT SMITH, FOR COMPLICITY IN THE CONSPIRACY OF BENEDICT ARNOLD AND MAJOR ANDRE.\*

### 1. GENERAL ORDERS, UNDER WHICH SMITH WAS TRIED.

To JOHN LAWRENCE, Esqr.,

Judge Advocate General to the Army :—  
Sir,

You will prosecute before the Court Martial now sitting, Joshua H. Smith, Esquire, an inhabitant of the State of New York, on the following charges:—

FIRST.—For going on board the *Vulture* sloop of war, belonging to the enemy, the night of the 21st of this month in a private manner, and bringing on shore from the said vessel, Major André, Adjutant General to the British Army.

SECONDLY.—For secreting the said Major André in his house near our post at Stoney Point; for furnishing him with clothes to disguise himself; and for passing with him by our posts at Stoney and Verplanck's Points, so disguised, and under a feigned name. Also for conducting him in his way to New York in a disguised habit, and under a feigned name, with intelligence for the enemy.

THIRDLY.—For acting as a spy in procuring intelligence for the enemy.

FOURTHLY.—For aiding and assisting Benedict Arnold, late a Major General in our service, in a combination with the enemy, to take, kill, and seize such of the loyal citizens or soldiers of these United States, as were in garrison at West Point and its dependencies.

By command.

ROBT. H. HARRISON, Secretary.

HEAD QUARTERS, 30th September, 1780.

\* The original of this paper, it is said, has been lost; and the historical student is indebted to James Gordon Bennett, Esq., for preserving a copy of it, several years since, in *The New York Herald*. From the latter, this copy has been taken.

### 2. RECORD OF THE COURT.

TAPPAN, September 30th, 1780.

Mr. Lawrence, Judge Advocate General to the Army, attended the General Court Martial, Colonel H. Jackson being President, and laid before the Court several Charges against Joshua H. Smith, Esquire, an Inhabitant of the State of New York—(the Paper containing them is annexed\*)—he also produced to them the Resolutions of Congress, dated August 21st, 1776, and February 27th, 1778, respecting the trial of Inhabitants,† and desired their opinion whether

\* The paper "annexed," was probably the General Order of the same date (*No. 1 of this series* although our copy of the Record has no paper "annexed.")—*Ed. Hist. Mag.*

† The Resolution of the 21st of August, 1776, is thus recorded in the *Journals of Congress*, of that date. (*Edit. York-town, 1778, 332.*)

"The Committee, to whom part of the report from the Committee on Spies was re-committed, having brought in a Report, the same was taken into consideration; whereupon,

*Resolved*, That all persons not members of, nor owing allegiance to any of the United States of America, as described in a Resolution of Congress of the 21th of June last, who shall be found lurking as Spies in and about the fortifications or encampments of the Armies of the United States, or of any of them, shall suffer death according to the Law and Usage of Nations, by sentence of a Court Martial, or such other punishment as such Court Martial shall direct.

*Ordered*, That the above Resolution be printed at the end of the Rules and Articles of War."

The Resolution of the 27th of February, 1778, is thus recorded in the *Journals of Congress*, of that date. (*Original Edition, 126.*)

"Congress took into consideration a Report from the Board of War, and thereupon came to the following Resolutions:

*Whereas* a few deluded Inhabitants of these States, prompted thereto by Arts of the Enemy, have associated together for the purpose of seizing and secretly conveying to places in the possession of the British forces, such of the Loyal Citizens, Officers, and Soldiers of these States, as may fall into their power; and being assisted by parties furnished by the Enemy, have in several instances carried their nefarious designs into execution; and such practices being contrary to their Allegiance, as Subjects, and repugnant to the Rules of War,

*Resolved* That whatever Inhabitants of these States shall kill or seize, or take any loyal Citizen or Citizens thereof, and convey him, her, or them to any place within the power of the Enemy, or shall enter into any Combination for such purpose, or attempt to carry the same into execution, or hath assisted or shall assist therein; or shall by giving Intelligence, acting as a Guide, or in any other manner whatever, aid the Enemy in the perpetration thereof, he shall suffer death by the judgment of a Court Martial, as a Traitor, Assassin, and Spy, if the offence be committed within seventy miles of the Head Quarters of the Grand or other Armies of these States, where a General Officer commands."—*Ed. Hist. Mag.*

they had a competent Jurisdiction to try Mr. Smith for these Charges.

The Court taking the matter into consideration, and considering the Charges and the Resolutions of Congress, are of opinion that they have Jurisdiction under the Resolution of Congress of February 27th, 1778, to try Mr. Smith for the fourth and last Charge, and as to the three first Charges, they are of opinion that they have not jurisdiction.\*

Mr. Lawrence, Judge Advocate General, was sworn; and the Court proceeded to try Joshua H. Smith, Esquire, an inhabitant of the State of New York, for the fourth and last Charge contained in the paper before mentioned.

The names of the officers of the Court were read to Mr. Smith. They are as follows:

Colonel H. JACKSON, President.

Lieut.-Col. HAIT,	Major BALL,
Capt. JACOB WRIGHT,	Capt. DANIELS,
Capt. DREW,	Capt. J. A. WRIGHT,
Capt. FRY,	Capt. MARSHALL,
Capt. SANDFORD,	Capt. CHASE,
Capt. FOWLE,	Capt. TIFFANY,
JOHN LAWRENCE, J. A. Gen'l.	

The Judge Advocate General (prosecuting in the name of the United States of America,) then exhibited the Fourth and last Charge, contained in the Paper before mentioned, against the said Joshua H. Smith, Esqr., which Charge is as follows:

"For aiding and assisting Benedict Arnold, late Major General in our service, in a Combination with the Enemy, to take, kill, and seize such of the loyal Citizens or Soldiers of these, as were in garrison at West Point and its dependencies."

To this Charge Mr. Smith pleaded, Not Guilty.†

\* In his *Narrative of the Death of Major Andre* (p. 129) Mr. Smith says there were ten separate charges "so artfully drawn up, that the proof of one would necessarily involve, as by inference some testimony to support the other. Aware of the snare which was laid for me," he continued, "I requested that the Charges might be consolidated into one general accusation. Accordingly, on the ensuing day, when the Court was convened, this request was granted; and I was ordered to answer the following Charge," etc.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† "In answer to this Charge, I objected to the legality or propriety of being tried by a Military Tribunal; for, as a Citizen, I conceived myself only amenable to the Civil authority of the State to which I belonged, which had established the right of Trial by Jury, in the Constitution recently adopted, determining the liberties of the Subjects within the State, and had ordained 'That the right of Trial by Jury, in all cases wherein it had been formerly used in the Colony of New York, should be and remain inviolate for ever.' I was answered by the Court, that I was tried by a Resolve of Congress, passed in the year 1777, authorizing the Commander in chief of the army, to hear and try by Court Martial, any of the Citizens of the United States, who should harbour or secret any of the Subjects or Soldiers of the King of Great Britain, knowing them to be such, or should be in-

In support of the Prosecution, Mr. SAMUEL CAHOON was produced and sworn.

QUESTION TO MR. SAMUEL CAHOON. Did you go on board the *Vulture*, sloop-of-war, belonging to the Enemy, the night of the twenty-first of September, instant, with Mr. Smith.

ANS. Yes. Mr. Smith had been up at Fishkill, as he told me, and came down in the evening and told me he wanted to speak a word with me, and I went with him up in his room, and he asked me to go with him that night a piece, he said, down the river. I told him I had no mind to go, and did not want to go; he did not urge me hard to go. Then he said he must send me up express to General Arnold, and we should go over to the other house; but, upon my telling him I had no mind to go, he seemed to urge my going, and said it was great business. I thought it was best to go, and agreed to go. We went over to his Brother's, where I consented to go to General Arnold's, and was furnished by Mr. Smith with a horse, and a paper to Major Keirce, and went off. I went on as fast as I could, and got to General Arnold's just after Sunrise. The General was not up, and I delivered the letter from Mr. Smith to General Arnold, to a Gentleman there; and I was informed by the General, there was no occasion for an Answer; and I was told by him I might go on as quick as I could. I returned back; and sometime in the afternoon, General Arnold passed me, and rode towards Mr. Joshua H. Smith's house.—(Mr. Smith, the prisoner, acknowledged that General Arnold arrived at his house that afternoon.)—Near sun-down, Mr. Smith spoke to me as I was going for the cows, and told me to come up, as the General wanted to speak with me. I went up with Mr. Smith in the room were General Arnold was, who asked me to go with him a piece that night; I said I could not go, being up the night before, and told

"strumental in conveying intelligence to the enemy, and, if found Guilty, should be condemned and executed as a Traitor, Assassin, and Spy. To this I objected, that the Resolve of Congress just alluded to, was possibly passed anterior to the adoption of the several Constitutions of the United States, when there were no legal Establishments, and was introduced to supply the want of Civil Jurisdictions in that early stage of the War; and that I could not conceive how a mere Resolve of Congress could abrogate a fundamental Article in any of the Civil Constitutions of the United States; for, if so, it made the Military paramount to the Civil authority, and would establish if the Court were to proceed on any Trial, a precedent dangerous to the Liberties of the Subject; that it would excite eventually the indignation of my fellow-citizens, in destroying one of the established principles of Liberty belonging to the Subject, and the violation of the right of Trial by Jury, one of the principal reasons assigned by Congress for their separation from Great Britain, in the Declaration of Independence, as well as allowing the Military an extent of power incompatible with free Government.

The Court, however, after having withdrawn some time for consultation, overruled my objections, and proceeded to examine the Evidence in support of the Prosecution."—MR. SMITH, in his *Narrative of the Death of Major Andre*.

him I was afraid to go; but General Arnold urged me to go, and told me if I was a friend to my country I should do my best; and at last I asked the General where he wanted me to go, and the General and Mr. Smith said on board of the ship in the river, and that there was a man there the General wanted to see very much. Upon my saying what was the reason he could not stay till the morning, General Arnold said it must be done that night; and upon my saying I could not go alone, Mr. Smith desired me to go and fetch my brother. I went, and my wife being dissatisfied with my going, I went back to General Arnold, and told him I did not want to go, and told him there were guard-boats out; he said there was no danger of them, and said if I did not go, he would look upon me as a disaffected man. I then went and fetched my brother; and when we came back we stood out a great while before we consented to go; but at last we did, and there being a boat in the creek, myself, Mr. Smith, and my brother went to the boat and rowed down to the ship. During my conversation with General Arnold and Mr. Smith, Mr. Smith was in and out of the room, and I do not recollect any particular conversation passing between Mr. Smith and General Arnold separate. No other conversation passed between Mr. Smith and myself on the way down, that I recollect, but Mr. Smith telling me not to say any thing to the people on board the vessel, which was General Arnold's charge likewise. We were hailed by the vessel, and Mr. Smith answered, "Friends," and said we were from King's Ferry and bound to Dobb's Ferry; and we were ordered alongside immediately. When we came alongside of the ship, Mr. Smith went on board, and staid, I think, not longer on board than a quarter of an hour, and returned on board the boat with a man. We set off from the vessel, and rowed on shore; and we landed at the Long Cove, a little below Haverstraw, about half a mile below the dock, and about six miles from Stoney-Point. I heard no conversation between Mr. Smith and this person, on the way ashore. I sat in the bow of the boat, and they in the stern; and I think if there had been any, I could have heard it. When we came on shore, I heard the noise of a man at a bank above, and Mr. Smith went up, and returned immediately; and the person we brought on shore went up, and Mr. Smith staid with us, and asked my brother and myself if we would go on board the vessel again that night. I told him I was fatigued, being up the night before, and could not go. All this time, the other person was not present, and I do not know where he was, but supposed he was up against the bank, as he went that way. Mr. Smith said if we could not go we must do as we thought best, and would leave it

to us; but made us no offer to return on board the vessel that night.

Mr. SAMUEL CAHOON further says:—Mr. Smith, himself, and brother then went up in the boat to Haverstraw Creek; and Mr. Smith staid on the shore with them, from their first landing, except when he went towards the bank and returned, as he has mentioned, until he went in the boat with them to Haverstraw Creek, and from thence he went with Mr. Smith to his house where he lived, but did not see the person there that he brought on shore from the vessel, to know him. The person they brought on shore had a dark colored coat on, but whether black or blue, he does not know, as he did not take notice of it. It was a week last Thursday night, when he was on board the vessel with Mr. Smith. He never carried Mr. Smith on board the vessel again; neither had he been on board before with him, and did not see General Arnold at Mr. Smith's house when he returned that night. He also mentions he had no conversation with Mr. Smith about carrying the man they had landed, on board again, except the conversation that took place on the shore, as he has mentioned; and he says he received no reward or promise from Mr. Smith for bringing this person on shore; but mentions that General Arnold had promised him fifty weight of flour, which was before he went on board with Mr. Smith. He also says General Arnold ordered them, when they went down in the boat, to take a sheepskin with them to put around their oars, and he put one around his.

Q. BY SMITH. Don't you recollect my telling you in going down to the Creek, my intention in going was for the service of the country.

A. You did tell me so.

Q. BY SMITH. Did General Arnold persuade you a great deal to go; and did I appear anxious for your going?

A. He did. You did not appear anxious.

Q. BY SMITH. Whose business did you suppose it to be?

A. General Arnold's and your's; but I did not know whose it was. I was urged very hard to go by the General.

Q. BY THE COURT. Did Mr. Smith or General Arnold tell you not to tell your brother what was wanted of him until he arrived at your house?

A. Mr. Smith did.

Q. BY THE COURT. When you returned, did Mr. Smith tell you not to mention to any body that you had been on board the vessel?

A. Not that I recollect.

Q. BY THE COURT. Did you object to going on board at first because you thought it was wrong, or because you were tired?

A. It was because I was tired, and I thought

it was wrong, also, to go in the night, at that time of night.\*

JOSEPH CAHOON was next produced on the part of the Prosecution and sworn.

Question to him the same as the first to Samuel Cahoon.

A. Mr. Smith, last Thursday night week, sent word to me to come over to his house, and he wanted to speak to me. I went. When I came there he met me at the door, and sat down on the bench with me, and on asking him what was his desire, he said he wanted me to go with him that night. On asking Mr. Smith where he wanted to go, he said, "A little way down the river." On asking him how far and where, he said, I think, "On board of the man-of-war or ship." I am not certain which, "as a flag, on business of General Arnold." I told him I was sorry I was wanted for that purpose, and said, upon any other thing I was willing to serve him or the General. Mr. Smith asked me why, and said there was no hurt in going, as it was general business. On asking him whether he did not think we should be taken up by the water-guard, (meaning the Continental water-guard,) he said, No, for he had a Pass from the General to go, and the countersign; and he said the countersign was "Congress," which, when he came up he must give, and so pass. Mr. Smith made answer to me, and said, "Have you not always heard that I was a friend to the country, and did that which was always best for the country?" I told him, "Yes, and always thought he was;" upon which I asked him why the flag was not sent down in the daytime, as it ought to be done? He said because it was to be kept private from the inhabitants and common men. The officers, he said, knew it, and said there was a man on board, that the General wanted to speak to; and that he must be brought on shore and carried on board again. I then told him I did not chuse to go. He said there was no hurt in going, at all; and said if

anything should come against me, he would defend me, and clear me from all. I told him he could not clear me if there was any bad in it; and Mr. Smith afterwards got up and went into the house to General Arnold. General Arnold came out soon after Mr. Smith went in, and said, upon his coming out, I need not be afraid to go with Mr. Smith, and said it must be done for the good of the country; and said it was not done in private, for the officers at the Ferry knew it, the Captain of the Water-Guard also, and had the countersign; and that it was not a secret to any persons but the inhabitants and common men. I thought at first it was not good, but thought otherwise upon the General's mentioning that it was known as I have mentioned. The General also said Major Kierce had agreed to send him up a boat to the creek at Colonel Hay's landing-place, but had not done it, and he did not know the reason; upon which Mr. Smith asked me if I would take his horse and ride down to the ferry, to see whether the boat was come. I said No, he ought send his negro; he ordered the negro to get the horse, and the negro went off. While the negro was gone, myself and my brother concluded not to go; but both were afraid to tell the General of it, and not to go him; and the time passed away until the negro came. When he came, I asked him what news concerning the boat; and he said he did not know, and he brought a letter from Major Kierce to the General, upon which I told my brother I would go up and tell the General. I had no mind to go; and as I was going up, I met Mr. Smith in the entry, and he told me the General wanted to speak with me; and he passed out to the stoop, and I went into the room to the General, who was sitting by a table, with paper, and his speaking to me, I acquainted him I had no mind to go, as it was late; and said I would rather go in the morning. General Arnold said he must go to Head Quarters by ten o'clock in the morning; and if I would not assist when I was required for the good of my country and Congress, he would put me under guard immediately. Upon which Mr. Smith came in and I went out; and just after this, Mr. Smith came out to the stoop; asked my brother and myself if we would have a dram; and gave us each one; and afterwards the General came out, and Mr. Smith, and myself and brother were there together. The General and Mr. Smith talked together, but what they said I do not know. They were withdrawn from us; the distance I cannot estimate; but it was such a distance as I could not hear what they said, as they talked low together; they were no time of any value together; may be two minutes, may be more or less. My brother, Mr. Smith, and myself went down to the landing,

\* Mr. Smith, in his *Narrative of the Death of Major Andre*, pp. 137, 138, says that Mr. Colquhoun "delivered [his] evidence with a plainness, perspicuity, and firmness, that seemed to have much weight with the Court Martial, who examined [him] with critical scrutiny." He then proceeds: "I will just mention the disgraceful means that were used to impeach the integrity of Samuel Colquhoun, [Cahoon] from which circumstances it will appear in what a precarious situation my life was placed.

"There is now a person in this Kingdom, [England] who was formed by Samuel Colquhoun, that while I was on my trial he was taken into a field by some of General Washington's officers, who read to him a paper purporting to be a declaration of the means which I had adopted, and which if he would attest against me on the trial, he should have a purse of gold, which was then offered to him, and a promise of support for life; Colquhoun answered, that although he was a poor man, he could not swear falsely for money, which he should do if he attested the paper; and, if made rich by such means, he added, that he should be miserable for life."—ED. HIST. MAG.

about a half mile below King's Ferry, and passed off in the boat; and I think it was pretty well near midnight when we got off. Mr. Smith had on a whitish coat, a pretty large one, which I think I have seen him wear before. Mr. Smith told us on the way, that when we came on board the vessel, we had nothing to do but to stay on board the long-boat, and when asked questions to say nothing at all. When we came to the vessel they hailed us; and Mr. Smith answered, "Hallo," or some such word; but I think it was not the word, "Friends;" and upon being asked where we were from, Mr. Smith answered, "From King's Ferry and bound to 'Dobb's Ferry,'" and they ordered us to come on board immediately. When we got alongside of the ship, Mr. Smith went on board and staid a little time, but I cannot say the exact time; it might be a quarter of an hour or a little longer, but the exact time I cannot say; I was asked several questions by men who came on board the boat, such as where we were from, and going to, and what man he was who came on board, but I would not answer them, and told them to ask the person who went on board; and, at last, orders came for every man who was on board the boat, belonging to the ship, to come out immediately. Mr. Smith, after a little time, came on board the boat; and another man came with him, who had a dark colored coat on, which I looked upon to be a watch coat. I thought it was a watch coat, because it covered the whole of his clothing. Then we rowed on shore, at a place called the Long Clove, about six miles from Stoney Point, where we landed; and Mr. Smith went up towards the bank, a little way from the water. I heard Mr. Smith and the person in the boat talk a little on the way ashore, but how much I cannot say; and I did not understand what they said. I did not see any man by the bank; Mr. Smith staid a little while there, came back, and the other man up, who I did not see afterwards. When Mr. Smith returned he staid with us, and came up with my brother and myself in the boat to a place called Crom's Island, in Haverstraw Creek. When we landed, I stepped out and got down under a bush, and was drowsy, and had no conversation with Mr. Smith about returning to the vessel with that man afterwards, and I declare I have not seen Mr. Smith from that time until this day. General Arnold promised me fifty weight of flour for going on board the vessel; but I never saw it. Mr. Smith did not promise me anything for it. Mr. Smith, after his return, did not desire me to keep it a secret. Upon the Boat coming alongside the vessel, the tide was flood; and we all three were upon our legs keeping the boat from the side of the vessel; and one on board said, "Come on board;" upon

which Mr. Smith went. I did not hear Mr. Smith enquire for any person upon his going on board, but lost sight of him immediately as he was upon deck. After we got out from the ship, Mr. Smith told us to row ashore to Long Clove. Mr. Smith steered the boat himself. The time we arrived at the Long Clove, I do not know; but it was about day-break when we got to Crom's Island; and when we got to Mr. Smith's house it was after day-light. We were not hailed on our way down, but by the ship; neither were we on our way returning. When we came to Mr. Smith's house, after our return from the ship, to the best of my knowledge, I saw General Arnold come out of Mr. Smith's house and go into the necessary house. He walked lame and had on a blue coat and white breeches. I am sure he was the same man who I saw before I went on board the vessel, who was called "General Arnold," as well as I can judge from my knowledge of men. Mr. Smith gave me a sheepskin, when I left his house; and I carried it down to the boat, and he and myself muffled my oar with it, and my brother muffled the other; and after we returned to Crom's Island, Mr. Smith told us to take the sheepskin off from the oars, and throw the oars upon the grass; one of the sheepskins was taken off.

The Court postponed further proceedings of Mr. Smith's trial until to-morrow; and adjourned until that time, ten o'clock, A. M.

#### SECOND DAY, OCT. 1ST.

The Court met according to adjournment. Mr. Smith being unwell and having declared he had no sustenance this morning, he requested the Court not to resume his trial immediately, but to adjourn for a short time; which the Court did until 12 o'clock this day.

#### 12 O'CLOCK.

The Court met according to adjournment. Mr. Smith being indisposed with an ague, and having declared he was incapable to attend his trial this day, on account of it, he desired the Court not to resume it; but to postpone it until to-morrow, which the Court did, and adjourned until to-morrow nine o'clock, A. M.\*

## II.—NOTABLE PLACES IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

### THE DEATH-PLACE OF GENERAL HAMILTON.

That General Hamilton and Colonel Burr fought and that the former fell, are very well known; but it is not so well known, either where Gen-

\* Mr. Smith, in his *Narrative of the Death of Major Andre*, gives the same credit of Joseph Calhoun, as to his brother, for the "plainness, perspicuity, and firmness" with which he gave his testimony.—*ED. HIST. MAG.*

eral Hamilton spent the night before the duel, how he reached Weehawken, whither he was taken after his fall, or where he died.

We have found no one who was able to answer these questions, except in general terms—he spent the night, at home, and he died at Mr. Bayard's, in Greenwich, it is said;—but where was that home, and where was Mr. Bayard's? It is the purpose of this brief paper to examine these questions.

At the period referred to, (July 11, 1804,) General Hamilton's business office was at No. 12 Garden Street, now Exchange Place; and his city residence was at No. 54 Cedar Street: he had, also, we believe, a country house on the Kingsbridge road, about a mile above Manhattanville, called after the Scottish seat of his assumed ancestors, "The Grange."

It is said, we have no doubt on competent authority, that the General was at his office, throughout the day preceding the fatal duel; and that his intercourse with his clerks was marked by no peculiarity of manner: it is just as evident to us, *that he spent his last night at "THE GRANGE," with a portion, at least, of his family, if not with every member of it.*

We are not insensible of the fact that the General's son and biographer has stated that his father's last night, prior to the duel, was spent at his *city house*, No. 54 Cedar Street, evidently in the absence of his wife; that, he pleasantly invited one of his little sons to sleep with him; that he heard the child—possibly the biographer himself—repeat the Lord's Prayer, which his mother had taught him; etc., etc.; but, for reasons which are perfectly satisfactory to ourself, we prefer to believe that the narrative of the biographer, in these particulars, is entirely incorrect; that the city house of the General was then closed for the summer; that his children, if not his wife, were at "The Grange;" that he spent his last night, prior to the duel, *at that place*; and that, calling on his way at the Doctor's country-seat at Bloomingdale, he drove thence to the city, in the morning, on his errand of "honor."

Of this, at least, we have the evidence of Doctor Hosack, the attending Surgeon:

\* General Hamilton drove to the wharf at the foot of the Great Kiln Road, now Gansevoort Street, in company with his second, Judge Pendleton, and the surgeon, Doctor David Hosack, who had been mutually agreed on. Leaving the carriage, with orders to await its return, the party took a boat and was rowed to Weehawken, where it arrived at a little before seven in the morning. The Vice-President of the United States, with his second, William P. Van Ness, Esqr., agreeably to the terms agreed on, was already on the ground; and both were

busily engaged, with their coats off, in clearing away the bushes, limbs of trees, etc., "so as to "make a fair opening," for the purposes of the meeting.

The rival principals in the affair, after the fashion of the times and in conformity with the Code then governing every "Gentleman" in the country, in such cases, duly exchanged salutations; and the Seconds proceeded to arrange for the meeting, both the choice of position and the giving of the word, under the Code already referred to, having fallen by lot, to the Second of General Hamilton.

As our readers know, the General fell.

The dying man, "to all appearance lifeless," after a brief examination of his wound, was borne from the field of blood, in the arms of his Second and the Surgeon; and as they approached the river, the oarsmen assisted them. He was laid on the bottom of the boat, apparently dead; and it was immediately pushed off, heading for the little wharf, where the carriage had been left an hour before. While on the river, however, either from the effects of the Surgeon's treatment or the fresh air from the water, he rallied sufficiently to speak, and give directions for the transmission of the intelligence to his family; and he appears to have even harbored a hope that the end would be favorable.

The wharf toward which the boat was heading, as we have said, was at the foot of the Great Kiln Road, now Gansevoort Street, in the City of New York. This, an ordinary country road, afforded a communication with the neighboring city, by way of Greenwich Lane, now straitened and called Greenwich Avenue, and Sandy Lane, which after receiving Greenwich Lane, near the corner of the Sixth Avenue and Eleventh Street, entered Broadway near where Waverley Place now is.

On the southerly side of the Great Kiln Road, extending from the river to the Greenwich road, now straitened and called Greenwich Street, was the country-place of Mr. William Bayard, a friend of General Hamilton; and on the present line of Horatio Street, a little below the centre of the block between Greenwich and Washington Streets, stood the fine old mansion which was his residence. It was of wood, with a hall extending from front to rear in its centre; and its fine position, overlooking the noble river which flowed gently at the foot of the neighboring bank, rendered it a conspicuous object in that vicinity.

When General Hamilton and his party left the wharf, on the morning of the duel, a servant of Mr. Bayard had seen them, and told his master of the circumstances; and the latter probably acquainted with the causes which had led to the meeting, "too well conjectured the fatal

"errand, and foreboded the dreadful result." He evidently watched for the return of the party; and as the boat neared the wharf where he was, perceiving that only the Surgeon and Judge Pendleton sat up in the stern sheets, "he clasped his hands in the most violent apprehension."

At the request of the Surgeon, a cot was brought from the mansion, and the wounded man was removed at once to one of its rooms—it is said, the right hand front room—and there at two o'clock on Thursday afternoon, the twelfth of July, 1804, the day after the duel, he died. The body was subsequently removed to the house of his brother-in-law, John B. Church, No. 25 Robinson Street; whence, on Saturday, the fourteenth, it was taken to Trinity Churchyard, and buried with military and civic honors.

A few days since, (*June, 14th.*) in company with our venerable and honored friend, JOHN GROSHON, Esqr., we visited the site of the ancient Bayard estate, at the foot of the Great Kiln Road; and in the midst of the busy scenes of that familiar neighborhood—a part of the city in which many years of our boyhood and early manhood were spent—he pointed out to us the well-known old frame dwelling, No. 82 Jane Street, as the ancient residence of William Bayard and THE DEATH-PLACE OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON; confirming from his own recollections the tradition, to the same effect, which were familiar to us more than thirty years ago.

We knew the old house when a lad, as the property of the late Alexander Knox, Esqr., and the home of the late James Wotherspoon, Esqr.; but it is now, if we may judge from appearances, the home of more than one family, probably that of several. It is, however, apparently in good order; and notwithstanding the disappearance of the green-house which formerly flanked it on the east, and that of the long row of factory-buildings which years ago, stood at its western end—both of which have since given place to modern-built dwellings—we could not fail to recognize in the plain but substantial old house a landmark of our early days, as well as one of the few remaining relics of New York in the last Century, and one of the most interesting edifices, historically considered, in the United States.

H. B. D.

Morrisania, N. Y., June 15, 1866.

### III.—THE JERSEY PRISON-SHIP.\*

BY CAPTAIN JOHN VAN DYKE.

To the *Editor of the New Era*:

SIR:—In the year 1779, the American army

lay at White Plains; I obtained a furlough from Major General Knox of the Artillery. I went home to see my wife, at Elizabethtown; and, while there, the British came to surprise our troops. With the advice of General Maxwell, I joined Captain Randall's company of United States Artillery, of the brigade. As my furlough was out, after the British left Elizabethtown, I returned to Staten Island. In a few days I returned to the camp, and joined the army at Quaker Hill. I was attached to General Conway's brigade, in Captain Thomas Clark's company of Artillery, as a Captain-Lieutenant.

The day I arrived, Captain Clark asked me for the use of my bed. He said he had been taking medicine; and I insisted that he should occupy it; that I had lain on the ground before, and could again. Adjoining the fence of the road, had been a corn field; and the ground ascended up from the fence. The furrows of this corn field were deep. I, at this time, had an old-fashioned green rug; my waiter folded it four double, and laid it in one of the deep furrows, for my bed. When we retired, as the custom was with the officers of the army, when going to bed, to take all off but the shirt, I turned in and soon fell asleep. At this time of life, I slept sound; and as far as I can recollect, I never awoke until daylight, when, behold! in the night, there had been a heavy shower of rain, and when I awoke, I found myself as wet as though I had been dipped into a river. I was soon taken with the fever and ague, intermittent fever, and yellow jaundice; I had to go into sick quarters; took a waiter with me, who used to shoot squirrels to make soup for me; poultry having been all destroyed, and none to be had; I grew worse.

At length I called on Major General Knox, to obtain leave to go home. I obtained leave; and on the next day, left the camp for home. As I travelled, and went only on a walk with my horse, in the afternoon of each day I had to inquire for the next tavern, or the next house, and put up; I would ask permission to lodge and have my horse put up for the night; I would inform the family of my situation; begged them to take care of me, for at sundown I would be taken with the ague and fever that would last me one hour, and then I would be light-headed the remainder of the night; I would pay them for their trouble. In this situation, I travelled home to Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

After I had recovered I was advised to go to sea, by a doctor. I first thought of writing to General Knox for permission; but on the second thought, I judged I had better go myself, and the General could see my situation. I started with a sulkey; called on General Knox,

\* From an old number of *The New York New Era*.

at New Windsor; he told me he could not give me permission to go to sea, but gave me a recommendation to General Washington.

I called on General Washington, at West Point. I had an interview with one of the General's Aide-de-camps, who asked me if I had a written certificate from the Doctor who attended me. I informed him as the Doctor did not belong to the Army that I thought it would not be of service to me. I told the Aid-de-camp, if he would mention any of the Surgeon-Generals I would call on them; they gave me a certificate recommending to me a voyage to sea. I returned to the Aid-de-camp, and delivered my certificate. He withdrew from me a short time, and returned handing me a letter from General Washington, to the President of the old Congress. The General could not give me a furlough to go to sea, as the sea was not in the bounds of his command.

I went to Philadelphia, called on the President of the United States; and after conversing with me a short time, he requested me to call on him to-morrow morning at ten o'clock. I called and he gave me a written furlough for eight months to go to sea.

I got a berth as Lieutenant of Marines on board the brig *General Reed*, a close-quarter brig, carrying sixteen sixes and a hundred and nineteen men.

She sailed in the beginning of April; and on the second day at sea, was taken by the frigate called the *Iris*. This was an American frigate, built at Boston, and called the *Hancock*; was taken by the British; and was the fastest-sailing ship in the whole British Navy. Our brig attempted to run from the frigate before the wind.

The frigate soon came abreast of us; ordered our Captain to back topsail and come under his stern. The officers of the brig hastened to the cabin, putting on all their clothes; I followed suit, and put on all I had. This was done to save our clothing from plunder. In a short time we were taken on board the frigate, and put down between decks. They kept us without anything to eat for forty-six hours; although they took out of our brig, twenty live hogs. We were twelve days on board the frigate before she arrived in New York, as she kept cruising on our coast.

We were put on board the prison-ship *Jersey*, anchored off Fly Market. This ship had been a hospital-ship. When I came on board, her stench was so great and my breathing this putrid air, I thought it would soon kill me; but after my being on board some days, I got used to it, and it passed as though all was a common smell.

An agreement was entered into between the

British Commander-in-chief and the American Government, that all the British prisoners in the American lines should be supplied with full rations, as we had the supply of the country; the British were to furnish the American prisoners with two-thirds allowance; that is, six American prisoners to receive, and to live on, four British prisoners rations. But on board the *Jersey Prison-Ship*, it was short allowance—so short, a person would think it was not possible for a man to live on. They starved the American prisoners, to make them enlist in their service.

I will now relate a fact. Every man in the mess of six took his daily turn to get the mess's provisions. One day, I went to the galley, and drew a piece of salt boiled pork. I went to our mess to divide it. I held the pork in my left hand, with a jackknife in my right, to mark it in six parts. The second time came out right. I cut each one his share; and each one of us eat our daily allowance, in one mouthful of this salt pork and nothing else.

One day, called "Pea day," I took the drawer of our Doctor's (Hodges of Philadelphia,) chest; and I went to the galley, which was the cooking place, like a poor Pil Garlick, with my drawer for a soup dish. I held it under a large brass cock; the Cook turned it. I received the allowance for my mess, and behold! brown water and fifteen floating peas, no peas on the bottom of my drawer, and this for six men's allowance for twenty-four hours. The peas were all on the bottom of the kettle; those left would be taken to New York, and, I suppose, sold.

One day in the week was called "Pudding day;" three pounds of damaged flour—in it would be green lumps—such as their men would not eat, and one pound of very bad raisins, one-third raisins-sticks. We would pick out the sticks, mash! the lumps of flour, put all, with some water in our drawer, mix our pudding, and put it in a bag with a tally tied to it, with the number of our mess; this was a day's allowance.

We for some time drew half a pint of Rum for each man. One Captain Laird, who commanded the ship *Jersey*, came on board. As soon as he was on the main-deck of the ship, he cried out for the Boatswain. The boatswain arrived, and in a very quick motion, took off his hat. There being on deck, two hoghead tubs, where our allowance of Rum was mixed into Grog. Captain Laird said, "Have the prisoners 'had their Rum to-day?'" "No, Sir," answered the Boatswain. Captain Laird replied, "Damn your soul, you rascal, heave it overboard." The Boatswain with help, upset the tubs of Grog on the main-deck; the Grog run out of the scuppers of the ship into the river; I saw no more

Grog on board. I stood at the time, within twelve feet of the tubs of Grog, and saw the Grog run through the scuppers of the ship.

After this day of destroying the Grog, and before, prisoners would be ordered on board of a big ship's long-boat, to man her, go to some wharf, take in one, sometimes two hogsheds of Rum, bring it alongside the ship, hoist it on deck by a pair of shears on the side of the ship, (this *Jersey Prison-Ship* had no mast standing, or rigging of any kind,) and at sunset the prisoners were ordered by the sentinels on deck, hallowing, "Below, Below," and if the prisoners were not brisk in moving, they had the point of the bayonet in them. And ever since that time, when I see a flock of sheep going though a pair of bars, one tumbling over others, I think of the old *Jersey Prison-Ship*.

Every fair day a number of British officers and sergeants would come on board ship, form in two ranks on the Quarter-deck, facing inward—the prisoners in the after part of the Quarter-deck. As the Boatswain would call a name, the word would be, "Pass;" as the prisoners passed between the ranks, officers and sergeants staring them in the face. This was done to catch deserters; and if they caught none, the sergeants would come on the main-deck, and cry out, "Five guineas bounty to any man that will enter his majesty's service." Shortly after this party left the ship, a Hessian party would come on board; and the prisoners had to go through the same routine of duty again.

As soon as the evening gun was fired, all the prisoners were ordered between decks, and the hatches barred. The prisoners, without light would sit or lay down; we had a good many Eastern prisoners on board, who would tell so many Yankee stories, or sing Yankee songs, that it was impossible to keep from laughing; for my part, I was afraid of hurting myself, but I could not avoid laughing; and so it would continue until one after another dropped asleep. When all was still, and in pleasant weather, the prisoners on the deck would play leap frog to such a degree, that I have heard the Boatswain of the ship swear that we were no prisoners, (meaning from our mirth.) It was from this merriment that we prisoners stood the hardships of a Prison-ship.

Our mess was composed of Captain Thomas Pitt, First Lieutenant of brig *General Reed*, sixteen six-pounders, one hundred and nineteen men; John Van Dyke, Lieutenant of Marines, brig *General Reed*; Robert Messer, of the ship *Hetty*, eighteen guns and forty-eight men; Doctor Hodges of the brig *General Reed*; Doctor Bloomfield of the ship *Hetty*, and Edward Paterson.

When the brig *General Reed* struck to the

frigate *Iris*, I found the officers went in the cabin and began to put on all their clothes. I followed suit; began to put on all the summer clothes I had; and, while buttoning my jacket, I was humming a tune to myself. This Captain Pitt, (who had shown me so much kindness, and with whom I joined, in his starboard watch, to learn all I could; and who sat at the time on the after locker, with his arms folded and the tears running down his cheeks for sorrow, having been taken prisoner five times before,) seeing and hearing, looked at me and said, "Damn me, I believe you are glad you are taken prisoner." I asked, "What makes you think so, Captain Pitt?" Answer, "You appear to be so merry." I replied, "Captain Pitt, I wish to ask you a few questions: Do you look upon yourself to be a prisoner?" "Yes." "So do I. Do you expect to be put on board that frigate?" He answered, "Yes." "So do I. Do you expect to be taken to New York, and to be introduced on board a Prison-ship?" He answered, "Yes." "So do I, Captain Pitt. I am thinking of the horrors of a Prison-ship as well as you; and I think, it is time to grieve when hardships come; New York is my native place. I believe I have some friends there, and I also have friends in Elizabethtown, which is near; and, Sir, I will tell you, that whatever aid I receive, you shall share with me; so, Sir, wipe up those tears, and cheer yourself. As to my humming and soft whistling, I have learned it in the American army; when I have been drawn up in the line of the army for battle, the British advancing in front for action, I have showed myself merry, to animate my men—for in such times, the men will look at the officers; and as the officers appear, it will have the same effect upon the men."

From the *Jersey Prison-Ship*, eighty of us were taken to the pink-stern sloop-of-war *Hunter*, Captain Thomas Henderson, Commander. We were taken there in a large ship's long-boat, towed by a ten-oar barge, and one other barge, with a guard of soldiers in the rear to guard the prisoners.

On board the ship *Hunter*, we drew a two-third allowance; and every Monday, we received a loaf of wet bread, weighing seven pounds for each man. This loaf was from Mr. John Pintard's father, of New York, the American commissary;\* and this bread, with two-thirds allowance of provisions, we found sufficient to live on.

After we were on board the *Hunter*, for some time. Mr. David Sproat, the British Commissary of Prisoners, came on board. All the prisoners

\* Captain Van Dyke, we believe, made a mistake here. John Pintard, we think, was the nephew of Commissary Pintard.—ED. HIST. MAG.

were ordered aft. The roll was called; and as each man passed him, Mr. Sproat would ask, "Are you a seaman?" The answers were, "Landsman," "Landsman." There were ten landsmen to one answer of "Half seaman." When the roll was finished, Mr. Sproat said to our sea officers, "Gentlemen, how do you make 'out at sea, for the most of you are landsmen?" Our officers answered, "You hear often how we 'make out. When we meet our for force, or 'rather more than our force, we give a good account of them." Mr. Sproat asked, "And are 'not your vessels better manned than these?" Our officers replied, "Mr. Sproat, we are the best 'manned out of the port of Philadelphia." Mr. Sproat shrugged his shoulders, saying, "I cannot 'see how you do it."

After this conversation ceased, I said, "Mr. Sproat, I understand you have been to Elizabethtown. Have you a letter for me?" Scratching his head, he asked, "What is your 'name?" I told him. He said he would give it to me. He then went on the quarter-deck; and I went below to my mess.

After being there a short time, my name was passed on deck and below: I answered, and came on deck. Captain Henderson stood on the front of the quarter-deck, and said, "Mr. Van Dyke, 'please walk aft on the quarter-deck, Mr. Sproat 'wants you." I went aft to Mr. Sproat, who said, "Mr. Van Dyke, you will get your baggage to go on board the *Cartel*, for Elizabethtown." I thanked him. I knew my exchange was a favor though Major Adams, our Commissary, living at Elizabethtown. I hastened below and told my friend Captain Pitt I was exchanged. He began to shed tears; I said "Captain Pitt, 'hold your tears;—it is for your good, as well 'as mine, that I am exchanged. I will have 'you exchanged in a few days."

I took leave of my friend in his tears, and bid farewell to the rest of my friends. I was so rejoiced at my exchange, that I left all my baggage for my messmates, and went home only with the clothes on me.

The *Cartel* shallop arrived at Elizabethtown Point that day, where I met my friend Major Adams. I hastened to town, to meet my wife and mother-in-law. After I had been home a little while, I called on Major Adams, to thank him for my exchange. After talking about my cruise to sea in a privateteer, and laughing together, I told Major Adams I wanted to ask a favor of him, saying, "You must not deny me." He said, "Perhaps it is not in my power to grant 'it. What then?" "Then, Sir, I will not insist upon it." He asked, "What is it, Sir?" I replied, "There is a Captain Thomas Pitt, a 'First Lieutenant of the brig *General Reed*, of 'Philadelphia, on board of the sloop-of-war

"*Hunter*, in the North River. He has been 'taken five times before; when he gets exchanged, arrives at Philadelphia, recruits, gets 'a berth, goes to sea, and is taken again, his 'heart is almost broken; he is now unwell; 'and if he is not soon exchanged, he must die 'on board the Prison-ship."

In a few days who should call to see me but my friend, Captain Pitt. After shaking hands, informed me that the *Cartel* landed him at Elizabethtown-Point; and that Major Adams informed him that it was through me he was exchanged, and informed him were I lived.

I strove to persuade Captain Pitt to take lodgings with me until he got stronger; but he declined accepting my offer, saying he would rather go on to Philadelphia with his brother prisoners. I bade him farewell. After a few days I received a letter from him, thanking me for my kindness towards him, saying, "I thank you 'next to God, for the preservation of my life; 'and if you stand in need of my services, I will 'serve you to the risk of my life."

Lieutenant Robert Messer, of the ship *Hetty*, when his ship struck to the frigate *Iris*, put up his hammock; in it he stored some sugar and coffee, and once a day we had a cup of coffee more than prisoners' allowance on board the *Jersey* Prison-ship; and while we were supping our mite of coffee, I would look under the brim of my round hat, forward on the ship, where a number of prisoners sat and laid in every posture possible for man to be in, with pale faces, long beards, white pale eyes, and ghastly countenances, looking at us supping our coffee,—their mouths opening and moving as ours, and ghastly looks, solely for the want of food. This dismal sight, I cannot erase from my mind as long as God permits me to retain my senses.

Oh! what cruel hearts some men have had towards their fellow man, especially in time of our Revolutionary War; and as we prisoners were Rebels, having prisoners under their charge—seeing and knowing they are starving to death, by secret orders from their commanding General, to compel them, either to starve to death, or enter the British service—and what hearts must such men have? As hard as a nether mill-stone. How will they account to a just God? Here I leave them.

A short time after the peace of 1783. Captain Laird, of the *Jersey* prison-ship, arrived here at New York, a Captain of a merchant ship; and came along-side of a wharf at, or near Peek-Slip. Some of the prisoners of the *Jersey*, in the War, assembled on the wharf to receive this cruel Captain Laird; but the Captain thought proper to stay on shipboard.

Here I must relate also, that Mr. Robert Lenox, now a merchant of our city, was a Deputy

Commissary-of-prisoners, in New York, under his uncle, David Sproat, head Commissary-of-prisoners in the Revolutionary War. I have been in company with him in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. He, as a British Commissary, was permitted to remain in Elizabethtown during the night; for the purpose of settling an exchange of prisoners with our Commissaries.

\* \* \* \* \*

JOHN VAN DYKE,

Captain in Colonel Lamb's Regiment,  
N. Y. S. A. Rev. Army.

#### IV.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED.

##### 1.—THE SLOOP TRADE OF NEW YORK IN 1803.

1.—The following statement of the number of regular market vessels, of from five to one hundred tons burden, which paid *yearly* wharfrage in New York, in 1803, will indicate the extensive near-by trade of the city at the period immediately preceding the employment, on our waters, of steamboats:

Albany.....	47	Guilford.....	7
Brookhaven.....	34	Great Neck.....	1
Bushwick.....	3	Glastenbury.....	2
Brooklyn.....	11	Gravesend.....	1
Bridgeport.....	7	Great Egg Harbor.....	3
Buttermilk Falls.....	2	Hempstead.....	28
Brantford.....	9	Hartford.....	18
Barbadoes Neck.....	2	Huntington, L. I.....	14
Bonham Town.....	2	Hackensack.....	9
Bridgetown.....	1	Hudson.....	9
Blue Point.....	2	Horseneck.....	3
Belleville.....	1	Hingham.....	2
Beekman's Mills.....	1	Haverstraw.....	3
Bergen.....	1	Haddam.....	2
Cornwall.....	14	Harlem.....	1
Coxsackie.....	4	Howel.....	2
Coeymans.....	4	Islip.....	11
Cortlandt.....	4	Jamaica.....	3
Cold Spring.....	3	Killingworth.....	10
Cow Harbor.....	1	Kinderhook.....	6
Cow Bay.....	5	Kingsbridge.....	1
Closter.....	3	Lansingburg.....	16
Croton.....	2	Lyme.....	9
Chatham.....	2	Long Island.....	5
Catskill.....	8	Little Egg Harbor.....	10
Dover, N. J.....	15	Lunenburg.....	2
Derby.....	3	Middletown.....	26
Dosoris.....	1	Milford.....	4
Dennis.....	1	Middletown Point.....	12
Elizabethtown.....	20	Mount Pleasant.....	10
Egg Harbor.....	3	Marlborough.....	1
Esopus.....	7	Mamaroneck.....	1
East Haddam.....	2	Morrisania.....	1
East Chester.....	2	Marric.....	1
East Hampton.....	1	New York.....	147
East Camp.....	1	New Haven.....	18
Fairfield.....	24	New London.....	18
Flatlands.....	2	Norwalk.....	15
Flushing.....	5	Northfield.....	16
Fishkill.....	4	New Brunswick.....	12
Greenwich, Conn.....	9	Newark.....	9
Proton.....	3	Nyack.....	5
Greensburgh.....	3	Newburgh.....	8
Greenbush.....	3	New Windsor.....	4

New Rotterdam.....	2	Southold.....	6
New Rochelle.....	4	Sawpitts.....	4
Nantucket.....	1	Staten Island.....	9
New Utrecht.....	4	Southfield, S. I.....	2
Newtown.....	3	Stonington.....	14
New Baltimore.....	2	Second River.....	1
New Paltz.....	2	Stafford.....	7
Norwich.....	8	Saugerties.....	1
Nine Partners.....	2	Sautter's Landing.....	1
Oyster Bay.....	5	Saddle River.....	1
Orange Town.....	2	Saugatue.....	1
Oak Hill.....	1	Squan.....	1
Poughkeepsie.....	13	Strattonborough.....	3
Paterson.....	9	Troy.....	32
Pawcaucht.....	2	Tarrytown.....	12
Peekskill.....	4	Taunton.....	3
Perth Amboy.....	4	Tappan.....	4
Piscataway.....	5	Tuckertown.....	2
Rahway.....	17	Thompson's Creek.....	1
Rye.....	9	Tenefly.....	1
River Head.....	6	Wapping's Creek.....	8
Richmond.....	4	West Farms.....	1
Red Hook.....	3	Wamus.....	1
Rhinebeck.....	3	West Fields.....	13
Rye Neck.....	1	Woodbridge.....	9
Rochester.....	2	Weathersfield.....	4
Rockland.....	3	Wallabout.....	5
Stamford.....	11	Waterford.....	1
Smithtown.....	15	Westchester.....	3
Saybrook.....	19	Washington.....	2
Shrewsbury.....	16	Wading River.....	2
Sagg Harbor.....	18	Wilees's Landing.....	2
South River.....	14	Yonkers.....	2
South Amboy.....	8	Yarmouth.....	2
Schodack.....	4		

The following is a list of the packet-vessels which sailed between New York and the neighboring villages, in the same year (1803), carrying freight and passengers:

Amboy.....	2	Killingworth.....	9
Albany.....	35	Lyme.....	2
Alexandria.....	2	Lansingburgh and Troy.....	30
Brookhaven.....	9	Long Island.....	6
Bridgeport.....	4	Mamaroneck.....	3
Bramford.....	1	Middletown, N. J.....	5
Breakneck.....	1	Milford.....	2
Boston.....	8	Middletown, Conn.....	8
Baltimore.....	3	New Jersey—various.....	68
C (sic).....	2	Norfolk.....	7
Cow Bay.....	3	New Rochelle.....	2
Cold Spring.....	5	Newport.....	5
Charleston, S. C.....	3	New Haven.....	11
Coxsackie.....	6	Nantucket.....	2
Catskill.....	5	New London and Norwich.....	7
Cornwall.....	7	New Brunswick.....	7
Cortlandt.....	2	Newburgh.....	11
Clarkestown.....	6	New Windsor.....	6
Closter.....	6	Nova Scotia.....	8
Derby.....	5	Newark.....	7
Duchess County.....	3	New Baltimore.....	1
East Chester.....	2	North River—various.....	65
East Hampton.....	1	Providence.....	7
Elizabeth Town.....	8	Philadelphia.....	7
Egg Harbor.....	1	Paterson.....	2
Esopus.....	7	Rye.....	3
Flushing.....	3	Richmond.....	15
Fairfield.....	4	Rahway and Middletown.....	3
Greenwich, Conn.....	3	Red Hook.....	3
Guilford.....	4	Smithtown.....	3
Greensburgh.....	5	Southold.....	8
Huntington.....	15	Stamford.....	8
Horse Neck.....	5	Sagg Harbor.....	4
Hempstead.....	3	Saybrooke and Lyme.....	3
Hartford.....	8	Staten Island.....	10
Hudson.....	7	Sing Sing.....	2
Hackinsack.....	7	Tappan.....	7
Haverstraw.....	8	Yonkers.....	1

## 2.—THE SLOOP TRADE OF NEW YORK IN 1812

The following exhibit of the Packets and Market Boats running *regularly and constantly* into the port of New York, in 1812, will indicate, when compared with the preceding table, the immediate effect of the introduction of Steam, on American waters:

Albany steamboats.....	5	Nyack.....	2
“ packets.....	31	Newark packets.....	3
“ lumber sloops.....	20	“ stone boats.....	3
Alexandria, Va.....	2	Newburgh.....	10
Athens.....	6	New Windsor, N. Y.....	4
Amboy, So., boats.....	5	New London, Conn.....	2
“ packets.....	7	Norwich, Conn.....	3
“ and Borden- town.....	5	Newbern, N. C.....	6
Baltimore.....	6	New Haven, Conn.....	9
Bridgeport.....	6	Norwalk, Conn.....	4
Bristol, R. I.....	5	Newport, R. I.....	3
Black Rock, Conn.....	3	New Brunswick, N. J., sloops.....	6
Boston.....	14	New Brunswick, N. J., packets.....	7
Branford, Conn.....	6	“ New Rochelle.....	2
Buttermilk Falls.....	1	Nantucket.....	3
Barneget and Marlboro’.....	20	New Paltz.....	2
Brookhaven and vicinity.....	30	New Bedford, Mass.....	2
Coxsackie.....	6	Norfolk, Va.....	4
Courtlant, N. Y.....	3	Oyster Bay, L. I.....	2
Cornwall, N. Y.....	2	Paterson, N. J.....	4
Catskill.....	7	Piscataway, N. J.....	6
Charleston, S. C.....	10	Philipstown.....	4
Cold Spring, L. I.....	5	Peekskill.....	5
Clinton.....	1	Poughkeepsie.....	8
Cow Bay, L. I.....	2	Philadelphia.....	16
Chatham, Conn.....	2	Petersburg.....	2
Dehoyelle’s Landing.....	1	Providence, R. I.....	9
Derby and Stratford, Conn.....	3	Portland, Me.....	1
Danford Cove, Philipstown.....	2	Rahway, N. J.....	18
Dover, N. J.....	15	Richmond, Va.....	10
East Haddam, Conn.....	2	Riverhead, L. I.....	6
Elizabethtown Point steam- boats.....	6	Rye Neck.....	1
Elizabethtown packets.....	4	Rockland, N. Y.....	2
Esopus, N. Y.....	8	Red Hook.....	2
Falmouth, Conn.....	1	Rhinebeck.....	2
Flatbush, L. I.....	1	Secor’s River, N. J.....	8
Fredericksburg, Va.....	2	Savannah, Geo.....	9
Flushing, L. I.....	2	Shenock.....	2
Five Mile River, Conn.....	3	Slaughter’s Landing, N. R.....	1
Fort Montgomery.....	2	Staten Island steamboats.....	4
Fishkill.....	4	Shrewsbury, N. J.....	4
Great Neck, L. I.....	1	Stonington, Conn.....	4
Greenwich, Conn.....	8	Saybrook, Conn.....	14
Guilford, Conn.....	6	Sag Harbor, L. I.....	5
Hartford, Conn.....	10	Southold, L. I.....	5
Haverstraw, N. Y.....	10	Smithtown, L. I.....	8
Hackinsack, N. J.....	7	Stamford, Conn.....	6
Horse Neck, Conn.....	3	Saugatuck, Conn.....	2
Hudson.....	10	Saw Pits, N. Y.....	3
Hingham, Mass.....	4	Smith’s Landing, N. R.....	1
Huntington, L. I.....	8	Staatsburg, N. Y.....	2
Hempstead Harbor.....	4	Tappan, N. Y.....	14
Haddam, Conn.....	2	Tom’s River and Barne- gat, N. J.....	25
Howell, N. J.....	4	Tarrytown, N. Y.....	3
Islip, L. I.....	4	Troy.....	30
Killingworth, Conn.....	5	Taunton, Mass.....	2
Kinderhook, N. Y.....	2	Tinnecock, L. I.....	4
Lewis’s Landing, N. R.....	2	Woodbridge, N. J.....	12
Lansburg.....	12	Waterford, N. Y.....	8
Little Egg Harbor.....	20	Whitenburg, N. Y.....	2
Lyme, Conn.....	3	Wapping’s Creek, N. Y.....	3
Mount Pleasant.....	4	Washington, N. C.....	5
Middletown, Conn.....	2	Wareham, Mass.....	10
Mill River, Conn.....	2	West Camp.....	1
Middlesex Landing, Conn.....	3	Warren, N. Y.....	2
Mamaroneck, N. Y.....	1	Wilmington, N. C.....	2
Murfreesboro’, N. C.....	2	West Farms.....	1
Milford, Conn.....	3	West Point.....	1
Middletown, N. J.....	7	Yonkers.....	3
Middletown Point, N. J.....	4		

The foregoing list contains *only* those coasters which were *constant traders*, and it is presumed there was as great a number of *irregular coasters* to this port.

## 3.—THE LITTLE APPLE-WOMAN.

There were few living in New York, who, in 1856, did not know the “Little Apple-Woman.” Her bent form, as she crouched upon her little wooden bench in Broadway, with her basket of apples and peanuts by her side, for seventeen years, had daily presented itself to those passing up and down that busy thoroughfare. None had been so hurried or engrossed but, in passing, they had given a moment’s glance to the spot where she was accustomed to sit, and it had been rare, indeed, that she had not been in her wonted place, her head bent upon her bosom, herself seemingly unconscious of the passing crowd—the contents of her basket mutely setting forth her wants and her resignation. Her *petite* figure, her age, and her principal staple, long before had given her the name of the “Little Apple-Woman,” and by this appellation only had she been generally known. She did not beg, and her silence and submissiveness were wondered at. Her seat she occupied in Broadway—the self-same quiet, unobtrusive being—during the passing away of half a generation. On Thursday the first of May, 1856, she was missed from this her accustomed seat; illness had kept her away. On Saturday, the third, she died.

The biography of the “Little Apple-Woman” shows but few facts. She was born in Potsdam, near Berlin, Prussia, July 6, 1766. Her maiden name was ELIZABETH MATIAS. Her father was poor and worked at weaving. She married her first husband, PETER BOSSEL, who was also a weaver, when she was about 20 years of age. By this husband she had six children. He dying, she was married again, to one JOHN CARL, a bell-maker, and had four children more. He died in 1829, and she has not married since. In 1839 she came to this country, in company with her then only living child, a daughter, and her daughter’s husband, Mr. HOLLE, a shoemaker. She lived with this son-in-law, in New York, up to the day of her death. Being 73 years of age when she arrived in New York, and unable to work, she commenced to earn her living by selling apples. She first took her position opposite the Park, and for years sat in front of Mr. STEWART’S store, then opposite the Park. When Mr. STEWART moved to his new place, corner of Chambers street, she moved to opposite No. 409 Broadway, where she continued till the first of May, 1856, as above stated, her final appearance in public.

We have already said that it was rare the "Little Apple-Woman" was not at her place—none but the very coldest and stormiest days served to keep her away. Her hour of arrival was uniformly 9 o'clock in the morning, and departure 5 o'clock P. M. She invariably walked both ways. For the last three years of her life she performed this foot-journey from near the corner of Avenue B and Fourth street, the residence, during that time, of her son-in-law. From her meagre sales she earned enough to furnish herself barely in clothes. Though never begging, a few pence dropped into her basket were not resented. She was a member of the Lutheran Church in Walker street, and a constant attendant upon its services. She was buried from here on Sunday, in the Lutheran Cemetery, at Middle Village, Long Island. Mrs. CARL was but four feet seven inches high. She had dark eyes, a nose very much hooked, and a dark complexion. She was altogether a notable and worthy woman.—*New York Times*, May, 1856.

DEATH OF THE "OLD APPLE-WOMAN."—On Saturday last, died in this city, Mrs. Elizabeth Carl, aged 90. She has for many years been familiar to many of our readers as the "Old Apple-Woman," who so long graced the steps in front of Stewart's dry-goods store. When Stewart moved his establishment, the little old woman changed her location to the store of Roe Lockwood, No. 409 Broadway, where she has ever since remained. At the age of 73 she came to this country, and being too old to work and too poor to remain idle, she has for seventeen years past earned her subsistence by selling apples. She was a worthy woman, and died as she had lived, an exemplary Christian.—*New York Tribune*, Thursday, May 8, 1856.

#### 4.—THE CHURCH IN OLD NEW YORK, IN 1705.\*

PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.—The Protestant Religion is settled here by Act of Assembly, as *Establish'd in England*, except in *Suffolk County*. There is Provision for one Minister of *Trinity Church* in the City of *New-York* at 160 *l* per Annum, with other Advantages to Mr. Vesy the present worthy Incumbent. In *Queen's County* on *Nassaw Island* 120 *l* for two between them. 40 *l* for one in the County of *Richmond*. In *West-Chester* a Maintenance for two at 50 *l* each, 1 in the Town of *West-Chester*, and 1 at

*Rye*, besides, Her Majesty allows 130 *l*. per Annum for the Chaplain of the Forces: A *Latin Free-School* is likewise establish'd at *New-York*, by the influence of His Excellency the Lord *Cornbury*, with 2 others, by which means sound Religion visibly gains ground there. There are also Proposals going on for Building a College on the *Queen's Farm* by Subscription.

ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.—To Mr. *John Barlow* at *West-Chester* 50 *l*. per An. and a Benevolence of 30 *l*. To Mr. *Elias Neau* Catechist at *New-York*, 50 *l*. per An. and 15 *l*. for Books. To Mr. *Pritchard*, Rector of *Rye*, 15 *l*. for Books. To Mr. *Cleator*, Schoolmaster at *Rye*, 15 *l*. p. Annum.

DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY.—1 Minister for *Richmond* or *Staten Island*, for whom 40 *l*. per An. is settled by Act of Assembly, but no Church built yet. 1 Schoolmaster for *New-York*. 1 Schoolmaster for *Albany*. 1 Minister for *Kingston* in *Ulster County*. 1 Minister for *Skennectedy* *Garrison* and *Albany*, who will do signal Service, especially if he could speak, or would learn, the *Dutch* and *Indian Languages*. 1 Schoolmaster for *West-Chester County*.

LONG ISLAND. PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION. Here are many *Dutch*, especially in *King's-County*, who have several Congregations, but no Minister at present, only are assisted by Mr. *Vesy* of *New-York*; In *Queen's County* and *SUFFOLK* Two Church of *England* Congregations; many *Independents*, some *Quakers*, and *Libertines*.

ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.—To Mr. *William Vrguhart* at *Jamaica*, maintained by the Subscription of the clergymen of *Yorkshire*, 50 *l*. per Annum, and 15 *l*. for Books. To Mr. *John Thomas*, Rector of *Hempstead*, 50 *l*. per Annum and 15 *l*. for Books.

DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY.—1 Minister who would take the Charge of a School in *King's County*, might do considerable Service. 1 Minister for *Newton* in *Queen's County*, where there is a Church built. 1 Minister for *Oyster-Bay*. 1 Minister for *Suffolk County* of great use.

#### 5.—AN ABSTRACT OF THE LAW FOR ASSIZING ALL KINDS OF VICTUALS BROUGHT TO THE PUBLIC MARKETS OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK. 1764.\*

All Sorts of Provisions, (live Fish, Bread and Flour, salted Beef and Pork in Barrels and Half Barrels, Milk, Hog's Lard, Butter in Firkins and Tubs, Oysters, Clams and Muscels) must be sold

\* From the Report of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

\* From Hugh Gaine's *New-York Pocket Almanack*, for the Year 1764.

## V.—BOOKS.

in the publick Markets, under the Penalty of 40s. for the Seller, and 40s. for the Purchaser.

No Provisions, but those above-mentioned, to be housed, under any Pretence whatever; and Country People arriving in the City in the Forenoon of the Day, with Provisions, must immediately repair to one of the publick Markets, and there expose them to Sale, under the Penalty of £3. And any Person suffering Provisions to be put into their Houses, except as before excepted, are liable to a like Fine of £3. No Huckster, or other Person whatsoever, usually practising the buying of Provisions, to sell again, may purchase before 12 o'Clock, in any Day throughout the Year, under the Penalty of £3 for every Offence.

Beef, from and including the 25th of June, to and including the 25th of Dec., to be sold for no more than 3½d. per lb. And from and including the 26th of Dec. to and including the 24th of June, 4½d. The Tallow included at the said Rates, when the Beef is sold by the Quarter.

Pork, from and including the 1st of Sept. to and including the last of Feb. 4d. per lb., and from and including the 1st of March, to and including the last of Aug. 5d. per lb.

Veal, for a hind Quarter, from and including the 1st of Sept. to and including the last of Feb. 6d. per lb. and for a fore Quarter in that Time, 4½d.; and from and including the 1st of March, to and including the last of Aug. for a hind Quar. 5d. and a fore Quarter 4d. per lb. and for any Part or Parts the same Price. Head and Pluck 1/6.

Mutton, from and including the first of July, to and including the last of Nov. 3½d. lb.; and from and including the 1st of Dec. to the last of June inclusive, 4½d. per lb.

Lamb, from the 1st of March, to the last of April inclusive, 9d. lb. and from the 1st of May, to the first of June inclusive, 7d. and from the 2d. of June, to the last of Feb. 4d.

Butter, from the 1st of June, to the 15th of Sept. inclusive, 9d., and from the 16th of Sept. to the 25th of Dec. inclusive, 1s. and from the 26th of Dec. to the last of May inclusive, 1/3 per lb.

Black Fish and Sea Bass, 3d. lb. Oysters in the Shell, 2/6 per Bushel; opened, do. 3/6 per Gallon; Clams by the Hund. 9d.

Milk, from the 1st of May, to the last of Oct. inclusive, 4 Coppers a Quart; and from the 1st. of Nov. to the last of April inclusive, 5 Coppers a Quart.

A Breach of the Act, for the sale of Beef, is a Fine of £3. Smaller Meats, 30s. And any other Articles of Provision mentioned in the Act, 10s. And if the Offender be a Slave, the Fine to be paid by the Master or Mistress.

I.—*Fanny: a poem.* By Fitz-green Hallett. New York: 1866. Octavo, pp. 84.

*Lines to the Recorder.* By Fitz-green Hallett. New York: 1866. Octavo, pp. 31.

These volumes belong to the class of "Privately printed books," so called; and were intended, we presume, to be peculiarly choice, in every respect.

They were selected with some care; the venerable and distinguished author, himself, was retained as their Editor; the services of Mr. Alvord were engaged as their Printer; a new Portrait was engraved for a frontispiece to *Fanny*; and the practiced hand of one of the most spirited of our young merchants conducted the enterprise, and appeared before the world as the God-father of the volumes.

Some people say we have *Fanny* in several forms, already—by the way, a friend of ours, a butcher, told us his copy was one of the *original* edition—and that we need no more at present; and others ask us why *The Lines to the Recorder* should be so soon reproduced, after the elegant re-print of them, in 1860, by The Bradford Club? To these, and to others, we say that the world is wide; and that if any wish to amuse themselves, without making trouble to their neighbors, we see no reason why they shall not be gratified.

*Fanny* was originally published by C. Wiley & Co., 3 Wall-street, on Monday, the twenty-seventh day of December, 1819, "price 50 cents"; (*N. Y. Columbian*, Monday, Dec. 27, 1819;) and it is, perhaps, that poem which has secured for its author, his highest praise. Only three weeks elapsed, it is said, (*Mirror*, v. p. 227,) between the commencement of the work and its publication; and we are thus enabled to understand some of its original features which otherwise would have been a mystery.

The volume before us is a re-print of subsequently amended and completed editions—versions which are not nearly as interesting, if we may be allowed to judge, as that in the *original* edition—but we recognize the right of the author of such a work as this, to alter and amend it, from time to time, according to his own pleasure.

Having thus noticed Mr. Andrews' re-print of the Poem, let us turn to the end of it, where Mr. Hallett's "Notes" are; in order that we may learn from them, something of the causes which led to the composition of the Poem, and something of the subjects of which it treats.

Of these "Notes" we can say but little—they are not much: how can we, therefore, say much about them?

Mr. Hallett does not even tell us, concerning "*Fanny*" and her father, a single word beyond the insinuation of their *present* wishes to remain

unknown to the world, as if they were *real* characters; and what he does tell us, in other "Notes," relates to the most familiar subjects, is carelessly written, and not always correct. We instance a few of his blunders:

On page 78 of *Fanny*, Paulding's *Backwoodsman* is said to have been "then [December, 1819] *recently published*": in fact, it was published *more than a year before*, in Philadelphia.

On the same page, speaking of John Lang, the publisher of *The N. Y. Gazette*, Mr. Halleck says, "the *front door* of his office was surmounted by the figure-head of his assumed pro-totype, Doctor Franklin": the truth is, the "figure-head" referred to, was *on the roof of the building*.

On the same page, the celebrated Dominick Lynch, of 40 William-street, the father of Italian Opera in America, by whom the Garcia troupe was introduced to an American audience, in 1825, is coldly dismissed as "a popular importer of *French wines*."

On the same page, John Bristed, father of C. Astor Bristed, is styled "an English gentleman, *then* [December, 1819] *recently arrived*;" while, in fact, he arrived in the spring of 1806, *nearly fourteen years before*; and one of the works which he wrote was entitled *The Resources of the British Empire, together with a view of the probable result of the contest between Britain and France*, not, as Mr. Halleck appears to suppose, *The Resources of Great Britain, in time of Peace*.

On page 79, Mr. Halleck considers that "Martin Van Buren was *then* [Dec., 1819] Attorney General of the State of New York": the truth is, Mr. Van Buren had been removed from that office, and Thomas J. Oakley appointed his successor, on the eighth of July, preceding.

On the same page, Major Noah receives Mr. Halleck's attention; but no allusion is made by the latter to the Major's services as a *Judge*—one of the most notable portions of his varied career.

On the same page, the "Academy of Arts" is referred to; and Dr. Hosack, Mr. Bogart, and Colonel Trumbull are particularly referred to, as "honorablely conspicuous" "among its presiding officers and patrons": the institution was styled "The American Academy of Arts," and most conspicuous among its presiding officers and patrons were Robert R. Livingston and De Witt Clinton, neither of whom are ever referred to, in these "Notes," in that connection.

Mr. Halleck says, also, "on the formation, *soon after*" December, 1819, "of the present 'National Academy of the Arts of Design,' it [*the American Academy*] ceased to exist." Who, from this "Note" would have supposed that the National Academy was not organized until 1826—certainly not *very* "soon after"?

On page 80, Mr. Halleck tells us of one "Doctor James McNeven, one of the ablest and purest of 'the banished Irish Patriots of '98.'" We never heard of him; and we suspect that Mr. Halleck would find some difficulty in finding any reference to such a person, in the lists of the Irish refugees of '98. Possibly, however, he may have *intended* to refer the readers of Mr. Andrews' volume to Doctor William James Macneven, 7 Park Place, the honored friend of Thomas Addis Emmett—his record among the refugee patriots of that day is quite conspicuous.

On the same page, Mr. Halleck tells us of one "Doctor Quackenboss, a young physician in 'good repute.'" Who would have supposed from this luminous "Note," that reference was here made to one who'd

"beat the deathless Esculapius hollow,  
"And made a starveling druggist of Apollo;"

—the well-known Nicholas I. Quackenboss, of 371 Greenwich-street, the respected Resident Physician of the Port, in which office he had succeeded Doctor David Hosack?

We have looked through "Stanzas 54 and 55," as directed by Mr. Halleck, for something concerning the celebrated Laight's Brigade; but we have looked in vain. Why did he not tell us to look at Stanzas 64 and 65, instead?

Does Mr. Halleck want us to believe that, in December, 1819, Samuel Woodworth was "THEN *'beginning an honorable literary career*?' " If so, we beg to be excused. We had known him, in his works, *many* years before—he edited *The War*, for instance, from 1812 to 1815; and left us therein one of the most useful, and therefore most "honorable" memorials of his "literary career."

Mr. Halleck's "Note" on The Iron Greys [*Grays*, he calls them] is interesting. A few more of the same kind would have hidden a multitude of his shortcomings and blunders, in other parts of the work.

This "Note" also enables us to judge of the propriety of Mr. Halleck's indulgence in slurs on the character of General Laight's Brigade of New York State Militia. (p. 80.)

It is true, that the "men or boys" who formed the membership of that celebrated Brigade, were not *always* able to pay "a little less than eight dollars per day for [*their respective*] 'shares of the mess-table expenses,'" as Mr. Halleck tells us was the case with those who served in The Iron Greys, of which he was a member; but that peculiar inability did not disqualify those "men or boys," as soldiers. Indeed, we have the testimony of some of our best tacticians for saying that General Laight's Brigade was justly celebrated for its efficiency on the field, if not at "the mess-table;" and Colonel

William W. Tompkins, no mean judge, has said that many of our best regiments, to-day, might be proud if they were as well disciplined and as thoroughly drilled as were those "men" or boys that, Mr. Halleck being the judge, "Falstaff would not march through Coventry" with." It is true, that, unlike Mr. Halleck's and the Iron Greys, their "mess-table expenses" were not "near eight dollars per day," for each; but it is also true that they were not all Cashiers of Banks, as Mr. Halleck then was; whether they were either worse men or worse soldiers, on that account, we will leave to the decision of those who are more interested in the question than we are.

We fail to see how the mere introduction of a Bill into the Federal Congress, by Mr. Wendover, for the establishment of an uniform arrangement of the stars and strips on the flag, can be justly considered an "invention," as Mr. Halleck calls it, on page 82. We are not particular, however, on that head.

In his "Note," on page 83, why did not Mr. Halleck tell us *what* particular "Simon" it was, in December, 1819, who was "the orthodox" and omnipresent caterer for fashionable sup-per parties?" Was poor Simon Thomas, of 103 Church-street, unworthy a respectful notice; or was his black skin a bar to the courtesies, present or future, of the members of the Iron Greys?

In his illustrations of a poem of the date of December, 1819, why, as on page 83, was "Mr. Wallack" considered as a "manager of the City Theaters?" If our recollections serve us correctly it was not until 1837, that Mr. W. became such a "manager."

On the same page (83) Mr. Halleck, speaking of *The Croakers*, and of their character as *anonymous* verses, very boldly says: "The writers [of *that series of papers*] continued to be, like the "author of *Junius*, 'the sole depositaries of their "own secret," notwithstanding The Bradford Club reprinted that series, in 1860, with Mr. Halleck's approval and assistance, and openly published to the world the name of the author of each of the papers referred to. Has Mr. Halleck's memory become treacherous, or have we overlooked the fact of the publication, somewhere, by the author of *Junius*, of the part he had taken in that celebrated work? Who can tell?

On the same page (83) while speaking of "Eastburn's Rooms," where "at two each day," Fanny's father was wont to meet "with men of "taste and judgment like his own," Mr. Halleck says of those Rooms, they were "in the building "occupied by *Eastburn, Kirk, & Co.*, booksellers "and publishers, on the corner of Broadway and "Pine-street, a favorite resort of men of letters "and leisure."

We have no doubt Mr. Halleck has often visited those Rooms: we know very well that we never saw the inside of them. We venture, however, to say that "*Eastburn, Kirk, & Co.*," never had any rooms, of any kind, *outside of Wall-street*; and that, when Fanny was written, *they had no Rooms in any part of the city.*

The truth is, if our recollection is worth any thing,—and we think it is on this subject, at least,—Eastburn, Kirk, & Co., transacted their business at the corner of Wall and Nassau streets; that in 1816, or early in 1817,—nearly three years before Fanny was written—the firm was dissolved; that Mr. Eastburn did not immediately resume business, while Mr. Kirk with Mr. Mercein,—as Kirk & Mercein—remained at the old stand; that, in 1818 or early in 1819, *James Eastburn & Co.*, commenced business at No. 108 Broadway; and that the *latter firm*, not Eastburn, Kirk, & Co., was the Proprietor of the "Eastburn's Rooms," referred to in the text of the Poem. We shall be glad to correct the error, if we have made one, in this matter.

On page 84, Mr. Halleck tells his readers that The Lyceum of National History "now no "longer exists." Its invaluable collections, it is true, were burned at the very recent fire in Fourteenth-street; but, because such men as J. Carson Brevoort, Robert L. Stuart, and George Newbold Lawrence are among those who are its life and its judgment, we prefer to disbelieve that the Lyceum "now no longer exists."

Passing over other shortcomings in this reprint of Fanny, we regret that Mr. Halleck has told us nothing more than we knew before of Ferris Pell and Baehr, the Pearl-street tailor; of The Turtle Club and *why* Lynch would not give credit for wines; of Madame Bouquet, of Broadway, and Rene Pardessus, the William-street shoemaker; of Guille's balloons, and Gautier's and Cullen's soda-fountains; of the Euterpean Society and the Forum; of Doctor Graham, and Doctor Farmer, and Doctor Horne; of Moses Scott and "Mr. Mead," of Bellevue and "the old almshouse," of Tom Moore and John Targee; of Cozzens's ale and Lynch's champagne; *why* Tompkins borrowed money and *why* those for whom he borrowed it, never re-paid it; of the Bath races and the Vice-President's steamboat; of John McComb, the architect of the City Hall, and Mr. Whale, the Dancing-master; of Doctor Chalmers' *Sermons* and "the "new *Salmagundi*," of Griscom's Lectures before The New York Institution and the meetings at Eastburn's Rooms; of "Fanny's" party and the protest of Fanny's father's note—probably in Jacob Barker's bank, No. 29 Wall-street;—of "Fanny's" cheap shawl and of the shilling peep at Jupiter, by "Fanny's" father; etc.; and we earnestly hope that when Mr. Andrews'

second edition shall be printed, these omissions will be supplied to his readers.

Nor are the "Notes," at the close of *The Recorder*, much more perfect or much more correct, although we have not sufficient space to notice all that deserve attention.

Why was the original introduction, by Mr. Bryant, omitted; and why was "My dear Dick Riker," in the first line of the original Poem softened, without a word either of notice or explanation to "My dear Recorder," in this reprint?

Why, on page 29, was a working-man, J. H. I. Browere, held up to ridicule, because the "bread and butter" of his family required him to "mould the busts of notorious men in the 'immortality of plaster, in lieu of marble'?" Did not Thomas Coffee do the same, for all who would pay for his services, without incurring any censure, from any one?

Why does Mr. Halleck send his reader to page 5 of the Poem, for his lines on Mr. Riker's duel with Genl. Swartwout? They are on page 7, if we can read correctly.

Why was "Mr. Riker" described, on page 29, as "a Director in the Tradesmen's Bank, and *ex officio* a visitor to the Sing Sing Prison, the 'Bellevue Hospital, etc.'?" Were *all* Bank Directors such visitors, *ex officio*, when that poem was written; or was that honor attached only to those of the Tradesmen's Bank? Mr. Halleck's story is only half-told.

But we must proceed no further, in this examination of details: in a general review we can find little to commend, either in the style, the statements of facts, or the typographical execution of the volumes—indeed, the last is simply execrable; and were it not for the imprints at the close of the volumes, we should have defended Mr. Alvord from what would have seemed to be the false charge of having printed them.

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2.—*The Case of Elizabeth Rutgers versus Joshua Wadlington, determined in the Mayor's Court, in the City of New York, August 27, 1784.* With an Historical Introduction, by Henry B. Dawson. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1866. Octavo and quarto, pp. xlv. 47.

This celebrated action, which attracted more attention in New York than any since the days of Zenger, was the first of any importance, it is said, in which Alexander Hamilton was employed as Counsel; and therein he first displayed the great abilities, as an Advocate, which subsequently served, in part, to make him so famous. It was one in which was involved the right of a State to protect her own citizens and subjects, even in contravention of what was assumed to be The Law of Nations; and what was and what was not The Law of Nations,

was also largely involved in this exceedingly important action.

The knowledge of the Pleadings, Arguments, and Decision in this case, has depended entirely, until recently, on traditions, made still more uncertain by the manipulations of one of the most unprincipled of "historians;" and on a single copy of a tract which was fortunately preserved by the celebrated Doctor T. B. Chandler, and subsequently owned by the late E. B. Corwin. Our excellent friend, Hon. C. P. Daly, when preparing his elaborate *Sketch of the Judiciary of the State of New York*, in 1 *E. D. Smith's Reports*, fortunately secured the use of this tract, from which, and from the files of his Court—since destroyed by fire—his interesting description of this Trial was principally derived. Within a few months past, a second copy of the Tract has been found; and, in the volume before us, the first of these has been very carefully re-produced, in *fac-simile*, with an elaborate Historical Introduction, in which have been gathered a description of the premises in question; a Genealogical Sketch of the ancient family of Rutgers; a narrative of the action of the British concerning the abandoned property of refugee "rebels" and of the retaliatory action of the State of New York to indemnify the citizens of that State; a statement of the pleadings in this action, and of the arguments of the respective Counsel, and the decision of the Court; the action of the inhabitants of the city of New York and that of the Legislature, thereon; and the final disposition of the subject.

It is printed with old-style type, on tinted laid paper, in the most elegant style of "The 'Bradstreet Press';" and there are few works from the American Press which have been so beautifully dressed. The edition numbers a hundred and twenty-five—twenty-five in quarto and a hundred in octavo form.

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3.—*The Literature of the Rebellion.* A Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets relating to the Civil War in the United States, and on Subjects growing out of that event, together with works on American Slavery, and Essays from Reviews and Magazines on the same Subjects. By John Russell Bartlett. Boston: Draper & Halliday. 1866. Royal octavo and quarto, pp. 477.

None but students can appreciate the vast importance of such a work as this: none but those who have searched for the materials of History, throughout a thoughtless, unappreciative community, can even guess how much labor has been spent in its preparation. The *character* of the works, of which it is a Catalogue, is told in the title-page: their *number* may be seen in the *six thousand and seventy-three distinct titles*, each with the number of pages, place of publication and date—generally with the name of the pub-

lisher, also,—of the volume or tract described, which are found therein.

But the value of a volume like this is not merely in the collection of *supposed* Title-pages which it contains. Mr. Allibone gravely tried the experiment of publishing a volume of titles and descriptions of books, so called, some of which were taken correctly from the volumes to which they belonged and others were evidently guessed at; but the experiment was a failure—the volume, like the pillar of salt in the plains of Siddim, is simply a memorial of the folly of turning aside from one's duty. In the volume before us, however, there is little room to question the entire correctness of nearly every title-page to which it refers, since the greater number are from the works themselves, in the Author's possession; and no one can be found who better understands the importance of correctness in such a work, or is more capable of making it so.

In this work, Mr. Bartlett has rendered a service of the greatest value to all who shall attempt to write concerning the recent Civil War or to learn anything of its history; and we trust that his subscription lists have secured him from loss in the publication of the results of his earnest labors.

The volume is from the press of Knowles, Anthony, & Co., of Providence; and, although not equal in typographical beauty or correctness to many of those which are produced in Cambridge, Boston, or New York, it is a very creditable specimen of the mechanical skill of Rhode Island. The edition numbered sixty copies in quarto and two hundred and fifty in royal octavo.

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4.—*The Origin and Sources of the Bill of Rights declared in the Constitution of Massachusetts.* By Emory Washburn. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Cambridge: John Wilson & Sons, 1866. Octavo, pp. 22.

A private re-print, in pamphlet form, of one of the papers read before the venerable Historical Society, in Boston, by one of her most honored members, on one of the most interesting subjects connected with the Constitutional History of Massachusetts and of the Union.

This "Bill of Rights" was mainly the product of John Adams's pen; and it may well be supposed, therefore, to be an instrument of great merit and of undoubted fidelity to the "Rights of Man." There are some points in it, however, which are not now considered orthodox; and, with the greatest possible respect for our valued friend, the learned author of this paper, there are some portions of it which are eminently entitled to his attention in such an inquiry as this, which have been left without any notice in its pages.

We do not concur with Governor Washburn

in his opinion that the "Rights" contained in this "Bill" are therein "assumed to have become" fixed and established as something inherent in "the State itself, in its relations to the nature and administration of its Government." On the contrary, there is conclusive evidence to us, in the Constitution itself, that this "Bill of Rights," related to the *reserved* prerogatives of the separate *individuals* rather than to those which they were about to delegate to the aggregated *Commonwealth*—indeed it is entitled: "A Declaration of the Rights of the *Inhabitants* of the Commonwealth" [*that is of the territory of the Commonwealth*] "of Massachusetts," rather than a "Declaration of the Rights" which were "inherent in the State itself."

But there is a still stronger reason, to us, for our non-concurrence with Governor Washburn on this subject. It is this:

"The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," is composed of two "Parts." The First of these is that in which the "Inhabitants," individually, "Declared" what were *then* their respective "Rights" and what would be such, as members of the proposed "Society." The Second is that in which the same "Inhabitants," *after having thus "Declared" their several individual "Rights,"* interchangeably agreed "with each other," *for the first time,* "to form themselves into a free, sovereign, and independent body-politic or State by the name of THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS."

It is not apparent to us, nor do we think it will be to our readers, how a "Declaration" made *before the State was organized*, could possibly refer to "something inherent in the State *itself*;" to say nothing of its title, in which it is specifically described as something relating to "the *Inhabitants*" of its territory, not to "the State itself," as Governor Washburn appears to suppose.

If we are right in this supposition, the Bill of Rights referred to something with which the projected State and State Government—yet unformed—were to have no concern; something of which only "the *Inhabitants*," each for himself, could only take cognizance. If Governor Washburn is correct, this Bill of Rights referred only to "something inherent in the State itself;" and, by its terms, it was necessarily designed, therefore, to protect that "something" from the aggressions of some possibly antagonistic power, *outside the State*—possibly against the "Inhabitants" who were about to form the State. Our readers will determine which of the two is nearest correct.

Having thus "Declared" their "Rights," if we are correct, "the *Inhabitants*" proceeded with their work of organizing a Commonwealth and establishing its Government; and both the latter

were limited to the same extent in their action by the terms of this "Declaration" of the individual "Inhabitants," as the State Government was limited in its particular action, by the Constitutional "Frame of Government" which followed it, in the Second Part.

There are other portions of this paper, in which we fail to find sufficient reason to agree with its author; but our limited space does not allow us to follow him in detail.

We may instance, however, his discrimination between this particular "Bill of Rights" and various other similar "Bills" to which he refers. We respectfully suggest, however, that these were simply "Declarations" of the *individual* Rights of the constituent members of the Society, the State or Colony—in which these "Declarations" appeared, and were intended simply as "Protests" against the aggressions, either real or anticipated, of the Sovereign or his Government: the "Bill of Rights" before us was neither more nor less than this.

We may instance, also, his remarks on the demand which was made for a "Bill of Rights" in the Federal Constitution, in 1788-9. Governor Washburn, differing from Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Elbridge Gerry, and many others of that day, considers "the cases were not analogous, since the purpose of the latter was 'only to create a Government over a National interest and concern.'" We respectfully suggest, however, that the *purpose* referred to was *not* exactly as stated by our friend, the author of this tract—the Convention which formed the Constitution, on the twentieth of June, 1788, on motion of Oliver Ellsworth, seconded by Nathaniel Gorham, having expressly stated the contrary; and we prefer its understanding of the subject to the contrary one proposed by our friend. We suggest, also, with great respect, that there is an exact analogy between the preliminary individual "Declaration" by the constituent members of a projected State, made anterior to, but in view of, their intended Union and formation of a body-politic, and a similar preliminary individual "Declaration," by the constituent members of a projected Confederacy, anterior to, but in view of, their intended Union and formation of a Federal Republic. They are exactly similar in purpose; and the cases, throughout, except as to the particular parties in interest, seem to be exactly the same.

While we have followed Governor Washburn, with pleasure, in his extended examination of the origin of the dogma, "All men are born free and equal," which is asserted in the First Article, we regret that he did not tell us just what the Convention of Massachusetts meant by this hackneyed term.

We respectfully suggest that by the words

"All men," the Convention could not have meant "every person," since every person was not, by that body, recognized as "equal before the law," even if he was considered a *man*. For instance: no female of any age, no male who was under twenty-one, or who had no free-hold, could vote for members of the General Court, by whose authority taxes were to be laid and by whom laws were to be passed for the government of *all* the "inhabitants;" no person could be elected a Senator, unless he was a freeholder worth three hundred pounds; nor a Representative, unless he held a similar estate worth one hundred pounds; nor Governor, if he was a Jew, or an Infidel, or worth less than a thousand pounds, in freehold estate—that large body of *black men*, who were *bond slaves*, under the Body of Liberties, also, could not have been considered "MEN" by the Convention, since, being the *legal PROPERTY of others*, they were expressly guaranteed to their *owners*, by the Tenth Article of this same "Bill of Rights;" and those owners, by the First Article—the very Article now under examination—were guaranteed the "Right" of "acquiring" as many more of those *black men*, as he could get, either "by hook or by crook." Besides: the *intent* of the framers of this "Bill of Rights," in writing the First Article, could not have been to assert the naked truth, if truth it was, that *every person* was, by birthright, "free and equal" with *every other person*, since he is known to have "shuddered at the doctrine" concerning negro slavery, which Otis taught in his speech on the Writs of Assistance, in 1761; and it is equally clear that he continued to "shudder" at the consequences that may be drawn from "such premises," long after this Article in the Bill of Rights was written.

Indeed, it looks very much to us, at this distance, and with nothing before us but the "Bill" itself, and the Constitution, and the writings of Mr. Adams, that the "All men" of the Massachusetts Constitution did not mean "every person," as *we* understand those words; and that the Massachusetts Convention of 1780 recognized no manhood, either black or white, beyond the favored circle of the *Freeholders* of that Commonwealth. We regret, therefore, that the venerable Society before whom this subject was discussed, and our honored friend who led the discussion, are equally silent on the subject; and we may be pardoned for desiring so competent a pen as Governor Washburn's, and so learned a body as the Massachusetts Historical Society will continue to throw light on this very important subject.

We respectfully suggest, also, that "the declaration in Article V. that all power originally 'resides in the people,' may be traced back further than Burlamaqui; and that "the doctrine of

"the relation of the Government of a State, as an *Agency*," is also of a period anterior to that of the Genevan professor, of the last century, referred to by Governor Washburn.

Without cumbering our pages with numerous authorities, let the emphatic words of Henry VI.'s Chief Justice and Chancellor tell our reason for our suggestion: "*Saint Augustine* in the xxiii. chapter of his xix. booke *de Civitate Dei* saith, 'That a people is a multitude of men associated by the consent of law, & communion of wealth.' And yet such a people being headlesse, that is to say, without a head, is not worthy to bee called a bodie. For as in things naturall, when the head is cut off, the residue is not called a bodie but a truncheon, so likewise in things *politique*, a communalitie without a head is in no wise corporate: Wherefore, *Aristotle* in his first booke of his ciuill philosophie saith, that '*whensoever one is made of many, among the same, one shall be the ruler, and the other shall be ruled*,' wherefore a people that will raise themselves into a kingdome, or into any other bodie *politique*, must euer appoint one to be chiefe ruler of the whole bodie, which in kingdomes is called a *King*. And this kinde of order, as out of the embrion riseth a bodie naturall, ruled by one head, euen so of a multitude of people ariseth a kingdome, which is a bodie mystical, grounded by one man as by an head. And like as in a naturall body, as saith the Philosopher, the heart is the first that liueth, hauing within it blood, which it distributeth among al the other members, whereby they are quickned and doe liue: semblably IN A BODY POLITIQUE, THE INTENT OF THE PEOPLE IS THE FIRST LIUELY THING, HAUING WITHIN IT BLOOD, THAT IS TO SAY, POLITIQUE PROUISION FOR THE VTILITIE AND WEALTH OF THE SAME PEOPLE, WHICH IT DEALETH FORTH AND IMPARTETH AS WELL TO THE HEADE AS TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE SAME BODIE, WHEREBY THE BODIE IS NOURISHED & MAINTAINED. Furthermore the law vnder the which a multitude of men is made a people, representeth y<sup>e</sup> semblance of sinewes in the body naturall: because that like as by sinewes the ioyning of the body is made sound, so by the Law, which taketh the name a *ligado*, that is to wit, of binding, such a mystical body is knit & preserued together: & the mebers & bones of y<sup>e</sup> same body, whereby is represented the soundnes of y<sup>e</sup> wealth whereby y<sup>e</sup> body is sustayned, do by the laws, as the naturall by sinewes, retein euery one their proper functions: And as the head of a body naturall cannot change his sinewes, nor cannot deny or withhold from his inferior mebers their peculiar powers, & seuerall nourishments of blood, no more can a king, which is the

"head of a bodie politike, change the Lawes or that bodie, nor withdraw from the same people their proper substance AGAINST THEIR WILLS AND CONSENTES IN THAT BEHALFE." (FORTESCUE'S *De Laudibus Legum Anglia*, Chap. xiii.—Edit. London, 1616, pp. 30-32.)

We respectfully suggest, also, that although it may be clear to our learned friend, the author of this tract, that the doctrine that the Government of a State is merely an *agency* of the People, affords "the readiest and only clew by which to reconcile and explain the inherent sovereignty of the United States as co-existing with the inherent sovereignty of the several States," he has not made it so clear to us, nor, we suspect, to the great body of his readers.

It may be true—we have no doubt that it is so—that the State Government of Massachusetts is the mere "*Agent*" or servant of the *Commonwealth*; but we fail to see any evidence in that fact, that it is, also, necessarily the "*Agent*" or servant of the *United States*; which it must be if the United States are a "co-existing" Sovereign, within the territory of Massachusetts, with the Commonwealth itself. Indeed, the Savior's maxim, "No man can serve *two* masters," if Governor Washburn is correct, must be a mistake; since, in that case, the Government of Massachusetts is the *Agent*, and therefore the servant, of *two* "co-existing," and sometimes antagonistic, "*Sovereignities*."

We rather suspect, however, that we can find excellent Massachusetts authority to show that Massachusetts is the *sole* "Sovereign" within her own territory, as New York most certainly is within her dominion; and we respectfully submit that if the delegation, by the People of Massachusetts, of one set of authorities to one set of officers, located in Boston, only elevated those officers to the dignity of "*Agents*," the delegation, by the same People, of another set of authorities to another set of officers, located in Washington, could not elevate the latter to the higher dignity of a "*Sovereign*"—indeed, we maintain that the Commonwealth, notwithstanding her *two* governmental "*Agents*," is none the less the *sole* "Sovereign," within her own territory, than she would have been if she had concluded to transact her own affairs, external and internal, *en masse*, without the assistance of an *Agent* of any kind, either in Boston or in Washington.

We have no more room to devote to this interesting subject, notwithstanding the Massachusetts Historical Society has taken notice of it; but we hope the good work will go on, under the direction of that body or under the control of our distinguished friend, the author of this work.

5.—*Dinner to Señor Matias Romero, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Mexico, on the 29th of March, 1864.* New York, February, 1866. Quarto, pp. 50.

In this elegant, privately-printed volume, the Stewards of the Banquet, Messrs. John Jacob Astor, Henry Clews, and John W. Hamersley, have appropriately recorded the events connected with the complimentary dinner which "the solid men" of New York tendered to the representatives of republican Mexico, a little more than two years since.

It contains the letters of the principal guest, accepting the proffered dinner, and the correspondence relative thereto between Messrs. Seward and Romero. It also describes the dinner itself, with great minuteness; and full reports are given of the stirring addresses of the Chairman, (Hon. James W. Beekman,) Mr. David Dudley Field, President King, Señor Romero, Mr. George Bancroft, Mr. William Cullen Bryant, Señor Mariscal, Mr. George Folsom, Doctor Willard Parker, Doctor Navarro, Mr. George Opdyke, Señor de la Cuesta, Mr. Jonathan Sturgis, Mr. Washington Hunt, Mr. Frederic de Peyster, Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont, Mr. Clift, Mr. Charles Astor Bristed, Mr. William E. Dodge, Jr., Mr. John W. Hamersley, and Mr. Henry Clews, in which the cause of Republican Mexico was boldly upheld and that of Imperial Mexico as clearly reprobated. Indeed, if this elegant volume indicates the sentiment of some of the best minds in New York, and there is little doubt that it does, the hearts of Juarez and those who with him are struggling for their Constitution, their Rights, and their Country, must have been cheered and incited to more noble deeds; while the adherents of the usurper must have felt the blow which was then inflicted on their pretensions and on those of their Master.

The volume, as we have said, is an elegant one, from the justly-celebrated Press of Mr. Alvord; and, with the exception of some imperfections in the arrangement of the material, which does not properly belong to the Printer, we have seldom seen a more satisfactory piece of workmanship. The tasteful display of the Mexican colors, red and green, and the blue and gold *menu* are particularly noticeable.

6.—*Letters to Alexander Hamilton, King of the Feds.* New York: Printed for the Hamilton Club, 1866. Quarto and octavo, pp. two, unpagcd, and 89.

This volume, originally published in 1802, forms Number Four of "The Hamilton Club's" series, now beginning to attract the attention of Book collectors and students of the political history of the Republic. It was originally designed as an answer to a pamphlet signed "Junius Philæus;" and, as may readily be supposed, it is far from complimentary, either to

Hamilton, Pickering, Wolcott, Burr, the "Assmodeus of Morrisania," "the brutal British Porcupine," "the Duke of Braintree," John Wood, John Lang, William Smith, William Coleman, Robert Morris, and John Jay. Some of "the eastern members of Congress," the celebrated letter of Hamilton to John Adams, the threats of Hamilton when he assumed the command of the Federal army, the Sedition Law of the Adams Administration, the philippic of Hamilton against General Washington, Tom Paine's tract on the Bank of North America, the attempt of the Senate, in 1790, to establish *Titles and Ranks* among the Federal office-holders, the remarkable scene at the inauguration of John Adams in which Washington and Jefferson were the actors, Cobbett's attack on General Washington, and other subjects of a kindred character, are fully noticed; and the villainous "pilot-boat expedition of Smith, Duer, & Co.," the baseness of those who promoted the Funding system, the monstrous attempt to saddle a corrupt land-corporation on the country, the fraud which attended the establishment of the Bank of North America, and the systematic attempt to break down the Republican features of the Constitution, also receive attention.

We have heard various opinions concerning the re-production of the forgotten, but valuable, political pamphlets which this Club are circulating. Some condemn the spirit which prompts, or is supposed to prompt, the resurrection of the productions of those who *opposed* the measures or exposed the personal baseness of the ruling spirits of the earlier days of the Republic; while others maintain that such a re-production is eminently proper, in view of the persistent efforts which are made to canonize all the politicians of the past and to treat their views and their actions as altogether virtuous and praise-worthy.

Our readers need not be told what our opinions are on this subject. We have yet to learn that a man who is radically bad, can also be either a Patriot or a Saint; and that a man who was base enough to seduce another man's wife, and then publish it, unblushingly and unreservedly, to the world, would be a very proper subject for canonization, either as a pattern of private virtue, or an example of political or social decency. Such a man, we conceive, could no more be either a Patriot or a Christian, than could any other shameless reprobate; and it becomes every student of the history of the Times of such a man and of the measures of which he may have been either the author or the promoter, to keep his personal character constantly in sight.

It is said that Daniel Webster, in every im-

portant action in which he was Counsel, was careful to ascertain the private character and the associations, the vices and the virtues, the religious faith or the irreligious infidelity, and all other particulars concerning the daily life, and habits, and cravings, and prejudices, of those to whom the case was to be submitted—jurors as well as judges. *He* knew the effect of a bad companion or an evil propensity on the conduct of an individual, even as an umpire between personally unknown disputants: how much more does it become the student of History to know, that a man of great ability, but without shame and without regard to his duty either to God or his neighbor, may be safely doubted, if not prudently watched, in every measure and in every action.

We are free to admit that the labors of such a Club as this, are eminently destructive of many a fine picture, in many a so-called "History,"—in the case before us, we are free to admit that Alexander Hamilton is exhibited in colors far different from those employed by his dexterous son—but we do not see wherein the cause of Truth is to be damaged thereby; or how the welfare of the People, or the stability of the Union, or the progress of Republican principles of Government, or the cause of Religion, is to be injured, much less destroyed, by any such exposure of "the other side of the question," as that in which this Club is engaged.

The edition of this work was sixty copies; of which twenty were quartos and forty octavos.

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7.—*Life and Times of Joseph Warren.* By Richard Frothingham. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1865. Octavo, xx., 558.

We have read this volume, the result of long-continued and faithful labor, with the liveliest interest—It is the work of a valued personal friend and treats of a subject in which our warmest sympathies are enlisted. Besides, the author's earlier works, his *History of Charlestown* and his *Siege of Boston*, indicated the mode of his treatment of historical subjects; and we had reason to believe that both *Joseph Warren* and the *Times* in which he lived, would be carefully and properly handled. The reader shall judge how nearly our expectations have been fulfilled.

The volume opens with a compact narrative of Joseph Warren's "early days," if twenty-two years of his life, including his Collegiate career, may be thus termed; and the *Times* of that period are noticed in appropriate references to the early services of Washington; to the contest for empire in America, between France and Britain; and to the "early days" of Samuel Adams, James Otis, Samuel Cooper, James Bowdoin,

John Hancock, John Adams, and Josiah Quincy, Jr. The boyhood of Warren, his college-life, his services as a school-master, his entrance into a Lodge of Freemasons, and his student-life, under Doctor Lloyd, are briefly referred to; and the reception of his degree as Master of Arts, closes the first chapter.

His marriage, settlement in Boston, and entrance into politics, form the subject of the next chapter; and his appearance and character, at twenty-three, are thus described: "He had a graceful figure, was scrupulously neat in his person, of thorough culture, and had an excellent address; and these traits rendered him a welcome visitor in polite circles, while a frank and genial manner made him a general favorite. He had a great love for his fellow-men; and being a stranger to the passion of avarice, and even neglectful to a fault in pecuniary matters, he had an ear ever open to the claims of want, and a hand ever extended to afford relief. Thus imbued with the qualities that characterize the good physician, the path before him to success was easy and wide."

Mr. Frothingham's description of the two parties into which Boston was divided, in 1765, may be profitably studied by the historical student of a hundred years' later period.

He says, "the community of Boston was divided into political parties—the supporters of the Administration, who were called Loyalists, Tories, and Friends of Government, and the opponents of the Administration, who held the new policy to be unconstitutional, who were styled Whigs, Patriots, and Sons of Liberty." The former of these, he tell us, "claimed to be friends of freedom;" the latter maintained that the King was only an executive officer while the Sovereignty rested in the Country; and "both drifted into measures which neither party originally proposed, or even designed; and thus the Tory, to uphold the [pretended] Sovereignty of Parliament, grew into the defender of arbitrary power, and the Whig, to preserve his Constitutional rights, became, [by inference] the assertor of National Independence."

This lesson is a useful one; and in this connection, we may be permitted to doubt the propriety, either as a matter of history or as one of politics, of the constant use in every place where it can be thrust, no matter how improperly, of the vexed terms "Nation," "National," etc., as applied to the United States, especially by one who is so careful and competent a writer as Mr. Frothingham. No one better than he knows that the terms, thus applied, are improper; and there are few better acquainted than he is, with the danger which attends this improper

use of them. Indeed, we venture nothing in saying that the improper use of these terms, and the legitimate consequences of that use, have been productive of the greatest evils; and we assure ourselves that we have not yet seen the worst of them.

The Whigs of Boston *did* become "assertors of national independence," as Mr. Frothingham states; but, on the first of May, 1776, when Massachusetts, by her own Legislative action, became a free and independent Commonwealth, that "National Independence" of which he speaks, had been declared; and Boston Whigs ceased to be what, before, they had been—mere "assertors of national independence." The "*Nation*" of which they were members, and whose "independence" they had so steadily "asserted," was then, *de jure*, free.

It seems that Doctor Warren, like many politicians of our day, was so led away by the excitements of the *Times*, that he became embarrassed, peculiarly; yet, in a letter to one of his class-mates, which is re-produced in this volume, we see the most abundant evidence of the disinterested earnestness and ability which he threw into the work of his every-day life. He became the constant associate and most intimate friend of the two Adamses, William Cooper, James Otis, John Hancock, Josiah Quincy, Jr., James Bowdoin, etc.; and the Colonists found in him, a competent and fearless leader.

Mr. Frothingham next shows Warren's connection with the Press, in Boston, and with the Caucuses and earlier public meetings of the townsmen; and in this portion of the work, he describes, also, several of the Mobs which the townsmen raised, about that time, as well as the organization of the Provincial Convention. The "Massacre," also, receives careful attention; in the course of which the troubles in New York, attending the destruction of the Liberty-pole, on the Common (now the Park) in that city, are referred to. We regret to say, however, that we do not find in that portion of the work, the least allusion to the bitter fight between the citizens and the soldiery, on Golden Hill, January 19 and 20, 1770; in which New York sealed the Colonial compact and the cause of America, with the blood of her sons—THE FIRST BLOOD SHED OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION;—and we beg Mr. Frothingham will examine his own town's papers of that day;\* and in his next edition, properly correct this important omission. Indeed, it is very evident from Doctor Gordon's statement, that "pompous accounts" of

this fight were used by the Boston newspapers to "fire the [Boston] heart;" and there are very grave reasons for believing that had there been no "Battle of Golden Hill," in New York, in January, 1770, there would not have been any "King-street Massacre," in Boston, in March of the same year. As in most other Revolutionary movements, New York led, and Boston followed.

It would have pleased us, also, to have seen a more extended notice of the rupture in the popular ranks, in 1772, to which the author has merely made a passing reference on pages 186-188. There is no lack of material on that subject, hereabouts; and as Mr. Frothingham could have had it, had he requested it, we are sorry he did not turn toward this quarter and make known his wishes. It is a very important subject; and the coldness of John Adams, the selfishness of John Hancock, the timidity of Thomas Cushing, etc., when every man should have done his duty, might very properly have been ventilated in a history of those *Times*, and saved the trouble of a return to the subject, on some other occasion.

We do not agree with Mr. Frothingham, also, concerning the origin and early action of the Committees of Correspondence. We do not doubt that Doctor Warren and Samuel Adams adapted a pre-existing system of organization to the then existing necessities of Massachusetts; nor are we disposed to doubt the importance of their action, in healing the discordant outbreaks in various parts of that Province. All this we are prepared to believe; but we are also prepared to deny that Mr. Adams need have "mused" (p. 190) on this subject, very long, had he visited New York or possessed the entire confidence of her "Sons of Liberty." Her Assembly had appointed a Committee of Correspondence, in 1764, (*Journals of the Assembly*, October 18, 1764;) and that Committee, *as such*, had represented her in the Congress of 1765, (*Minutes of the Congress*, Credentials of Members from New York.) Besides, the Merchants of the City of New York had appointed a similar Committee in October, 1765, which at that time, had gone among the masses and organized a system of Correspondence exactly similar to that which Mr. Adams is said to have "mused" over and introduced among the towns of Massachusetts, in 1772; and there is, therefore, very little doubt that this system, styled by the Loyalist, "MASSACHUSETTENSIS," "the foulest, "subtlest, and most venomous serpent that ever issued from the eggs of sedition," (*Mass. Gazette*, Jan. 2, 1775) was not "the invention of a masterly statesman" of Boston, but of others, quite as masterly, in the Assembly of New York, more than seven years before the former

\* *Boston Chronicle*, Nos. 168 and 169, Feb. 5 and 8, 1770. He may also consult Lieut. Gov. Colden's despatch to the Earl of Hillsborough, No. 9, 21st Feb., 1770; Holt's *N. Y. Journal*, 437, Thursday, March 1, 1770; Gordon, i. 300 Bancroft vi 32; Dunlap's *New York* 457 etc.

"mused" on the subject or hatched the junior "serpent," in his humble home in Boston.

The action of the Boston Committee is very carefully set forth; and a chapter is devoted mainly to the opposition to the Tea-tax and to the operations of the Tea-party of the same town. There is not a syllable, however, concerning the action of any other townsmen, in the other Colonies, on the same important subject, notwithstanding a history of the *Times* of Warren might reasonably have alluded thereto, even if it had not given the details of the subject.

A chapter on the Boston Port-Bill, follows; and another is devoted to the "Regulating Act" and the Suffolk Resolves. The next treats of the relations of Massachusetts and the Federal Congress—in which the organization of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts is also noticed, at length;—and this is followed by one which describes the preparations for war, by the Colony, and the second *Oration*, commemorative of the King-street Massacre, which was delivered by Doctor Warren, in the Old South Church.

The memorable "nineteenth of April," when Lexington and Concord became famous, and all New England was aroused, is very carefully described; and the Doctor's "sixty days' service,"—from Lexington to Bunker's Hill—forms the subject of a chapter, in which the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, the organization of the army of Massachusetts, and the prosecution of the War, by Massachusetts, are carefully and elaborately noticed.

"The closing scene" of Warren's busy life, the scene on Bunker's Hill, is graphically described; and the narrative closes with a relation of the discovery and dis-interment of his remains on Bunker's Hill; of his subsequent re-interment in the family tomb of a friend, in Boston; of the loss of all remembrance and record of that deposit and of the accidental discovery of the remains in 1825; of their second removal, at that time, to the Warren tomb, in St. Paul's church; and of the third, and last, removal of them to the Forest Hills Cemetery.

An "Appendix" is devoted to a reproduction of the celebrated "Suffolk Resolves;" to descriptions of the "Eulogies on Warren," the "Relics of Warren," and the "Monuments 'to Warren';" and to sketches of "Warren's 'Children';" and a good "Index" closes the volume.

Throughout the entire work, Mr. Frothingham has carefully kept in view some portion of the subjects of his investigations—*The Life and Times of Joseph Warren*;—and he has seldom allowed himself to be wholly withdrawn from them, to notice other matters. Yet, his biography never becomes a panegyric; nor his notices

of the *Times* of which he treats, a dry chronology of passing events. In fact, the volume is a carefully prepared picture of the political events in *the town of Boston*, from 1767 to 1775, in which the doings of other towns and other bodies are only incidentally referred to, when referred to at all; and the action of others than her own inhabitants, is only described when it affects, or is affected by, her own. Of course, the figure of Warren, in such a picture, is in the foreground and if Mr. Frothingham has failed at all, it is because he has never attempted to go behind the scenes which that picture presents, to notice either the domestic or the professional life of his subject. It would not have marred the harmony of the narrative, we think, if it had been occasionally varied by a notice of the Doctor's *private* life, of his *domestic* habits, of his *professional* career, of his *church* relations, etc.; while the character and peculiar habits of the *man*, in that case, would have served to illustrate more completely, we think, the motives and conduct of the *politician*. There is no portion of the history of Samuel Adams, which is more important than this; and we have learned from these portions of his biography, to render to him more honor than a dry narrative of his public career could have ever commanded.

We have already noticed the current of Mr. Frothingham's thoughts on "Nationality" which runs through the entire volume; and we are inclined to regret that a vexed subject which was not necessary to a proper understanding of *The Life and Times of Joseph Warren*, has been introduced to his readers.

He tells us of the "germination of a national power," in the organization of the Massachusetts Committees of Correspondence, in 1772, (pp. 216, 233, 273,) without appearing to attribute any such consequence to that of the New York Committees, of 1764 and 1765; and without seeming to remember that the only object of the former was to secure harmonious action *among the towns of a single Colony*. He tells us, without quoting an authority, of "Providence beckoning" the men of those times, "towards the goal of Nationality;" (p. 219) of "the immediate object of the Whigs, [in 1773,] as they 'formed themselves into a National party,' of 'one Nationality' being then 'the inspiring and elevating thought,' (p. 231); of 'a National party organization,' (p. 233) among the patriots of that time;—when it is fully evident that they never dreamed of any consolidation of the Colonies, for any purpose whatever.

He considers that "the reliance [of the *Bostonians*] was not in the feeble arm of a single colony, but in a people united into a common 'Nationality,' (p. 292) although he has quoted a contemporary writer, three lines above, who

said "A congress or a meeting of the States is indispensable"—a distinction which is fatal to Mr. Frothingham's conclusions. John Adams is described as "the chief magistrate of an independent nation;" (p. 325) the popular party is called "the Whig or National party;" (p. 335); it was a "National spirit," which prompted somebody to write "A Song of Liberty," in which there is no allusion whatever to such a "Nationality;" (p. 405) and a similar "spirit," it is said, "characterized the whole course of the Massachusetts patriots" (p. 488),—the last item of which information would make old Sam. Adams, Elbridge Gerry, John Hancock, and other avowed Massachusetts Republicans of that day, turn in their coffins in disgust, could they be informed of the slander.

We are thus distinct in our specifications, because Mr. Frothingham is no common scribbler, nor has he interpolated this modern thread in his ancient subject, without due thought and a well-considered purpose. He is as well aware as we are of the true meaning of the term which he has employed; and no one better than he knows that when our "Nationality" shall begin, the "Union of the States" will have been dissolved. He knows that "a Nation" knows no member but the individual citizens who compose it. He knows that "a Nation," and "a Commonwealth," and "a State," are identical; and if his words mean anything, they tell us that the "spirit" which "characterized the whole course of the Massachusetts patriots," was a desire to consolidate the thirteen Colonies—to form from the debris of the shattered Commonwealths, "a Nation;" that Providence "beckoned" the men of 1772 to such a consolidation; and that John Adams, in the days of our fathers, presided over such a consolidated People.

How strange are some unexpected revelations; and Mr. Frothingham tells us of one, which is quite appropriate in this connection. "The modern revelations of the temper of the King," he says, "are remarkable and important. It is history, that his [THE KING'S] unintelligent, iron will was bending his minister, Lord North, to the task of fixing THE OLD-WORLD POLICY OF CENTRALIZATION on a people who had for their root, individual liberty, civil and religious, tempered by respect for law. These sweeping acts cut down, trunk and branch, THE OLD AND DEARLY-CHERISHED RIGHTS OF MASSACHUSETTS, INVADING EVEN THOSE PALLADIUMS—THE TOWN-MEETING AND TRIAL BY JURY; and the rough drafts of them, Gordon says, on their being received at Boston, 'were instantly circulated through the continent, and filled up whatever was before wanting of violence and indignation in most of the Colonies. Even those who were moderate, or seemed wavering, now became

"resolute and resentful. Nothing was to be heard of but meetings and resolutions.'"

To this contemporary evidence of the pastor of Roxbury, Mr. Frothingham adds, "Each Colony felt that its own right of framing its internal government was in danger;" (p. 331.) but he does not tell us what, about that time, had become of the "National party" which he says had figured so much in Massachusetts; nor does he tell us why, when the King and Lord North joined that alleged party and promoted its avowed objects, "The Massachusetts patriots" kicked up such a rumpus. What more effective co-operation could this "National party" have desired, in securing the realization of its "inspiring and elevating thought" of "one Nationality," than the "unintelligent, iron will" of George III., "bending his minister, Lord North, to the task of fixing THE OLD WORLD POLICY" [adapted to the New and adopted by it, if Mr. Frothingham is correct] "OF CENTRALIZATION, on a people" who did not concur in the measure? What was their motive in disregarding this remarkable instance of a "beckoning Providence" urging them "towards the goal of "Nationality" toward which they were pushing, if we are correctly informed by Mr. Frothingham?

The truth is, if we are not mistaken, that "the patriots of Massachusetts," even after Warren's death, like the body of those in the other Colonies, expressly disclaimed an intention, or even a desire, to establish either "one Nationality" or thirteen. They were as loud in their assertions of loyalty to the king, as were the Crown officers themselves; and they demanded merely a redress of their local grievances, and urged it merely in their own local way. If New York could be induced to throw her weight in favor of the "chartered rights" of Massachusetts, the latter would be benefited, and her "patriots" would be gratified; but New York had no "chartered rights" to look after, nor did she trouble herself, a great deal, about those of her neighbors. Each had its own local troubles; and acted on its own account. A consolidated Nation never entered into their calculations; and of all their enemies, none were so much detested as the King and Lord North, the head and front of whose offence was that they were Consolidationists, and disregarded the individual rights and the local institutions of the several Colonies.

As we have said, we regret that Mr. Frothingham has introduced this curious feature into his volume. It was not necessary to a proper display of his subjects; and it is unauthorized by, not only the "spirit," but the "truth" of History. The separate individuality of the Colonies and of the States, at least until 1789, is so completely established, that we need not occupy any space in repeating the evidence.

The volume is neatly printed; but it would have appeared better had a better quality of paper been used.

8.—*Washington and his Masonic Compeers.* By Sidney Hayden. New York: Masonic Publishing and Manufacturing Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. 407.

So many biographies of Washington have been written and circulated, and so many and so widely-spread have been the investigations and publications concerning his life and character, his associations and his conduct, that the original publication of such a book as this, at this late day, is very well calculated to enforce the belief that the History of our Country is yet unwritten, that the repositories of its records have not yet been wholly explored, and that Historic Treasures of untold value are yet unknown to students and scholars, and wholly unemployed.

More than two hundred pages of this volume are occupied with reminiscences of General Washington; and as the greater part of them are fresh and new, well authenticated, and well told, we venture nothing in saying that the work will be exceedingly welcome to every reader of American History or American Biography. It is mainly devoted to the General's associations with Masonry; and we are free to say that there is much in that portion of the volume which is new to us. There are, however, in addition, scattered throughout the work, incidental allusions to subjects not connected with the Craft; and it will be found exceedingly interesting, even to those who are not Masons.

There seems to be a dispute between the Fredericksburg Lodge and the "Lodge of Antiquity," in Canada—a descendant of a Military Lodge of the last century—concerning Washington's initiation; but we do not gather from this work, the facts on which the latter rests its claim.

It seems, also, that the General was never the General-Grand-Master of the Order, as is often supposed; that a Lodge of Masons, in Philadelphia, was so divided in its opinions concerning General Washington's fitness for the Presidency of the United States, that it was dissolved in consequence; that the General was an Honorary Member of Holland Lodge, in New York; that the corner-stone of the Federal Capitol, at Washington, is at the South-east corner of that edifice; that the gavel which the General used, when he laid that corner-stone, is preserved by Lodge No. 9, at Georgetown; and that the arrangement of his funeral ceremonies was left to the Lodge of which he was a member.

The sketch of General Washington, to which we have referred, is followed by others, shorter than it, of Major Henry Price, Sir John and Sir Wm. Johnson, Peyton and Edmund Randolph, Benjamin and Sir William Franklin, General

Wooster, Pierpont Edwards, Jabez Bowen, Colonel Wm. Barton, Generals Sullivan, Jackson, Davie, Rufus Putnam, and Mordecai Gist, Governors Caswell and Ogden, Doctor Milnor, and Bishop Seabury, all of whom were "Masonic Compeers" of General Washington; and many of these are illustrated with fairly executed wood-cut likenesses; while the volume itself, as a frontispiece, is illustrated with an impression of the Masonic Portrait of General Washington, by O'Neill, after Williams, to which reference is made on another page of this work.

There are a few trivial errors, however, which we have noticed in glancing over the pages of this volume, to which we beg to call the Author's attention. For instance: The Lodge No. 22, at Alexandria, of which the General was a member, subsequently became "Alexandria Washington Lodge," if we understand it correctly, not "Washington Alexandria Lodge," as stated on page 114. The cut on page 72, is not merely Washington's coat of arms, as is stated on page 12, but his ordinary *Book-plate*. Doctor Samuel Seabury was not the Rector of St. Paul's Church, West Chester, N. Y., as stated on page 369, but of St. Paul's Church, East Chester, West Chester County, N. Y.; nor was he the author of the tracts signed "A. W. FARMER," as stated on the same page: they were written by Rev. Isaac Wilkins.

The volume is very neatly printed; and, we have no doubt, it will find an extended sale, both in and out of the Order.

9.—*Life of Benjamin Silliman, LL.D. Late Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology in Yale College.* Chiefly from his Manuscript Reminiscences, Diaries, and Correspondence. By George P. Fisher, Professor in Yale College. In two volumes. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. xvi. 407; x. 408.

This is one of the most agreeably written biographies which we have ever examined. The subject was worthy of the Biographer's most anxious care; the material from which he has prepared it was ample and excellent in quality; and rare good judgment seems to have been generally exercised in the discharge of the duty which the family of the deceased assigned to the author.

Professor Fisher is not always successful, however, in his attempt to handle History—it had been better, for instance, if he had said less of General Washington's imaginary attentions to New England Generals as a means of correcting Colonel Reed's well-known antipathy and frequent censures of their conduct; and what he says of General Silliman's services in the Battle of White Plains has no foundation in Truth. His remarks concerning the part taken by that officer in the Battle of

Long Island, also, are simply a burlesque; and if the remarks on his conduct and that of his command, at Kip's Bay, in which General Washington is known to have indulged, had been quoted in this volume, as they should have been, the true opinion of the illustrious Commander-in-chief, concerning General Gold Selleck Silliman, would have been far more evident to its readers.

There are some papers, first printed in these volumes, which possess great historical interest, especially the letter of General Washington to Governor Trumbull, dated July 21, 1799, concerning the proposal that he should accept a third nomination for the Presidency, in opposition to Mr. Jefferson. There are, also, other letters, to the same person, from General Washington, and a variety, from various persons, to Colonel Trumbull, the artist, all of which are exceedingly interesting.

One of the principal features of the work, however, and that which seems to make it so attractive, is its numerous word-pictures of distinguished men with whom Professor Silliman was made acquainted, during his long life. In making these, there has been displayed great artistic ability; and it is perfectly delightful to witness the skill with which the author succeeds in introducing to the reader, a perfectly clear idea of the personal appearance, manners, and character of many of the most noted men of by-gone days.

The volumes are from the Riverside Press; and as specimens of neatness, they will be widely appreciated.

10.—*The Works of The Right Honorable Edmund Burke*. Revised Edition. Vols. I.—VII. Boston, Little, Brown, & Co., 1865-6. Octavo, pp. I. xx. 537; II. iv. 576; III. iv. 563; IV. iv. 482; V. iv. 508; VI. xvi. 429; VII. iv. 488. \$2.25 per volume.

The collected Works of "that great Master of Eloquence," as Macaulay called Edmund Burke, will continue to be sought and read, even when those of whom he wrote and spake shall be comparatively forgotten; and no student of the History of our Revolutionary struggle can fail to turn to them, whenever he shall seek a knowledge of the great governmental principles which were involved in that contest.

Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co., of Boston, to whose enterprise and good taste the reading public is indebted for the publication of the volumes before us, have, therefore, done a substantial service, in the re-production of the best English Edition of those Works; and we take pleasure in calling the attention of our readers thereto.

They will be issued in monthly volumes, of which there are to be twelve; and the beauty of the workmanship with which the University

Press has issued them, will make them welcome in every well-appointed Library.

11.—*Patriotic Eloquence: being Selections from One Hundred Years of National Literature*. Compiled for the Use of Schools in Reading and Speaking. By Mrs. C. M. Kirkland. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. xii. 334.

In this volume, Mrs. Kirkland complied for the use of Schools, a very excellent collection of the gems of British and American literature. They are arranged chronologically and illustrated with Notes; and of the two hundred and sixteen separate pieces, we find none which are not appropriate for the purpose specified, and excellent in character.

12.—*Commemorative Discourse, delivered at the Centennial Anniversary of the Erection and the Sixtieth of the Consecration of St. Paul's Church, East Chester, West Chester Co., N. Y., October 24, 1865*. By Rev. William Samuel Coffey, M.A., Rector. New York: Perris & Browne. 1866. Octavo, viii. 45.

The ancient parish of East Chester, in this State, celebrated the Centennial of the foundation of its second meeting-house, in October last; and in this neatly printed pamphlet, the Rector and Vestry have only chronicled that interesting event.

The Commemorative Discourse, the fruit of much labor, teems with interest to every one who cares anything for the history of that venerable Parish and Town; and even by the merely casual reader, it will be considered a welcome addition to the store of Local History and Biography.

Revs. Robert Bolton and Lewis P. Bayard, Isaac Wilkins, DD., and Samuel Seabury were among the Rectors of this Parish, during the past century: the meeting-house in question has served, alternately, as a place of worship, a military hospital for the wounded enemy and a Court-house for the County Courts; and its substantial walls have pent up, in different periods of their history, the fiery appeals of America's first resident Diocesan, the calm and dignified reasoning of the "West Chester Farmer," and the persuasive eloquence and merciless analysis, as an Advocate, of Aaron Burr.

Of such men and such incidents, the record cannot be either useless or uninteresting; and Mr. Coffey has left no means unemployed to render it as agreeable to the stranger as it is important to his parishioners and neighbors.

It is handsomely printed; and our readers will do well to secure copies.

13.—*Two Discourses occasioned by the Death of Jared Sparks, LL.D., and of Charles Beck, LL.D., delivered by William Newell, Minister of the First Church in Cambridge*. Cambridge, Sever & Francis, 1866. Octavo, pp. 23, 17.

Of Doctor Beck we know very little: but

Doctor Sparks was one of our earliest, most constant, and dearest friends. We have welcomed this tract, therefore, especially for his sake; and we have read the testimony to his goodness which has here been left by his Pastor, with the deepest interest.

"Ever blessed will be the memory of that 'excellent man,' of whom Mr. Newell first spake, not merely to his family and immediate friends, but to the many, like ourself, whose beginnings he encouraged and whose cautious progress he constantly watched and assisted.

We have before us, at this moment, the letter in which our first attempt at Military History was so heartily applauded by him; and the contributions of unpublished manuscript material which he sent to us, *unsolicited, but just in time*, for our several chapters on Stony-Point and King's Mountain, the Siege of Charleston and the attack on Havre de Grace, among others, are only less precious to us, as mementos of his delightful friendship, than are the twenty-five volumes which, without solicitation, he sent for our temporary use from his own shelves, in the earliest days of our professional career, and subsequently, with four others, presented to us as memorials of his entire approval of our efforts and his entire satisfaction with their results. These are our earliest and most precious authorial trophies; and the consciousness that we had earned the confidence and friendship—the almost parental interest—of this great and good man, (whom, at that time, we had never seen and whose regard had been thus voluntarily tendered to an entire stranger) incited us, day after day, to renewed labor on our volumes, and served to secure for us, at the completion of our task, the small amount of literary reputation which we now possess.

The young beginner has now no such words of cheer as he was wont to send; no stores of hidden treasure, like his, from which to draw material; no counsel, such as he so gladly gave, to guide his hesitating judgment. By his removal, therefore, death has inflicted a blow on the Historic Literature of the Republic, from which it will not soon recover; and we know not unto whom, among the veterans of our particular arm of the service, we can now turn as the successor in usefulness, in this respect, to our dear, departed Friend.

#### 14. Portraits of General Washington.

1. We have received from our friend, Francis S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York City, an impression, an Artist's Proof, of a newly-engraved *private* plate of General Washington, after James Peale, by H. B. Hall of Morrisania, N. Y.

The original of this Portrait, painted in 1788, is a small miniature on ivory, in the possession of the Washington Greys of Philadelphia; and it has now been engraved the first time, by their authority.

There is something in this Portrait which particularly strikes our fancy, although it differs from many others; and the engraving is of that order of excellence which is seldom equaled, even by the practised hand of our excellent friend and neighbor, Mr. Hall, himself.

As we said, this is from a private plate; and of the edition of one hundred and twenty-five copies, *all unlettered*, fifty are Imperial folios.

2. We have received, also from Mr. Hoffman, an impression, *without letters*, of another newly-engraved, private plate of General Washington, after William Birch, by H. B. Hall of Morrisania, N. Y.

The original, painted in 1797, is a miniature on copper, in the possession of Doctor Charles G. Barney, of Richmond, Va.; and it has been engraved by Mr. Hall, for the Doctor and four of his friends, in New York; the edition being only a hundred and twenty-five copies, all Imperial proofs, unlettered. The plate having been carefully *broken*, there can be no more taken from it.

We cannot say that the portrait entirely pleases us. Although it somewhat resembles the Stuart portraits, we hardly think it was taken from life; yet it affords an interesting addition to the stock of early Washington portraits; and as such we value it.

3. We have received also, from our friend, Robert Macoy, Esq., of Broome-street, New York, an impression, an Artist's Proof, of another newly-engraved Portrait of General Washington, after William, by O'Niell of New York.

This Engraving is a faithful copy of an ORIGINAL Masonic Portrait of WASHINGTON, belonging to Alexandria Washington Lodge, No. 22, at Alexandria, Virginia. It was painted for that Lodge, of which WASHINGTON had previously been Master, by a Mr. WILLIAMS, in 1794, to whom Washington gave sittings, during his last Presidency, at the request of the Lodge, as may be seen by the following extract from its records:

"August 29, 1794. . . ELISHA C. DICK, Master. . . The Worshipful Master informs the Lodge that he convened them in consequence of an offer of Mr. Williams to compliment them with the Portrait of the President of the United States, provided they make application to him (the President) for that purpose; and, upon taking into consideration the proposal of Mr. Williams, they determined that the following address, signed by the officers of the Lodge, be immediately forwarded to our illus-

"trious Brother, the President of the United States."

\* \* \* \* \*

"October 25, 1794. . . Mr. WILLIAMS having offered to the Lodge a drawing of our worthy Brother GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States, the same is received; and in consequence of the trouble and expense Mr. WILLIAMS was at in going to and coming from Philadelphia, it is proposed that the members of the Lodge pay him fifty dollars, to be raised by voluntary subscription. Brother GILLIS having offered to receive the subscriptions, a list of the members, both town and country, is presented him for that purpose."

On the back of the canvas of the original painting, is this inscription, apparently in the handwriting of Mr. WILLIAMS:

"His Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esquire, President of the United States. Aged 64. WILLIAMS, *pinxit ad vivum*, in Philadelphia, September 18, 1794."

The collar and jewel of the portrait are those of a Past Master—a rank which WASHINGTON held at that time in the Lodge—and its sash and apron represent those presented by Brothers WATSON and CASSOUL.

Although this Portrait differs in appearance from the generally received pictures of General Washington, we are inclined to believe that it is a more faithful likeness, as he appeared in his latter days, than the greater number of those which are in general circulation. Indeed, it is so nearly like another, of that period, which we have learned to regard as peculiarly valuable, that we are inclined to award it a high place in our little collection of pictures.

As an engraving, it is creditable to Mr. O'Neill; and collectors of "Washingtoniana" will thank Mr. Macoy for this very interesting addition to their treasures.

4. Our valued friend, John A. McAllister, Esq., of Philadelphia, has favored us with photographic copies of the Silhouette likenesses of General and Mrs. Washington, which were taken from their shadows on a wall; pronounced "perfect likenesses, as profiles;" and presented in 1832, by Mrs. Eleanor P. Lewis—to her friend, Mrs. Elizabeth Bordley Gibson; and which are now owned by Edward Shippen, Esq., of Philadelphia, by whose kind permission copies have been thus taken.

There is a very close resemblance in the features of the face, as represented in the General's profile, to those which are so strikingly apparent in the Houdon bust; but, if we remember the latter correctly, the head, in this photograph, is represented as rounder than in the bust.

It is an interesting addition to the collection

of "Washington" portraits; and Mr. Shippen is entitled to the thanks of Collectors and Students for his kindness in permitting the multiplication of copies of his treasures.

15.—*A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students.* By John Peter Lange, D.D. Translated and edited, with additions, by Philip Schaff, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. (4) 167, xv. 405. Price \$5 per volume.

The volume before us, the second of the New Testament series, contains the comments on Mark, by Rev. Dr. Lange, revised by Rev. Professor Shedd of New York, and those on Luke, by Rev. Dr. Oosterzee of Utrecht, edited by Rev. Drs. Schaff and Starbuck.

The plan of this work is peculiar. An elaborate Introduction precedes the comments on each book of the Scriptures, in which its character and that of its author are critically examined. Then come the Editor's comments on the book itself, which has been divided and sub-divided into convenient portions, for that purpose. These comments are Exegetical and Critical, Doctrinal and Ethical, Homiletical and Practical; and in the preparation of them, all the patience of the German mind and all the learning of the German schools seem to have been enlisted.

Although we do not consider it equal to Gill, as a complete comment on the Scriptures, even when considered in the light of modern investigation; we are not inclined, for that reason, to underrate its great merits or the usefulness to which it is so well adapted. It appears to have secured the respect, if not the confidence, of leading scholars in all the evangelical denominations; and we have no doubt that its impartiality on disputed points of doctrine or practice, in the Churches, will secure for it an extended circulation.

16.—*Lacon; or Many things in few words: addressed to those who think.* By Rev. C. C. Colton. Revised edition. New York: William Gowans, 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 504, with an inset of 28 pages, between pp. xvi. and 17.

Our readers are well acquainted with the character of this work; and we need only say that this volume is an impression from worn-out plates, on paper which in any other case would be too poor to be used for such a purpose.

17.—*Woodward's Graperies and Horticultural Buildings*, by Geo. E. & F. W. Woodward. New York: Horticultural Office, 1865. Duodecimo, pp. 139. Price \$1.50.

This is a very neatly printed hand-book on Horticultural buildings; and treats of the position, form, construction, heating, etc., of Graperies, Hot-houses, etc.; chapters being devoted, also, to Hot-beds, Cold-pits, Propagating-houses, etc. To these are added twenty designs, illus-

trated with fifty-nine well-executed cuts; and as they are the results of the experience of educated and practical men they are eminently worthy of the confidence of those for whom they were written, and should command a wide circulation.

18.—*The Garden: a Manual of Practical Horticulture; or, how to cultivate Vegetables, Fruits and Flowers. With a chapter on Ornamental Trees and Shrubs.* By D. H. Jacques. Revised Edition. New York: Horticulturist Office, 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 166. Price \$1.

In this neat volume, will be found brief chapters on the structure and growth of plants, manures, the formation of a Garden, implements and garden structures, horticultural processes—digging, manuring, forcing, sowing, watering, hoeing, mulching, etc.—the kitchen, the fruit, and the flower gardens, and ornamental trees and shrubbery, illustrated, here and there, with appropriate cuts. To a young beginner in suburban life, especially, this will be useful; and we commend it to the attention of all such persons.

19.—*The Barn-Yard: a Manual of Cattle, Horse and Sheep Husbandry; or, how to breed and rear the various species of domestic animals. With a chapter on Bee-Keeping.* By D. H. Jacques. Revised Edition. New York: Horticulturist Office, 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 168. Price \$1.

The character of the contents of this work may be seen in its title; and little remains but to notice that chapters are devoted to the Horse, to the Ass and Mule, to Cattle, to Sheep, to Swine, to the improvement of Breeds, to Diseases and their Cures, to Poultry, and to Bees. Fifty-eight neat wood-cuts illustrate the text; and every resident of the suburban villages, who keeps Chickens and can keep Bees, will find the work invaluable.

20.—*The Farm: a Manual of Practical Agriculture; or, how to cultivate all the Field Crops.* By D. H. Jacques. Revised Edition. New York: Horticulturist Office, 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 156. Price \$1.

This little volume treats of Soils, Fences, Manures, Drains, Rotation of Crops, Implements, Farm Management, Farm Crops, and Orchards; and the neat cuts with which it is illustrated add materially to its usefulness. Such of our readers, if any we have, who are not too wise already, to look into "a book" in order to know something of "farming," will probably find something in this volume which will be useful to them.

21.—*The House: a Manual of Rural Architecture; or, how to build Country-houses and Out-buildings.* By D. H. Jacques. Revised Edition. New York: Horticulturist Office, 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 176. Price \$1.50.

In this little work we have numerous practical suggestions, relative to house-building, of great value; and more than a hundred wood-cuts serve to illustrate the text.

We cannot say that all the designs for houses strike our fancy, or that every one indicates good taste in its author; but as the volume is made for others beside us, we have no doubt that what is poison to one will be meat to another, and that all will find something in it which will please them. We are content with much that we find in the text, for our portion.

22.—*Woodward's Country Homes.* By Geo. F. & F. W. Woodward. Fifth Edition. New York: Horticulturist Office, 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 166. Price \$1.50.

In this beautiful little volume, thirty-one designs, either of "Country Homes" or of something relating thereto, are presented with all the attractions of good practical sense and plain words in the text, well-executed illustrations, and neatness of typography; and we have perused its pages with entire satisfaction. The chapter on "Balloon Frames," should be put into the hands of every one who desires to construct any building whatever; and to every such person it is worth many times the price of the volume.

We have known the authors of this work for nearly thirty years; and we are proud of this beautiful evidence of their professional ability and of their taste as book makers.

23.—*The Delaware Grape.* John Schuller, Del. New York: George F. & F. W. Woodward, Horticulturist Office, 1866. Price \$3.

This beautiful plate represents a splendid bunch of grapes, Delawares, of full size, colored by hand; and is one of the finest of the kind we have ever seen. It is to be followed, we understand, by a similar plate, representing another variety; and the two will form most appropriate ornaments in any "Country Home."

## VI.—SCRAPS.

THE GATHERING OF THE HOYTS. We copy from our excellent contemporary, *The Methodist*, the following graphic account of this family meeting:

In pursuance of a notice duly published by circular and in the public prints, the members of the Hoyt family were invited to meet in the beautiful village of Stamford, Conn., Wednesday and Thursday, June 20th and 21st, 1866.

Moved by a desire to witness so interesting a meeting, and drawn by the attraction of kindred blood, the writer of this found himself, by a short ride of thirty-six miles on the New York and New Haven Railroad, transported into the beautiful town of Stamford. A short walk through the shaded street, beneath the arching branches of lofty shade trees, and we were in

the midst of the assembling family in the beautiful Congregational church of the village.

On Wednesday, June 20th, the meeting was organized and opened with singing and prayer. An eloquent and appropriate salutatory address was delivered by Rev. William C. Hoyt, of New-York East Conference. In reply, pertinent remarks were made by Dr. Enos Hoyt, of Mass., and Henry Hoyt, Esq., publisher, of Boston, Mass. After remarks from various speakers, interesting letters were read from Major-General W. T. Sherman and Senator John Sherman, the mention of whose names was loudly applauded, giving good evidence of the loyal tendencies of the Hoyt family. The mother of these distinguished men was Mary Hoyt, of Norwalk, Conn. In the evening an elaborate paper on the origin and various transitions of the Hoyt name was read by Professor D. W. Hoyt, of Providence, Rhode' Island. A very pleasant part of the evening exercises was the reading of a poem by Rev. Ralph Hoyt, of New York. The reverend gentleman made a few explanatory remarks, in which he stated that the poem had been composed since coming to the gathering, and under the inspiration of the occasion. The production, however, abounded with wit and good feeling, was well timed as to length, and showed the finish of a skillful hand.

Thursday, 21st June, a very interesting paper was read by Rev. Cornelius A. Hoyt, of Oberlin, Ohio, in which he gave an extended biographical sketch of the ministerial life and missionary labors of his father, Rev. Ard Hoyt, who was greatly instrumental in laying the foundation of the Christian Church in Wyoming Valley, was early identified with the American Board, and who gave the name to Missionary Ridge, where his grandchildren poured out their blood, and helped to carry the flag of our country above the clouds. We would like to give the interesting facts of this narrative, by which the assembly were often moved to laughter or tears, but most of these facts will, doubtless, appear in the history of the Hoyt family, to be published under the supervision of Dr. David W. Hoyt, of Rhode Island. Suffice it to say, a constitution was adopted establishing a permanent association under the title of "The Hoyt Family Gathering." The members of the family, numbering from four to five hundred, then passed out in front of the church, where their photograph was taken *en masse*.

They then returned to the church. A permanent committee was appointed of one member of the family from each represented.

Joseph D. Hoyt, of Stamford, was announced as the President of that committee.

The permanent officers elected were Oliver Hoyt, Esq., of Stamford, President; Secretaries,

James Hoyt, of Orange, N. J.; David W. Hoyt, of Providence, R. I.; Henry Hoyt, Kalamazoo, Mich.

Dr. Jesse T. Peck, late of California, who had arrived in time to participate in the meeting, addressed the assembly, and urged the family (to which he is related through his father's mother, Ruth Hoyt) to that noble effort, civil, social, and religious, which will give them, in the future, a standing in the only true nobility, as those who helped to make the prosperity, the fortune, and the influence of this great country.

The audience then adjourned to partake of an ample collation, where over five hundred were refreshed with strawberries, ice cream, and more substantial food, by the munificence of the members of the family residing in Stamford.

A fine band of music, beginning with *Auld Lang Syne*, discoursed agreeably to the audience during the collation. The evening was devoted to a social gathering in the hall, and to brief speeches, in which the President, Oliver Hoyt, Esq., and Rev. Cornelius A. Hoyt, Dr. W. H. Hoyt, Rev. L. W. Peck, Professor D. W. Hoyt, Henry M. Hoyt, General Henry M. Hoyt, Rev. J. C. Hoyt, Rev. William C. Hoyt, and Ezra P. Hoyt, of New York City, made remarks relating to the occasion. A poem was also read by Rev. Mr. Halsey, commemorative of this family and tribal visit. After the Doxology and the benediction by Rev. Cornelius Hoyt, the large assembly dispersed, to carry to their distant homes very pleasant and delightful associations, such as help to bind a great land together, to perpetuate virtue, to strengthen the holy bonds of religion, and irradiate many homes with the blessings of peace.

Great credit is certainly due to those who originated this meeting, and have been the occasion of diffusing so much happiness. And though there are many who may never belong to this family, yet all might well hope to imitate their noble example.

#### THE FIRST BIBLE PRINTED IN AMERICA.

*To the Editor of the Press:*

SIR: An article, headed "Printing," &c., in *The Press*, states that "Matthew Carey issued in 1804, in Philadelphia, the first quarto Bible 'printed from movable types in America.'" This is an error. So far as certainly known the first quarto Bible, printed from movable types in America, was printed in Germantown (now part of this city) in 1743, by Christopher Sower. This Bible was in the German language. A second edition was printed by Christopher Sower, Jr., at the same place in 1763, and a third edition in 1776. Copies of all of these editions are still in existence, and may be seen at the place of busi-

ness of the undersigned, Sower, Barnes & Potts, 37 North Third Street.

In 1791 a quarto Bible in English was printed at Trenton, N. J., by Isaac Collins, from movable types. This was a beautiful, and, like those of Christopher Sower, a very correct edition, the proof-sheets having been carefully and repeatedly read by Mr. Collins, assisted by his very intelligent daughter.

The undersigned has a copy of a *folio* Bible in English, bearing the following imprint: "*Philadelphia, printed for Berriman & Co., by Jacob R. Berriman, MDCCXCVI.*" It contains the Apocrypha, and has marginal references, and for a frontispiece, a handsome copper-plate engraving. This Bible was also printed from "movable types."

Stereotyping was unknown at that period, and it was the custom for printers to "set up" the type for one or two forms (four or eight pages quarto), then print off the requisite number of sheets of that form for the edition, after which the types were "distributed" and again set up for the next four or eight pages. By this process a font of type sufficient to "set up" four or eight pages would answer for the whole Bible. As type were, and still are, very expensive, there was economy in this; but the type had to be set up again, page by page, for every new edition that was printed. Matthew Carey, by a shrewd calculation, found it would be cheaper to buy enough type to set up the whole Bible at once, and then keep the type standing in pages, so that, although the first expense was greater, he soon made it up in printing future editions, by the saving in compositors' wages. The credit for this is probably what *The Press* writer intended to give by his statement.

It might be well enough to state that the first type made in this country were cast in Germantown, by or for Christopher Sower. The matrix was made by an ingenious mechanic, under his directions, who was accustomed to making the machinery for stocking-looms. The anvil on which this matrix was made was in use a few years ago, and perhaps is yet, by a descendant of the original owner.

CH. G. SOWER,  
37 North Third Street.

**HOW SYRACUSE WAS SETTLED.**—The *Syracuse (N. Y.) Journal*, in some remarks upon the early settlement of that city, gives the following historical summary:

It was not until the building of the Erie Canal was well under way that the settlement of Syracuse began. Its founder—the man who, above all others, aided in promoting its early growth—was Joshua Forman, who was born in

Duchess county, but settled in Onondaga valley in 1800. He was the originator of the canal project, a judge and member of the Legislature, and came to reside where Syracuse now stands, in 1819. He died in North Carolina, in 1848, but his memory will survive as long as Syracuse exists. The place was first known as Cossit's Corners, then as Milan, and afterward as Corinth. John Wilkinson gave it its present name. The great canal was fully completed in 1824. In 1825 the celebrated Lafayette visited the town. It was incorporated as a village in 1825, and as a city in 1848, at which time the old village of Salina became the first ward. Its first mayor was Harvey Baldwin. The first church edifice erected was the old Baptist church which stood on West Genesee street. The first newspaper issued was *The Onondaga Gazette* in 1823. One of the most notable events in the city's history was the great explosion of gunpowder near the Willow-street bridge, on the 20th of August, 1831, which killed twenty-six persons and wounded fifty-three others. Another incident of interest was the rescue of the fugitive slave Jerry, on the 1st of August, 1851. The population of Syracuse when it became a city was about 15,000. In eighteen years it has grown to 32,000.

**SALE OF THE OLD LONDON COFFEE HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA.**—At the real estate sale at the Exchange, March 6th, the old three-story brick store and lot of ground on the S. W. corner of Front and Market streets, were sold for \$18,200. The lot has a front of 24 feet on Front street, and 30 feet on Market street. The original lot had 25 feet upon Front street and 100 on Market street. It was conveyed, in 1739, by the widow of Charles Reed, to Israel Pemberton, who willed it to his son John, at whose death it was sold to the Pleasant family, who in 1796 sold it, with 82 feet depth, for the large sum of £8,216 13s. 4d., to James Stokes. The building was known before, and for some time after the Revolution, as the Old London Coffee House. It was opened as a coffee house by Wm. Bradford, printer, in 1754. The petition for a license to the then Governor shows that coffee was drunk at that time by way of refreshment, as spirituous liquors are now. The Old London Coffee House was regularly patronized by the Governor and other persons of note, who had their appointed stalls in which to sip coffee. In 1780, the premises were rented to Gifford Dally, who agreed in writing to keep "the house on the first day of the week closed from public use, that so regard and reverence may be manifested for retirement and the worship of God," and he further covenants, under a penalty of £100, to allow no gambling on the premises.

# THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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[No. 8.]

## I.—HENRY LAURENS.\*

BY HIMSELF.

To

THE RIGHT HONORABLE  
THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH  
THE RIGHT HONORABLE  
VISCOUNT STORMONT  
THE RIGHT HONORABLE  
LORD GEORGE GERMAINE

*His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.*

The underwritten Representation & Prayer of Henry Laurens close Prisoner in the Tower of London is with all possible Respect & deference submitted.

1<sup>st</sup> That the Representer was bred up in principles of Loyalty Love & attachment to the Royal House of Brunswick, & through all the Changes which have happened of late Years he hath never lost his affection to GREAT BRITAIN.

2<sup>d</sup> That in the Year 1756 or 1757. he was elected one of the Representatives in the General Assembly of South Carolina for Charles Town & regularly reappointed to the same Duty from time to time till the unpropitious Epoch 1775.

3<sup>d</sup> That in his Public Character he never did nor consented to any Act derogatory to the Honor of the Crown or repugnant to the Constitution of

Great Britain—that always to the utmost of his, very limited, abilities, he supported the prerogatives of the King & the true Interests of the people not deter'd by the stigma of "King's Man & Governors Man" sarcastically affix'd to his character by some of his fellow Citizens—for general proof of these facts, he dares appeal to several Noble Lords & Honorable Gentlemen who have been Governors of So. Carolina & three neighboring Provinces.

4<sup>th</sup> That his conduct & actions in private life were strictly conformable to his professions in public.

5<sup>th</sup> That he was a Merchant upward of Twenty Years in very extensive Commerce, that he never did in any one Instance wilfully violate or infringe upon the Act of Navigation, which he ever held as a sacred Pact between Great Britain & the Colonies; on the contrary, he ever discountenanced & as much as in him lay discouraged, every attempt to illicit Trade to the prejudice of the Revenue & the Legal Rights of Great Britain, although temptations to enter into such Trade have been held out to him with prospects of great gain by persons in this Kingdom, & once by a Collector of His Majesty's Customs with the highest probability of safety from detection. of all which, he can give proof.

6<sup>th</sup> That in the Year 1764. when it was intended to Tax America by Stamp Du-

\* In common with all close students of our country's history, we are indebted to Samuel L. M. Barlow, Esqr., of New York, for the privilege of copying this important document, from the original, in his Collection. Its great importance will be recognized by every one.

ties, altho' the Act appeared to him to be unjust & he was convinced it was at least impolitic, he recommended in the House of Assembly of So. Carolina, the Constitutional mode of Petitioning & Treating for redress, in preference to the Novelty of a general Congress & that he refused to Vote for Delegates to the Congress which met at N. York 1765.

7<sup>th</sup> That in 1765. he was summon'd as a Member of Assembly to attend a public meeting of the People, where he found the deliberations to be, upon means for seizing the Stamp'd Paper just arrived in Charles Town & for awing the Officers appointed to distribute it. That he express'd peremptory dissents to every proposition leading to Violence & again strongly urg'd Petitions & expostulation, pledging his whole Fortune that Petitions would be received & favorably discuss'd; That in resentment of his declarations on that occasion, he was publicly charg'd as an Abettor of the Stamp Act, his House beset at Midnight by a large Body of Arm'd Men, who under pretence of searching for Stamp'd Paper violently seiz'd his person, threatened his Life, & greatly affrighted & annoyed his family; but being unintimidated himself he would concede to none of their very many propositions & demands, but he reiterated his recommendation to Petition &c. again pledging his Life his reputation & Estate upon the Wisdom & Justice of the King & the Parliament of Great Britain.

8<sup>th</sup> That in the Year 1767 or 1768. when the Colonists enter'd into general Resolutions for counteracting the internal Tax or Duty on Paper Paint Glass & Tea, although the Representer had invariably deported himself as, in his judgement, became a good Subject & Citizen, although he enjoy'd the universal esteem of the people as an honest Man & was class'd among the most wealthy, he was not held to be a fit person in any Com-

mittee for enforcing those Resolutions. "He was a King's Man & had a predilection to Great Britain."

9<sup>th</sup> That in the Year 1774 being in London, the Representer join'd with other American Subjects in Petitions which were presented to the King & both Houses of Parliament on American greivances.

And that being invited thereto when he deliver'd one of those Petitions, he had the honor of intimating his sentiments to the Right Honorable the Earl of Dartmouth, to this effect,

"that if the Bills respecting America then pending in Parliament should pass into Acts the people of the several Colonies from Georgia to New Hampshire would be animated to form such an Union & Phalanx of resistance as he had theretofore believ'd nothing less than a divine Miracle could establish."

10<sup>th</sup> That in October 1774 he left London embark'd for So. Carolina & arrived at Charles Town early in December.

11<sup>th</sup> That upon his arrival, he was ask'd if he had not Petitioned The King Lords & Commons & what Answers he had received? and a Memento was sounded in his Ears of the Guarantee which he had so often taken upon him, & of his Pledges.

12<sup>th</sup> That he nevertheless anxiously wish'd & most ardently strove to confine the growing dispute between this Kingdom & the Colonies within bounds admissible of an happy reconciliation—that for himself as an Individual, notwithstanding the seeming injustice of Taxing America he would have submitted to the imposition in preference to a breach with the Mother Country from an assurance in his own mind, that the certain impolicy & unprofitableness of the project, would after a few Years experience, induce His Majesty's Ministers to abandon it.

13<sup>th</sup> That before the commencement of

hostilities he persisted in discountenancing all acts of compulsion & violence towards Men who acted honestly & consistently, however much they might differ from the American *Resolutionists* in political tenets. & that to every such person coming within his sphere, he extended consideration, humanity, kindness.

In one instance of his impartiality towards persons deem'd, "suspected & disaffected" he incur'd such displeasure & resentment as oblig'd him to take the Field & stand up to be shot at by a Youth who was Born, after he had been a Father of Children. very many Men there are, some now in London, who will bear testimony to these facts.

14<sup>th</sup> That when a motion was urg'd in an Assembly of the People of So. Carolina for prohibiting the Payment of debts due in Great Britain, the Representer opposed the measure to the utmost of his power, & finally declared, he would not hold himself bound by a Resolution which his Conscience inform'd him was unjust & iniquitous. this fact is well known by a Gentleman who was present at the time alluded to & now in London.

15<sup>th</sup> That after his arrival at Charles Town as abovemention'd he writ & continued writing to his friends in England, lamenting the prospect which the times presented & pressing for their exertions in order to avert the Evils which he predicted as consecutive to the subsisting animosity. & so late as 27<sup>th</sup> February 1776, in a Letter to Will: Manning Esquire. he express'd his feelings in the following terms. —

"I weep for Great Britain, I love & reverence her, but alas! I perceive I am to be seperated from her & that my Children are to be call'd by some new Name."

"The cry here is, "let us resist against violence, we cannot be

worse off than we are, one Year more will enable us to be Independent. Ah! that word cuts me deep, I assure you I feign not, when I say the bare expression has caus'd tears to trickle down my Cheeks; We wish not for Independence, but Britain will force a seperation & Independence will soon follow."

"My Son will shew you a Pamphlet lately publish'd in Philadelphia & republish'd here, (Common Sense on American Independence)

the Doctrines contain'd in it are not relish'd with us yet. AND NEVER WILL BE, if Great Britain will act Wisely hereafter."

He also writ to the same effect in a Letter to Richard Oswald Esq<sup>r</sup> which Letter M<sup>r</sup> Oswald laid before Lord Dartmouth.

The Representer was unappriz'd of the line of seperation, which was at the time of his writing drawn or drawing by an Act of Parliament.

16<sup>th</sup> That in June 1775. When an Association was forming by the People of South Carolina for defence, & Articles for that purpose reduced into writing to which the Representer was order'd to sign first, he absolutely in the face of the People, refused to set his Name without certain previos reservations, which he then explain'd.

1<sup>st</sup> Saving his Allegiance the King\*

2<sup>d</sup> Charity towards his freinds & others who might refuse to sign the Paper.†

And here he cannot forbear remarking that the then Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor, who as he is inform'd is present Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor of So. Carolina, to whom the

\* from a cursory reading of the Articles he apprehended they look'd a little beyond mere defence.

† One Article declared, that every Man who should refuse to sign should be deem'd an Enemy to his Country & treated accordingly against which he strenuously excepted & never would conform to.

Articles had been tendred for his signature, intimated his approbation of the measure & regretted that he could not resign his Commission into proper hands & thereby qualify himself for signing the Association\*

The Representer does not introduce this as an invidios charge against Mr Bull, his meaning is to display to Your Lordships the very high encouragement given to the People (some of whom were doubting) to beleive themselves right & to enter heartily into a defensive Band.

17<sup>th</sup> That after the actual commencement of hostilities & open War declared by Actions on both sides, the Representer persever'd in his attentions to honest & consistent Nonconformists, not only to Individuals but to whole bodies of Quietists. He also embraced every opportunity of alleviating the distresses of British Prisoners of War, for many of whom he obtain'd Parole enlargement to work their Exchanges, to others he lent or gave Money or other necessities according to their respective needs, & here he might produce a Cloud of Witnesses & among others appeal to Civil Officers & Officers of the British Army & Navy, but he forbears troubling Your Lordships with any more than the voluntary Declarations of Capt. Lach. McIntosh & Capt. Peter Bachop, Copies of which will accompany this.

18<sup>th</sup> That since the Representer's confinement in the Tower he has learn'd that many false & injurios Reports respecting his conduct in America have been circulated & particularly that Your Lordships have been induced to beleive, he was Promoter of a certain Vote of Assembly in So. Carolina for remitting

£1500. St<sup>g</sup> in the Year 1769. to the Society for supporting the Bill of Rights in London.

When that Vote pass'd, he was 160. Miles distant from Charles Town & had received no premonition of the intended Act, his first information of it was gather'd from a News Paper which he read in the Country & immediately in presence of divers persons pass'd his Censure in very plain language, "these Chaps will get a rap o' the knuckles for this."

It is true he regretted the mode of resentment afterward adopted by His Majesty's Ministers which manifestly threw an advantage into the hands of those persons who originally were transgressors & who might have been easily & effectually check'd upon the spot by constitutional applications without giving any trouble to Ministry; the Lt Governor might even have prevented the Vote or Payment of the Money out of the Treasury.

In vindication of himself under this Charge he may appeal to The Right Honble General Conway & to Charles Garth Esquire sometime Agent for So. Carolina.

In a word the Representer never acted the Demagogue or Incendiary of the People, never suggested or promoted any measure which could possibly be affrontive to His Majesty or tend to disturb the order of good Government & he cannot forbear contrasting the present circumstances of persons who did act in such Characters & persecuted him as described above who are now treated as Prisoners of War & also in possession of their Estates—with his own.

19<sup>th</sup> That he was taken Captive on the American Coast, & first landed upon American Ground where he saw before his Eyes, Exchanges of American Prisoners in Negotiation, & enlargements, one at least, granted upon Parol.

20<sup>th</sup> That he has been upwards of Eight

\* An Answer in such terms was delivered as from the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor to the People, by his Nephew Stephen Bull Esq<sup>r</sup> repeated by his Nephew W H Drayton Esq<sup>r</sup> & again by both, possibly the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor might have design'd only to amuse the People, be that as it may, the intimation had its effect, it was grateful & highly encouraging to them, all this he can also prove.

Months & an half a Prisoner in the Tower, great part of that time in very close & painful confinement, almost totally deprived of the company of his nearest friends & relations & particularly of his Son, a Boy in his Eighteenth Year.

21<sup>st</sup> That he hath, during his Imprisonment lived entirely at his own expence & now begins to need a supply of Money for the further support of himself & his Son.

Grounded upon the Premises the Representer humbly presumes to Pray.

That Your Lordships will be pleas'd in so far to mitigate the Rigor of his Imprisonment as,

First, to grant him the use of Pen & Ink (which he is inform'd cannot be allow'd with\* special permission from Your Lordships) for writing a draught or draughts on a Merchant in London, (John Nutt Esquire) who is indebted to him.

And secondly, to permit his Son to visit him once twice or thrice as the Interesting occasion may require for the sole purpose of consulting upon a Plan for the Young Man's future conduct in Life. together with such further indulgence to the Representer & Petitioner as to Your Lordships Wisdom & Goodness shall seem fitting.

In conclusion; as the Representer & Petitioner enjoys not the benefit of the advice of Counsel, the assistance of an Attorney or even of the opinion of a judicious friend & as he is unpracticed in the Executive of forms of this kind, he implores Your Lordships indulgent construction & interpretation upon any & every part of the preceeding lines which to Your Lordships may appear censurable or exceptionable & that Your Lordships will condescend to listen to him while he assures Your Lordships that he regrets exceedingly the necessity which

he finds himself under to take up one Moment of Your Lordships attention.

HENRY LAURENS.

TOWER OF LONDON  
23<sup>d</sup> June 1781.

## II.—HISTORICAL NOTES ON SLAVERY IN THE NORTHERN COLONIES AND STATES.

[Continued from vol. viii., 200.]

NEW YORK, I.

*To the Editor of the Historical Magazine.*

The history of Slavery in the United States is now one of the most interesting topics of discussion among our Historical Societies and critics, and I beg leave to submit the following notes of an early attempt at abolition in New York—mainly for the purpose of inquiry among your readers whether there is any recorded opposition to the institution in the Colony of an earlier date.

I have met with a notice of a treatise against slavery, published by WILLIAM BURLING, of Long Island, in 1718—but the publication itself has escaped all my inquiries hitherto.

ANTHONY BENEZET, writing to GRANVILLE SHARP, March 16, 1774, says that “the Assembly at New York had lately passed a law declaring the children of slaves to be born free, but it was not confirmed by the Governor.”—*Hoare's Life*: i. 172.

If this statement could be confirmed, it would place New York most honorably in advance of all her sister Colonies in similar legislation.

The Notes which follow are derived from the official Journals.

In the Provincial Convention of New York, while the Constitution or Plan of Government was in process of formation, April 17, 1777,

“Mr. [*Gouverneur*] Morris moved, and was seconded, that the following paragraph be added to the Plan of Government, to wit:

\* Thus written in the original manuscript.—ED. HIST. MAG.

“AND WHEREAS, a regard to the rights of human nature and the principles of our holy religion, loudly call upon us to dispense the blessings of freedom to all mankind: and inasmuch as it would at present be productive of great dangers to liberate the slaves within this State: It is, therefore most earnestly recommended to the future Legislatures of the State of New York, to take the most effectual measures consistent with the public safety, and the private property of individuals, for abolishing domestic slavery within the same, so that in future ages, every human being who breathes the air of this State, shall enjoy the privileges of a free-man!”

“The same being read, the consideration thereof was postponed until to-morrow.”

On the 18th April, 1777,

“The House proceeded to the consideration of Mr. Morris’s motion of last evening, with respect to the abolishing of domestic slavery, and which was postponed until to-day.

“The same being read, debates arose: whereupon the same was again read, without the preamble; and the question being put thereon, it was carried in the affirmative, in manner following, to wit:

<i>For the Affirmative.</i>	<i>For the Negative.</i>
Albany - - - - 6	New York - - - 8
Dutchess - - - 5	
Suffolk - - - - 4	
Orange - - - - 3	
West Chester - - 4	
Charlotte - - - 2	
24	

“The preamble to the said motion was then read, and the consideration thereof postponed until to-morrow.”

On the 19th April, 1777,

“The preamble to the resolution postponed yesterday evening, was read.

“Mr. Morris moved that the said preamble be obliterated, and the following inserted in its stead, viz:

“Inasmuch as it would be highly inexpedient to proceed to the liberating of slaves within this State, in the present situation thereof.”

“Debates arose thereon; and the question being put thereon, it was carried in the affirmative in manner following, viz.:

<i>For the Affirmative.</i>	<i>For the Negative.</i>
Orange - - - - 3	New York - - - 8
Albany - - - - 6	Ulster - - - - 4
Suffolk - - - - 4	
Charlotte - - - 2	12
West Chester - - 4	
(Col. Drake dissenting.)	
Dutchess - - - - 5	
24	

“The question put on the preamble was carried as above.

“The preamble and paragraph being read together for the question,

“Mr. Robert R. Livingston moved, and was seconded, for the previous question, to wit: Whether the question on the paragraph shall be now put?

“The previous question being put, was carried in the affirmative, in manner following, viz.:

<i>Against the previous Question.</i>	<i>For the previous Question.</i>
Charlotte - - - - 2	New York - - - 8
Orange - - - - 3	Dutchess - - - 5
5	West Chester - - 4
	(Mr. Morris dissenting.)
	Suffolk - - - - 4
	Ulster - - - - 4
	Albany - - - - 6
	(Mr. Adgate and Mr. Bleeker dissenting.)
	31.”

It is to be remembered, that at the time referred to, the previous question was regarded as a preliminary inquiry into the propriety of the main question—Its object was *to avoid decision on delicate questions as inexpedient*, and if a majority favored the previous question, the main question was set aside.

E. Y. E.

New York: July, 1866.

III.—COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES OF THE SEMINOLE AND MIKASUKE TONGUES.

These words were recently taken down in Washington, by Buckingham Smith, from the mouth of a Seminole delegation from Arkansas—Foos-harjo, an educated Indian, and Johnson, a Black, speaking the Mvskokey, and Chocot-harjo, the Mikasuke, the last communicating through the Mvskokey, and sometimes himself writing out the words in his own tongue. The Indians were born in Florida, the negro in Alabama.

Major Caleb Swan, U. S. A., in a report to the Department of War respecting the Seminoles in the year 1790-1, states that they were inhabiting country in Alabama, Florida and the State of Georgia; and, according to tradition, that they came originally in roving bands from the north-west with the name Seminole; that subsequently they conquered the Alabamas, and, according to their policy, united that people to their own nation, called Mvskokey; that later, the Apalaches were added, and, at the time of writing, he speaks of their having *Mikasuka* and some other permanent villages on the Apalachicola river. The language had then undergone so great change among the wandering hordes, still called Seminoles, that it was hardly understood by the Creeks (Mvskokes inhabiting fixed settlements), or, in general, even by themselves. It must be remembered, that, at the time he writes, the nation had already added to their number the remnants of the Alabamas or Coosadas, Uchees, Natches, Hitchitis and Shauanos, with their several languages, six constituting the number spoken by the members of the Confederacy.

The Hitchitis resided on the Flint and Chatahooche rivers. They are near of kin to the Mikasukes, to judge from the words of a small vocabulary taken by Mr. Gallatin from a Chelaqui, reprinted here with numerals taken at Tampa by Capt. Casey, and entitled: "Hitchittee or Chel-o-kee Dialect, spoken by several tribes of "the great Muskokey Race." Those speaking the Mikasuke in Florida probably went from Georgia with the Mvskokey family, and some of them, at the time of the cession of the Province to the United States by Spain, were living at a well-known lake bearing their name. From names borne by geographical objects, they appear to have widely extended their wanderings over the peninsula.

Whatever may be the theoretic history of the early migration of the Seminoles or Mvskokes, this much seems certain: the meaning of the word *seminole* is "*wanderer*," "*strayed off*," and is applied to the nomadic Mvskokey; that, while traditions among an unlettered people become vague and uncertain in less than three generations from the time of the event they would commemorate, names preserved in the narratives of the march of Hernando de Soto, attest that the Mvskokey language was in use among the Indians of Georgia, over three centuries since.

ENGLISH.	SEMINOLE.	MIKASUKE.	HITCHITEE.
Sound of the vowels: <i>a</i> as in far, <i>e</i> as in they, <i>i</i> as in marine, <i>o</i> as in go, <i>u</i> as in gun.			
man	hvnvnwa	nakvni	nuckenih
woman	hokte	taikée	hohlagih
old woman		konchaka	
boy	chipane	ahlehloce	aucheba notche
girl	choktoche	taikoche	autech auchee
infant	istoche, hipoachee	iatoche	

ENGLISH.	SEMINOLE.	MIKASUKE.	HITCHITEE.
my father (said by son)	chalskee	tate	ilgi
my father (said by daughter)	"	chalhke	
my mother (said by son)	chvtskee	hoache	ahgi
my mother (said by daughter)	"	"	
my husband	chahee	vnnvk'ne	enukenih
my wife	chahaina	chahvke	chahulgi
my son (said by father)	chvpuchee	achóche	auchee
my son (said by mother)	chvishusua	"	
my daughter (said by father)	chvtshtuste	achostaike	auchoooutdagih
my daughter (said by mother)	chvshusua	"	
my elder brother	chvts'aha	chachaie	
my younger brother	ch'chose	chaiapose	
sister	chauanua	hamóchaca	
my elder sister	hoktala	cha vnke	
my younger sister	chauanua manitka	chafvn ochapaca	
an Indian	iste chate	iatketesché	
people	iste	iaton	
head	icá	iose	
hair	ica isé	ios hiske	
face	itothlófá	tafokse	
forehead	icahoma, iuinha	th'a eele	
ear (his)	ihustsko	h'akchoba	
eye (his)	itolhuá	eté	
nose	inpo	ebé	
mouth	ichukua	eichi	
tongue	tolasua	cholase	
teeth	inútee	enote	
beard	chukhissee	choske	
neck	nvkua	n'kbe	
arm	sakpa	thlokfe	
hand	inke	elbe	
fingers	uisaka	i be uisake	
thumb	inkitski	il'beke	
nails	inkikosusua	ilbakose	
body	ina	achakné	
chest	ohokpe	chon'ke	
belly	nulhke	lvmpé	
female breasts	ipisi	monche	
leg	ele	ecie	
foot	ile	elepalse	
toes	ileuasaka	euesake	
bone	fune	e'one	
heart	chafike	ch'noshé	chifegant
blood	chata	pechekche	bit'chikchee
town, village	tol'fa	oclé	ochgiliohgi
chief	micko	mikei	mickee
warrior	tusikyavolge (all)	tusikiallhe	tustenuggee
friend	anhise	achame	achormih
house	choko	chiki	chickee
bread	tvklaike	pvlvste	
kettle	cha'kvs. hvtké	iekchahatkée	
bow	ichokotakse	if'ch kotokbí	
arrow	thi	slakée	
sax, hatchet	pochusua	chiafe	
knife	islafka	eskvlvfkee	
canoe	pithlochee	pithlochee	
moccasins	chuse iste libika	chuse nelée (buckskin)	
pipe	iche pakua	taloohe	
tobacco	ichi	akehvmé	
sky	aholoche	hossóte	

ENGLISH.	SEMINOLE.	MIKASUKE.	HITCHITEE.
sun	hasse	haase	hahsohdih
moon	hoslibu	haso tale	hahsodalih
star	cochochompa	oache ka	ohwohchikee
day	nitta	nihlaki	uhbuksee
night	nihli	nihthlaki	mohsoostee
morning	hutlijutki	hampole	
evening	ia'ké	opiva	
spring	tasahchi	lvkhachoslas	
summer	miske	lvkhache	
autumn			
winter	slafo	sláfi	
wind	hotali	fapliche	
thunder	tinitki	tonohkahche	toknoukkee
lightning	at iohattí	lamalecheche	
rain	oské	okóbache	
snow	etote	eptivele	
fire	tootka	été	edih
water	oiva	ohke	okkee
ice	etote	epte	
earth, land	icána	inkne	
sea	oihatka	okatke	
river	oislako	okichobe	
lake	okhasse	aiopo, okelose	
valley	oihossi, panofa	penatké	
prairie	hiakpo	hiatlé	
hill, mountain	iean halue	inenebeké	
island	otí, houitska	okéntakle	
stone, rock	cható	talé	
salt	okechanva	okehahni	ochchahnih
iron		kochone	
forest	ituvkate	pahayóke	
tree, wood	itú	ahí	ahlee
leaf	tuisí	shihiske	
bark	itohullpe	ahehnibe	
grass	pahe	pahe	
pine	chole	choie	
maize	ache	aspe	usppe
squash	tahaia	ehicoie	
flesh, meat	apesua	akné	
dog	íla	efé	
buffalo	ianasa	ianasé	
bear	noposé	ianasé	nogasant
wolf	ialá	oba hosé	ohboorhoose
fox	cholá	cholé	
deer	echo	eché	echee
elk	chopieká	eichhoke	
beaver	eichhasua	posafe	
rabbit, hare	chofe	chokfé	
tortoise	locha	iokehe	
horse	cholako	cauaie	
fly	chana	choane	
mosquito	okieha	hoskotone	
snake	chitto	chinté	
rattlesnake	chitto miko	chintmike	
bird	fosua	foosé	
egg	itshostake	onase	
feathers	tafa	hiské	
wings	italhpa	tolokhé	
goose	sasakua	hoshalé	
duck (mallard)	fochó	fooché	
turkey	pinná	faiti	
pigeon	pachi	pachi	
fish	thathlo	thlathle	

ENGLISH.	SEMINOLE.	MIKASUKE.	HITCHITEE.
name	ochifka	ochilké	
white	hvtké	hvtké	
black	lvste	loóche	
red	chate	ketesché	
light blue	holatte	onotbé	
yellow	lané	lakvne	
light green	pahi <i>lanomi</i> (looks like)	pahetalukhome	
great, large	slakke	choobe	
small, little	chukki	uikchosis	
strong	yikchi	vante	
old	achuli	naknosi	
young	mynti	ojahbí	
good	héintle	heintlos	
bad	holouak	humpíkos	
dead	ilí	eie	
alive	uinaki	fisahke	
cold	kasuppi	kabalekosche	
warm, hot	baye	haieche	
I	ani	aní	
thou	chiimi	chihni	
he	imi	inihni	
we	pomi	pohni	
ye	chintaki	chénoche	
they	imetalke	inenohche	
this	hiamá	iyale	
that	ma	namé	
all	omulka	laapké	
many, much	anachome	anakapen	
who	istaimut	nohlóté	
far	opaie	opvnke	
near	ahole	anelosis	
here	yama	yale	
there	ma	mami	
to-day	mochanetta	emanetaki	
yesterday	paksangke	opiahchama	
to-morrow	pakse	paksaka	
yes	encá	hó	
no	ecosche	mates	
one	hvuikin	thlamen	thlah' hai
two	hokolen	toklan	to kai
three	totchinén	tochinán	to chay
four	oosten	citaken	see tah
five	chaskepen	cháskepvn	chah kee
six	ipaken	ípaken	ee pak
seven	colapaken	colapaken	ko la pah
eight	chinapaken	tosnapaken	tos nap pah
nine	ostapaken	ostapaken	os ta pah
ten	palen	pokolen	po ko lin
eleven	hvmkon talaken	toklanaiikvn	po thlah' wai kan
twelve	hokolokaken	toklanaiican	
twenty	pale hokolen	poco toklan	po ko to ko lin
thirty	" totchinén	" totchinán	
forty	" osten	" sitaken	
fifty	" chaskepen	" cháskepen	
sixty	" ipak n	" lepaken	
seventy	" kola paquen	" kolapaken	
eighty	" chinapaken	" tosnapaken	
ninety	" ostapaken	" lostapaken	
one hundred	chokpi hymkin	chokpi thlamen	chok pee thlah' min
one thousand	chokpi thloko hymkin	" chobí thlamen	
to eat	hvmpita	empike	
to drink	iskíta	iskéke	
to run	litkita	istlinitkiki	

ENGLISH.	SEMINOLE.	MIKASUKE.	HITCHITEE.
to dance	opanetá	talelui	
to sing	iahaikita	hopvnke	
to sleep	nochita	nocheke	
to speak	opoonaita	apvnke	
to see	hechita	hecléke	
to love	anoki-hita	anokachike	
to kill	ille ichita	illi chike	
to sit	laikita	chokoliki	
to stand	hoythlita	hachaleke	
to go	ayeta	athleki	
to come	atita	onteke	
to walk	ynkapita	chaiake	
to work	atotketá	takalskake	
to steal	holskopita	okepeke	
to lie	laksitá	olaske	
to give	emeta	emekeke	
to laugh	apilita	haiakeki	
to cry	hacaihkitá	hilahhkiki	
alligator	hvlpata	hvlpati	
slave	salvfki	anope	
cane	coha	othlane	
pumpkin	chase	chokse	
turtle	olakaa	ilakue	
wildcat	coaki	koosi	
ravine	panasofki		
brier-root flour	kunti	kantiki	
high	hvlui	abvnti	
low	kunchapí	iakne	
flute	fíhpa	conbokachichiki	
gourd	iphipi	iphipi	
ghost		solope	
opossum	sokha hatka	sokeasikeni	
raccoon	uulko	shaue	
persimmon	sata	othkofé	
hawk	aiú	akale	
owl	opá	opaké	
tiger	kacha	koachobe	
bean	taláko	shalale	

### PROPER NAMES, WITH THEIR SIGNIFICATIONS.

Istopoga, <i>iste atepogo</i> , person drowned. Sem.	Echashotee, <i>erhas hotee</i> , beaver his house. Sem.
Okichobe, <i>oki chobe</i> , water big. Mik.	Choko-chate, house red. Sem.
Halpatioka, <i>hvlputi oka</i> , alligator many. Mik.	Choko-liska, house old. Sem.
Wekiwa, water spring. Sem.	Panasoffke, <i>pane sofke</i> , valley deep. Sem.
Pilatka, <i>waca ak pilatka</i> , driving many cows across. Sem.	Withlacooche, <i>oiva slakke uche</i> , water long, narrow. Sem.
Pithlo-chokeo, boat house (ship). Sem.	Chase-howi'ska, pumpkin kay. Sem.
Oelawaha, water muddy in the. Mik.	Alaqua (hiliqua?) sweet gum. Sem.
Tobopkilige, <i>tohopki laiki</i> , fort site. Sem.	Fenholloway, <i>fenholoue</i> , young turkey. Sem.
Locktshapopka, <i>locktsha popka</i> , acorn to eat. Sem.	Oklokne, <i>okeloknee</i> , much bent. Sem.
Hiehepoksasa, <i>hihepok sasa</i> , pipe many. Sem.	Etawa, one polling (a boat). Sem.
Wekiwache, <i>oiva vche</i> , water. Sem.	Etenaiah, scrub. Sem.
Homosasa, <i>homo sassa</i> , pepper many. Sem.	Econholloway, <i>icana halue</i> , earth high. Sem.

#### IV.—GENERAL GATES'S SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN.\*

BY GENERAL THOMAS PINCKNEY.

CLERMONT 27th July 1822.

Dear Sir

I have received much gratification from the perusal of your Sketches of the life of Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene; every citizen of the State of S<sup>c</sup>. Carolina, which was rescued from the most galling subjection by the abilities & exertions of that meritorious Officer, must rejoice that his services & his character have at length been properly commemorated; & that the eminent literary talents of our Country, have gratefully contributed to transmit to posterity the virtues & the merits of one of our greatest benefactors.

But while the authentic documents to which you had access, have enabled you to do justice to the fame of one great Officer, the want of similar testimony has apparently given rise in your relation, to strictures on the conduct of another, which if on further investigation you discover rather to have originated from incorrect intelligence, or to have been assumed in the absence of all information on the subject, the disposition you have manifested for impartiality, will I am assured, induce you to correct the impressions which may have been thereby made on the public mind. With this hope I purpose to communicate to you some facts & observations which may tend to place the military conduct of Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates in a more favorable light than you have hitherto viewed it. And in order to prove to you that I had the means of being accurately informed on whatever relates to this subject, I will state that during the Siege of

Charleston, when the enemy had pushed his approaches to our wet ditch, & Gen<sup>l</sup> Duportail had reported the impracticability of a protracted resistance, Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln sent me to communicate his situation to the Governor & to urge the bringing down the Militia, & whatever regular force might be in the State, to endeavor to raise the Siege: the same service in which in a few days after, our friend Edward Rutledge was captured. After passing two of the most unpleasant days of my service in the swamps of Christ Church Parish surrounded by parties of the Enemy, I got through to Georgetown, where I found the Governor. Various transactions unnecessary to detail succeeded, & finally I repaired to the Continental Army near Coxe's Mill & reported myself to the Baron De Kalb, who desired me to join his family. In a few days Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates assumed the command, & having been introduced to him, at his first interview with the Baron, he requested that Officer to permit me to serve as one of his Aides-de-Camp. From that day I was constantly with him until the fatal 16<sup>th</sup> of August. In this capacity I saw all the orders before they were issued; was employed in composing his proclamation, & in some of his correspondence, particularly in a letter to Lord Rawdon on the subject of military usage, with respect to flags of truce, & in dispatches to Gen<sup>l</sup> Sumter, &c., &c.: which circumstances I mention to show the confidential footing on which I was placed by the General; whence I may have been acquainted with his views & intentions, although they were not disclosed even to Col<sup>l</sup> Otho Williams, who acted as Adjutant General.

This was an Officer for whom I had a sincere regard, whose military talents I highly respected & for the fidelity of whose narrative, as far as he was informed, I can safely vouch. But there was one circumstance, of which he appears

\* We are indebted for the use of this interesting paper, to our late esteemed friend, the venerable HENRY JOHNSON, M.D., of Charleston, S. C.

At the period referred to, General Pinckney was the Aide-de-camp of General Gates; and his subsequent career as Governor of South Carolina. President Washington's Minister to Great Britain, etc., forms part of the history of the country.

by his narrative, not to have been apprised, which being of the most material import, I will first notice; which is that the movement in the night of the 15<sup>th</sup> of August was not made with the intention of attacking the enemy, but for the purpose of occupying a strong position so near him as to confine his operations, to cut off his supplies of Provisions, from the upper parts of the Wateree & Pedee Rivers, & to harass him with detachments of light Troops, & to oblige him either to retreat or to come out & attack us upon our own ground, in a situation where the Militia which constituted our principal numerical force, might act to the best advantage.

But you may ask how it appears that such was the General's intention. I answer in the first place from my testimony, for I perfectly well remember asking him if it was then his intention of attacking the enemy, he answered No! assigning as his reason the number of Militia who formed the bulk of his Army. In stating this, I am aware of the objection arising from the fallibility of human memory, especially of a man of 72 years; but I can appeal to the testimony of all those with whom I have conversed on the subject, during the last forty years, for the consistency of my relation; particularly of my brother (C. C. Pinckney) with whom you are well acquainted, & to whom as soon as I met with him, I detailed all the circumstances, while fresh in my memory. But other facts strongly corroborate this statement; & the internal evidence arising from the circumstances of the Parties is conclusive that such was Genl Gates' intention. The first fact is that previous to the movement, I think it was on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, Col. Senf & Majr Porterfield, the former an Engineer—the other a judicious & distinguished officer, who had served in all his campaigns with Genl Morgan, were sent forward to select a position in front, cal-

culated for the purposes I have mentioned. They returned & reported that they had found a position 5 or 6 miles in advance, with a thick swamp on the right, a deep Creek in front & thick low ground also on the left; but this flank not being so well secured as the right, Col. Senf proposed to strengthen it with a Redoubt or two & an Abbatiss. As those Officers were dispatched from headquarters, & returned & reported to the General in person, it is possible that Col. Williams, who does not mention it, may not have known the transaction, but I have the most perfect recollection of it. But a circumstance which the Colonel does relate further corroborates my statement; it is this, (Ap<sup>x</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Vol. pg. 493) after the breaking up of the Council of War on the 15<sup>th</sup> Col. Williams presented the returns of the Army, from which it appeared that the number was considerably below that at which it had been estimated by the General, who after remarking on the great disproportion of the Officers to the privates, added "however they are sufficient for our purpose." That purpose he did not explain to him, but it certainly could not have been to attack a fortified post, well garrisoned. They were however sufficient to have repulsed any force the Enemy had in the vicinity, if so posted as to have rendered the Militia force efficient. Another corroboration is that a very short time before he left Clermont; I think it was as late as the 15<sup>th</sup>, the General detached some Artillerists with a field piece & 100 Continentals, under Col. Woolford, with two or three hundred North Carolina Militia to reinforce Genl Sumter, but it is very improbable that he would have deprived himself, at any rate of the regular part of the detachment, if he had meditated an immediate attack. It is obvious also that the general order of the 15<sup>th</sup> August is only an Order of March comprising such precautions in case of their

meeting the enemy, as should be taken in every movement when near him. But if an attack at the conclusion of the March had been contemplated, much more extended details for the Order of assault would have been indispensable. If we now consider the situation & circumstances of the two armies, & allow to Gates only a moderate share of Military judgement, the internal evidence is strong that what I have mentioned was the plan proposed. From different sources of information, (the means for obtaining which were not neglected as shall be shown) the British force was stated at from 1200 to 2000 men. Lord Rawdon having retired before the American Army made it probable that their force did not amount to the largest statement. They were posted in Camden which they had fortified with strong Redouts & stockaded lines. The American regulars did not amount to 1300 men including Armand's Corps; the Militia were about 1700. In Armand's Corps the General from previous knowledge, had no confidence, & he was too well experienced in the services of Militia to think them proper troops to attack Lines & Redouts. If he estimated therefore the enemy at their smallest number, it is impossible that he should have designed an Attack on them in such a Post, with his force thus composed. But the plan which I have stated to have been that of Genl Gates is consistent with sound Military principles & the best in my opinion, which in his situation could have been adopted. For if the force he commanded had been once established in the post he had reconnoitered, the situation of the British Army would have been rendered precarious. Col. W. H. Harrington an influential character in that part of the Country had been detached to the upper part of the Pedee, to animate & take command of the Militia; to forward supplies of provisions to our Army; to pre-

vent any from being sent to the British, on whose right flank he was to endeavor to establish himself. Orders of a similar import had been given to Genl Marion, on his being detached to the lower parts of Pedee & Santee. Genl Sumter had been reinforced from the Main Army & ordered to act on the west side of the River Wateree. Under these circumstances what course could the Enemy have pursued? he could not have remained longer in Camden for want of provisions. His first object probably would have been, to attempt to force our position, but judging from similar attempts in the last War, as well as in that of the Revolution, it is fair to conclude that this measure would have proved disastrous to him. If doubtful of attacking us in front, he had endeavored by a detour to have come round upon our rear, he could not spare a sufficient force to garrison Camden, so as to prevent our Army from occupying that Post, while he was on his march; in which the proximity of our situation would have much facilitated the measure. His next resource would have been to occupy the Wateree & fallen back through the forks of that river & the Congaree, to meet his reinforcements & supplies coming from Charleston: but this he would have found difficult & hazardous to attempt. Genl Sumter reinforced from the Main Army, was on the West of the Wateree; he had just forced the Guard at the Ferry & captured the British supplies with their escort; & from an intimation from Genl Gates could have forwarded his prisoners to the interior & taken post on the west side of the Ferry, with his troops flushed with success, & probably augmented by the accession of all the Whigs in the vicinity to whom the situation of affairs could have been communicated. With such a force in his front & Gates' Army so close in his rear, the Enemy could scarcely have effected his passage of the

River without serious loss. If he had attempted to pass by the Road on the East side of the River Wateree, it must still have been a perilous service. Harrington with the Militia of Upper Pedee & probably reinforced from the Main Army, would have hung on to what would then have been his left flank. Gen<sup>l</sup> Marion would have thrown himself in his front below, cutting trees across the Road & destroying bridges to retard his progress, & intercepting his supplies from the low country. Gen<sup>l</sup> Sumter by a parallel march on the west side of the Wateree, might have cut off his supplies from that quarter; & prevented his crossing at any of the passages below, which are all difficult, while Gates pursuing with the main Army, at a proper distance, by detaching light Corps of his most active troops detailed for that purpose under such officers as Williams & Howard, might have effectually harassed his rear. If at any time Cornwallis should have turned upon his pursuers, with the hope of bringing on a general action, our Army might easily have retired over the ground recently passed and which of course would have been accurately reconnoitered with this view; & the enemy might have been retarded or opposed in force whenever a position offered, affording a decided superiority. Or in the last resort, Camden might have been re-occupied, where the works erected by the British themselves, would have rendered it improbable that they would have hazarded an attack. I have entered into the above detail of what it appears to me would have been the natural result, if our Army had occupied the position contemplated by Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates, to convince you that without my testimony, it is highly probable that his intention was such as I have related. I think it also shows that it was not a rash or ill advised attempt but better than any other he could pursue. For Rugely's was a bad position; a small

detour would have placed an enemy on either flank. To have fallen back from thence would have discouraged the good men of the Country, & have given confidence to the opposite party. To have crossed the Wateree as has been suggested, by the same route as the reinforcements were sent to Gen<sup>l</sup> Sumter, besides having a similar discouraging tendency, could not have been effected without much hazard, embarrassed as we were with artillery & baggage, & the ferry within about six miles of Camden. To that place, no doubt, intelligence of our movement would have been speedily conveyed, & Tarlton's Corps & the light troops would have been immediately detached to harass & detain us until their main body could have been brought up to attack us while embarrassed in our passage. Besides this movement, if successful would have abandoned to the enemy every thing to the eastward of the Wateree; all the produce of that side of the river; all the fertile banks of the Pedee & of Black River, would have furnished them with supplies of provisions, which otherwise would have come to the American Camp. If Col. Williams is right in his opinion that if the General had taken a safe position, (which by his movement he was endeavoring to effect) provisions would have flowed into his Camp. The General had no inducement to retire by this route, from the proximity of the Enemy, by the hope of being strengthened by reinforcements of Regulars; none being soon expected, & this is evident from the tardiness with which from Col. Williams' journal it appears that the few troops of this description, who afterwards joined the Army at Hillsboro', arrived at a post so much farther North. And with respect to an augmentation of force by the junction of Volunteers or Militia Corps, he would probably have received more of them while exhibiting a confidence in the troops he already

commanded, than when appearing to retire or shun a contest with the enemy. Indeed the troops of this description already in Camp, were sufficiently numerous, if so situated as to be available; which accounts for the General's answer before noticed to Col. Williams. That with his force, the occupation of the position contemplated, which was reported to be 6 or 7 miles distant from the enemy, was not too close, is sanctioned by the opinion of Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene, as manifested by his own conduct, when at a subsequent period he took post within a mile of this same town with a force numerically inferior to that which composed its Garrison. Indeed the observation which you relate to have been made by that Officer, of the fatality attending operations in the vicinity of Camden, renders it probable that Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates was exculpated in his opinion, from rashness or misconduct in his advance.

But the misfortune of the American Army is attributed principally to the want (*Vol. 1<sup>st</sup> pg 296 & 297*) of intelligence of the British force, owing to a neglect of measures calculated to obtain it. Now of the General's anxiety to procure intelligence, & his endeavor to employ proper agents, I can more safely testify, because I was one of those whom he directed to engage persons who might be confided in for that purpose. This being a dangerous service, & always well remunerated, I asked the General what money should be offered, when he assured me he had not one dollar. Our own paper was here totally worthless, & the only resource left, to which I was obliged to resort, was to impress the horse of one man, to pay for the secret services of another.

But Gen<sup>l</sup> Marion is very properly referred to as a source whence intelligence should have been obtained; & if you will examine Col. Williams' narrative (*Vol. 1<sup>st</sup> pg 488*) you will find he states "the General himself was glad of an op-

"portunity of detaching Col. Marion, at his own instance, towards the interior of S<sup>c</sup> Carolina, with orders to watch the motions of the Enemy & furnish intelligence."\* Add to this that Col. Sumter was on the other side of the Wateree, had instructions of similar import; Col. Harrington on the upper side of the Pedee the same, & these being the Officers of the Country, & best acquainted with the inhabitants, were surely the best channels from which information could be obtained. No opportunity of interrogating the inhabitants of the Country was omitted; & I have already mentioned a letter written by the General on the subject of Flags of truce, being an answer to a complaint made by Lord Rawdon on the conduct of Lieut. McAllister of the Maryland Line, who had been sent to the Enemy with a Flag, relating to a British Officer who had been taken prisoner by the advance of Armand's Corps. This was a legitimate object for the flag, & the opportunity was not neglected of intrusting it to an intelligent officer, with instructions to employ his eyes; & this is considered as being fair, because the party receiving the flag has always the Power to stop the bearer, or to prevent him from seeing what it may be desirable to conceal. On this head it may be added that far from neglecting the means of information, the General's eagerness to obtain it, rendered him liable to censure for having trusted an improper Agent. (See *Williams, pg 491, App<sup>r</sup>.*)

I hope I have said enough to convince you that Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates was not negligent on the subject of intelligence; that he took the means in his power to obtain it, & did all in that line that could be expect-

\* Col. Williams is however in error, in supposing that Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates was ignorant of the character of Col. Marion, or that he was glad of an opportunity of detaching him. He adopted that measure after conferring with the Colonel, who offered to attempt the service he afterwards so well executed. I had served from June, 1775, in the regular Army with Col. Marion, & knew his eminent services at Fort Moultrie & Savannah & being in the General's family, he could not have been ignorant of Marion's character.

ed from an Officer without secret service money, a stranger in the Country, & who had been in command of the Army only 18 or 20 days. But in fact he was not materially deficient in information of the enemy's force. The only circumstance of importance of which he was ignorant was of the arrival of Cornwallis at Camden, on the evening of the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, & that he may have been for one day without knowledge of that occurrence will not appear strange, when it is considered, that the British General approached rapidly, & I believe with only his personal escort. If his march had not been precipitate, or if he had brought any reinforcement of consequence, it is scarcely to be imagined that he could have eluded the known vigilance of Marion, expressly instructed for that purpose; but that he would have immediately discovered & communicated his progress to headquarters. Nor if the arrival of Cornwallis had been known & the most accurate information of his force, as it proved to be, had been received, were his 1700 regulars including Tarleton's Legion, & 300 N<sup>o</sup> Car<sup>a</sup> loyalists, a force so imposing as to have rendered it dangerous for the American General to have occupied a well-selected position within 6 or 7 miles of him. The regular infantry & artillery which Gates commanded were of the first class. The 600 Militia from Virginia were men of the finest appearance; they were commanded by Col. Stevens an old Continental Officer, & several of their sergeants had seen service in the regular army; the North Car<sup>a</sup> Militia, if properly stationed, would from their numbers have formed an imposing force. If the American Army had marched from Rugely's two hours earlier, or Cornwallis had moved from Camden two hours later, the event of the contest would probably have been very different. But the meeting in the night was one of those incidents frequently occurring

in War, which so often defeats the best combined arrangements.

It is suggested (*Vol. 1<sup>st</sup> pg. 301*) that the army should have retreated after the skirmish in the night; & some expressions of Baron De Kalb seem to be relied on in support of that opinion. But a little attention to the detail of the business will render it evident that such an attempt would have been more hazardous than risking the engagement on the ground occupied; & that the opinion of Gen<sup>l</sup> Stevens (which not being opposed by De Kalb or any other member was the opinion, of the Council of War) was correct, namely that it was too late to do anything but fight. The hour at which the first firing took place is correctly stated (*pg. 297*) to have been at half past two O'clock in the morning of the 16<sup>th</sup> August. At that period the Sun in this climate rises at 24 minutes past five; allowing an hour for twilight the day must have broken at 24 minutes past four, two hours only from the time of the rencounter. Any person who has observed in the day & in time of Peace, the time usually occupied in forming a body of 1600 or 1700 militia for an ordinary review, may easily imagine how much more it must occupy under the circumstances of an Army. What was the precise time, I do not recollect, but I well remember that soon after the troops were formed, the General moved along their front, saying a few words of encouragement to them; & that it was but a short time after he had proceeded along the front of Smallwood's Brigade composing the reserve, when our Artillery opened on the enemy. Consider also that the armies were drawn up within two or three hundred yards of each other, & judge then of the possibility of avoiding an action, & decide whether it was most prudent to engage in it with the Army already formed for action, or to have been forced with troops so composed to

have assumed an order of battle from the line of march, with our army disheartened & the enemy encouraged by the very circumstance of our retreat. No objection is made to the order of battle or to the conduct of Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates, as long as he was present; but it is asked (*pg* 298) why no attention was paid to the safety of the Continental troops who were waiting for orders from the Commander-in-chief; but he it seems, had been borne away by the torrent of Militia & could not find an Aid to convey his orders. The circumstance of his being borne away by the torrent of Militia, which Col. Williams describes as irresistible, was truly if involuntary, the greatest misfortune, or if it could have been avoided the greatest error of the General on that day. In what I witnessed while with him, I saw no indication of want of presence of mind. As soon as the firing in the night commenced, he hastened to the head of the Line, where he met Armand retreating, who urged the General to retire, as a smart firing was carried on where he was. The General answered that it was his duty to be where his orders might be necessary; & he remained there until the firing grew slack & the troops were beginning to be formed. I well remember Col. Williams riding up to him just at daybreak, & giving him information of the movement of the Enemy's troops on their right, but I may not have adverted to all that the Colonel said. I however observed no hesitation, but admired the promptness with which he ordered that Col. Stevens should be directed to make an immediate attack while the Enemy were maneuvering, & with which he then turned to me & said "Now Sir do you go to the Baron de Kalb, & desire him to make an attack on the "Enemy's left to support that made by "Gen<sup>l</sup> Stevens on the Right." I accordingly pressed on to the 2<sup>d</sup> Maryland Brigade on the right of our line, & as

soon as I had delivered my orders, & had seen that Wing fairly engaged I hastened back to find the General. But by this time the Militia had broken away; a few of those of N<sup>o</sup> Carolina only were opposing in small squads in the rear of the left of the Artillerists, who were then taken in flank, but still made a brilliant defence. In a few minutes more the enemy commenced their attack on the front & left flank of Smallwood's brigade which formed the reserve. I joined this Brigade near which I had left the General, & made the inquiry I could for him, but without success. While here I received a wound & becoming faint, I found myself supported on my horse by Maj<sup>r</sup> McGill, another of the General's Aids, who conveyed me to an Ammunition Wagon then endeavoring to escape, into which I was thrown. This accounts for the disposal of two of the Aids & the General had but three. How Cap<sup>t</sup> Richmond who was the third was employed, I know not, nor do I know of what Orders Maj<sup>r</sup> McGill was the bearer, but he must undoubtedly have been on the field with instructions from the General.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates is also censured for pursuing the route from Deep River where he joined the Army, by Mask's Ferry on the Pedee to Lynch's Creek on the road to Camden (*pg* 294). It is however observable that this was nearly the precise route which Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene pursued the succeeding April, the country being in both cases destitute of provisions, owing to previous exhaustion, & the natural sterility of a great part of the Soil. When Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates joined the Baron de Kalb on the 25<sup>th</sup> July, the American Army had been in that neighborhood three weeks & had exhausted all the provisions within their reach. I therefore admired Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates' prompt decision, when on being informed of the condition of the Army in this respect, then we may as well march on & starve, as starve lying here.

The only doubt was concerning the most eligible course, & this was a choice of difficulties. In whatever direction the Army might move, the country exhausted by the residence of the Army must be passed over; the barrens between the upper branches of the Cape Fear & the Catawba must be traversed, of course it was inevitable that they should be distressed for food for several days march. The neighborhoods of Charlotte & Salisbury were represented to be good provision districts; & the banks of the Pedee were known to be among the most fertile parts of our Country. Mask's ferry on the Pedee lies not far from the main road from our Camp on Deep river to Charlotte. As far therefore as that point on the march whereto the Army suffered most, no blame can attach for the selection. The only question then is whether from Mask's ferry the Army should have deviated westward, or have taken the course it pursued towards Camden, & this question was decided by a consideration which could scarcely fail to preponderate. Col. Williams discloses the circumstance, & I can fully testify to the accuracy of his account of the improper conduct of Gen<sup>l</sup> Caswell who commanded a body of about 1200 N<sup>o</sup> Car<sup>a</sup> Militia. This Officer having advanced beyond Mask's ferry, had been urged by Baron de Kalb, & repeatedly directed by Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates to form a junction with the regular Army, instead of complying with those injunctions, he continued to advance towards Lynch's Creek, where the Enemy was in some force. The only means then of securing this accession to the Army, & probably of preserving them from defeat & destruction, was to form a junction as rapidly as possible. Could Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates under these circumstances have retired to refresh his Army in summer quarters at Charlotte or Salisbury, leaving this body of Militia, the only hope of immediate support from the

State in which he was acting, to be sacrificed by the imprudence or misconduct of their commanding Officer? Sound policy forbade it. Ought he from a remote situation, to have been an inactive spectator of the triumph of the British, & the discomfiture of a body of our Countrymen, dedicated to the same service with the Army of the U. States? Patriotism & Humanity revolted at the Idea. He determined to hasten to their succour, & no doubt can exist that but for the approach of the regular Army, the enemy would have made a dash at this Corps: & how easily they might have been surprised is evident from the curious account of their discipline recorded by Col. Williams.

The only remaining censure on the conduct of Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates which I have observed, is that he did not attack the enemy's Post on Little Lynch's Creek in order to force a direct passage to Camden. But as I have shown that he did not contemplate an immediate attack on Camden, even after he had formed a junction with this Militia Corps, he could scarcely have had such an intention previous to his receiving this reinforcement. Being desirous however to destroy this detachment of the Enemy, Col. Williams relates that he directed their position to be accurately reconnoitered; but finding them to be very advantageously posted on a deep Creek, not passable for several miles, but over a single causeway & bridge, which they occupied, it is obvious that he must have sustained considerable loss in the Assault; he then effected his only remaining object, which was to drive them into Camden by a simple flank march. This manœuvre is considered to have been judicious & strictly consonant to military principles.

Thus Sir, concurring in opinion with the Poet that "*Absentem qui rodit amicum, qui non defendit alio culpante, hic niger est,*" I have endeavored to

do justice to an Officer, to whom as far as the services of a Commander of an Army avail, the United States are indebted for one of the most important & brilliant victories of the Revolutionary War. In so doing I have endeavored to prove that when he assumed the command of the Southern Army he was not to blame in immediately moving forward. That the Route he selected was in the first instance a choice of nearly equal difficulties, & finally such as, from circumstances not within his control, it became his duty to continue. That his conduct was strictly correct in refraining from the attack of the British Post on Little Lynch's creek. That his movement from Rugely's was not a rash or injudicious measure, but that the Plan he thereby contemplated to execute, was the most advisable he could then adopt, & preferable to the only alternative which has been suggested of passing to the westward of the Wateree, & a plan that but for the unfortunate encounter at night, offered the fairest prospects of success. That after that encounter an immediate action became inevitable. That the order of battle & the directions given by him while present were judicious. That he did not neglect to obtain intelligence, but employed all such as were in his power. That however deficient in some of the means of obtaining it, he had sufficient information of the enemy's force. That this force was not such as ought to have imposed on him the necessity of foregoing material advantages in order to avoid an action upon advantageous terms; and that his ignorance for 24 hours of the arrival of Cornwallis, must have been owing to some accidental circumstance, as he had employed the most vigilant, active & judicious officer of the Country, who was posted near the route, to watch & communicate the motions of the Enemy. If I shall have succeeded in obtaining the concurrence of

your opinion on those points, I rely on your candor for adopting proper means to correct the less favorable opinion which may have resulted from your animadversions.

I will now beg leave to call your attention to a paragraph in your work, not connected with the subject of the above remarks; but which casts a censure on that part of the American Army which co-operated in the assault on the British Lines at Savannah. It is in these words (Vol. 1<sup>st</sup>, pg 272), "Yet even at the last moment, the attack might have succeeded, had not the treachery of a deserter assisted the vigilance of the enemy in making dispositions to meet it; and had all the corps of the American Army fought with equal bravery." As no Corps is designated nor the proportion of those who misbehaved mentioned, this may have the effect of an indiscriminate censure on nearly the whole. But I can assure you that the assertion is founded in error. No want of bravery was exhibited by any part of the American Army. It is true that the assault was not pushed vigorously on our right, by a large body of the Country Militia, but they were directed to make only a feint attack, & it was so expressed in the general order. No imputation could therefore attach to them. On which therefore, & on how many, corps is the censure to rest? The truth is however that the failure was to be attributed in the first place to the strength of the enemy's lines, which were by this time beyond insult; in part to the improper order of attack, but principally to its being badly executed, which was entirely owing to the delay occasioned by the late arrival of the French Troops on the ground, where the Corps destined for the attack rendezvoused. The French General was as brave as Julius Cæsar, but had no other qualifications for command. I do not make this remark without having known him, for after Genl

Lincoln had in Charleston concerted with the French Adjutant Genl the attack on Savannah, he sent Col. Cambridge & myself to Count D'Estaing who had requested that an American Officer or two might be sent with him, while at sea & after landing until Genl Lincoln arrived, when I joined my Regiment, & was with it during the Siege & in the assault. I therefore witnessed the whole progress of this abortive attempt; but I never then or since; but on this occasion, heard an imputation cast on any corps of the American Army. If I had not already used the old man's privilege, by trespassing so long on your patience, I would give you a detail of this unfortunate attempt, but I shall rest in confidence that on a reperusal, you will think it right so to modify this paragraph, as, if there be any testimony of the misbehavior of either of the American Corps, it may be designated, or the whole absolved from an imputation which I believe neither of them merited.

I will take the liberty of mentioning before I conclude, an error in the narrative relating to Genl Lincoln. It is in Vol. 1<sup>st</sup>, pg 296, where you state that after the fall of Charleston Genl Lincoln retired "under a great deal of unmerited censure to be no more called into service in the field." The epithet "unmerited" certainly evinces that you had no intention of depreciating the character of my worthy old Commander & friend. The mistake has however in some degree this effect, because the real state of the case certainly redounds much more to his credit, which is that notwithstanding his recent ill success in Charleston, his merits & his talents were so justly appreciated by those who were the most competent judges, that after his exchange he was again actively employed in the Northern Army & accompanied Genl Washington to Yorktown, where on the surrender of Earl Cornwallis, he was the Officer appointed to

receive his submission & his Sword. Soon after this he was appointed to act as Secretary of War.

If, Sir, my expressions have conveyed my real sentiments, you will be convinced that the above remarks have been dictated by no unfriendly motives, but from a sense of what I thought the occasion required of me; & from a desire that a work which I think calculated to commemorate with justice the services of a most deserving officer, & at the same time to do credit to its Author & to the literary character of our State, may be as exempt as possible from error.

I have requested my Son Cotesworth to wait upon you with this letter, & if you have no prospect of issuing soon another edition of your Work, to concert with you on the most unexceptionable mode in which my testimony & opinion on those subjects may be made known; accompanied if you choose it, by such remarks as you may think proper to make thereon. I am with great respect & esteem Dear Sir

Your Obedient Servant

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

HON. WILLIAM JOHNSON.

#### V.—STRICTURES ON GEN. BROWN'S REPORT ON THE BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE.\*

BY GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT.

Geneva, September 5<sup>th</sup> 1814.

Dear Colonel,

Your letter of the 2<sup>d</sup> Instant, is as honorable to your magnanimity, as your conduct in the action of the 25<sup>th</sup> July was pre-eminently daring and efficient.

I am, myself much dissatisfied with the Official report of that battle. I agree

\* From the papers of General Brady, in my possession. ED HIST. MAG.

with you that Colonel Brady has been greatly neglected—that the good conduct and gallantry of Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Leavenworth should have been handsomely noticed,—but I do not agree with you, my dear Colonel, that it was the good fortune of either of those meritorious Officers, or, of any other engaged on that day, to equal the act of turning the enemy's left flank &c. &c. &c.

The intrepidity and coolness of Colonel Brady could not have been surpassed; he was greatly exposed, (within half musket shot of the enemy) for a considerable time; he maintained his ground, he performed his duty to my satisfaction, and is entitled to the esteem and gratitude of his Countrymen,—he has *mine* in a high degree. Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Leavenworth did all that man could have done in the several conspicuous situations he was placed in, and added largely to the fame, previously acquired on the plains of Chippewa.

Poor Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Colonel M. Niel! he was unfortunately too early wounded, after shewing his noble front to the Enemy. I trust in God he will recover his health and save his limb, that the Country may not lose his valuable Services.

To have fought and bled on the same field with the noble spirits I have mentioned, and at the head of the bravest band of veterans is indeed my highest honor. To neglect them willfully, were in me shame, and infamy in the extreme. No: altho' I do not see how my feeble pen or voice can do justice to exalted merit; something shall be attempted. Full reparation I fear cannot be obtained, my unfortunate situation since the action of the 25<sup>th</sup> is known; and you know also my repeated endeavors to obtain justice for my Brigade in respect to the battle of Chippewa. Notwithstanding the Brevets this has not been effected. The *Nation* has been more injured than ourselves; for it remains yet to be told; (and it can be told, on the fullest and

most unquestionable evidence) that eleven hundred and fifty American troops (the 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade) and Towson's Company of Artillery, defeated in open field, and drove one and an half miles, on their strong works, TWENTY ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY BRITISH REGULARS, who had advanced upon us in all the pride of an anticipated triumph;—this has not been told; altho' the circumstances of the Nation at the time, required that it should be told in the strongest terms. And why? perhaps the reporter expected it might at some future period appear, that he *had nothing to do in the event!*—The report of the Second action is, if possible, yet more lame and imperfect, unjust and incomplete. Let us admit the excuse of the writer, that he was himself wounded and confined, and let us remember another fact; that he saw but little of the action; we shall still have to come to the conclusion, that it requires as much ability to *report* a successful action, as to fight one. Major Gen<sup>l</sup>. B— however he may stand with the nation has not afforded sufficient evidence to the Army, that he is competent to either task.

I am aware that I may be accused of ingratitude for the expression of such sentiments; I may be reminded that Major General B— has said, that to me, more than &c: he was indebted for the victory of the 5<sup>th</sup>, leaving you thereby to suppose, if you will, the nation under a like obligation to himself. Better that he had confined himself to a simple statement of facts. I might have dispensed with his comments and his praises.

These Sentiments it may be improper to make public, before the conclusion of the Campaign, and in the mean time I know not what to do in relation to our injured brother Officers: I cannot avail myself of the public prints with military propriety, and tho' I should make a statement to the Secretary of War, the

letter would not be published 'till the end of the Campaign—if then.

I shall send a copy of your Letter to Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Leavenworth, and you are at Liberty to Shew this to Colonel Brady, and, if you see him, to Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Col. McNiel.

That you may soon get the better of your wounds, and long enjoy the high reputation you have won, is the fervent prayer of

Yours Sincerely  
W. SCOTT.

To Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Col: Jessup.

# VI.—DETAILS OF THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE REGULARS AND VOLUNTEERS, IN RELATION TO THE PART TAKEN BY EACH IN THE CAPTURE OF BATTERY NO. 1. AND OTHER WORKS AT THE EAST END OF THE CITY OF MONTEREY, ON THE 21st OF SEPTEMBER, 1846.\*

BY COLONEL ELECTUS BACKUS, U. S. A.

In the *Daily Globe* of March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1858, Genl Quitman is reported to have said—"I was an eye witness on another field of the efficiency, steadiness & gallantry of volunteers. The gallant Mississippi and 1<sup>st</sup> Tennessee Regts, under Colonel Jefferson Davis, & Colonel Campbell, marched for *two miles*, under an unceasing fire, and carried the *works*, on the east side of the city of Monterey, from which,—and I say it, without desiring to reflect on the Regulars,—the regular force, *superior* in numbers, had been *repulsed*. I say they were *repulsed*, because the fact is true. They were *repulsed* but it was with immense loss. A great number of officers fell. No

"troops could have fought better,\* than Col Garlands. Yet they were *repulsed*, and the *Batteries*, were carried by my *Brigade of Volunteers*. Tell me then about Volunteers running at the 1st fire."†

REPLY.——— On the 21<sup>st</sup> of Sept. 1846, the troops under Genl Taylors orders, assaulted the defensive works, at the eastern extremity of Monterey. *One Battery, & two inferior works, only*, were carried. The *1st work*, the Tannery, was carried by Capt Backus (under Col Garlands orders) with 88 men, soon after 8. Oclock, a. m. The *2d work*, (the distillery) was silenced, and abandoned by the Mexicans, at about 10. a. m. This was also effected by a portion of Col Garlands command (under Capt Backus.) Genl Quitmans Brigade was not yet ordered to town.‡ The Battery, No. 1., fell at 12. m. (when Quitmans Brigade came in,) & Genl Taylor divides the credit of carrying *this work*, between Capt Backus, with *about sixty Regulars*; and Genl Quitman, *with a Brigade of Volunteers*.§

## IN REFERENCE TO NUMBERS.

Genl Garland marched to town, with the following Regulars. 1<sup>st</sup> Infy. 187—3<sup>rd</sup> Infy. 296 = 483. The Baltimore Battalion *not Regulars*, 334 = 817—But the Baltimorans were not in the fight—They dispersed & fled—They were Volunteers & not counted by Genl Quitman,—so that Garlands force on his arrival in town, was only 483,—Quitmans force was 877. men as follows. Mississippi Reg<sup>t</sup> 434, Tennessee Regt 443 = 877.—The only Regulars employed against Battery No. 1, were about 80 or 90 men of the 1st Infy under Capt Backus—and after Col Garland had retired, about 90 men of

\* He should have excepted Volunteers. E. B.

† The underscoring is my own. E. B.

‡ See Henry's letters & Kinney's letter. E. B.

§ See Genl Taylors Report of Oct. 9th, 1846, also Henrys & Kinneys letters. E. B.

\* Like the article, from the same pen, in the July number of the MAGAZINE, the following was communicated to me by the gallant author of it, since deceased. H. B. D.

the 4th Infy, approached Battery No. 1, & were paralyzed by its fire. These troops were not under Col Garland. He had retired.\* Deduct Garlands whole force from Quitmans, & it leaves Quitmans superiority 394—If you deduct from Quitmans force, (877,) all the troops of the 1st & 4th, employed against Battery No. 1, (180) it leaves Quitmans superiority 697.—The 3<sup>d</sup> Infy, was not employed against Battery No. 1:—These figures will hardly support Genl Quitmans assertions.†

Genl Quitmans Brigade was mustered into service a few months previously with <sup>(Ten. Mis.)</sup> 1974 men. He had been in no action—“*Volunteers never desert.*” yet he was reduced at this early day to 877 men. Loss—1097.—How did it happen?

#### WAS GARLAND, OR THE REGULARS REPULSED?

He was not repulsed. He ordered his troops to retire, after he was advised to do so. A part of his troops under Capt Backus, did not receive the order—& did not retire. Two officers‡ and about 60 or 80 men, were not repulsed, but remained in town all day and all night, even after Genl Quitman & his Brigade of Volunteers, had returned to camp. Col Garland was not pressed, at the time he retired any more than Genl Quitman was, when he retired. Both assaulted Fort Diablo and the trenches adjacent—both failed to carry them—and both retired under orders, & without compulsion.

Soon after the Battle of Monterey, Genl Butler, stated to Genl Taylor, “that Capt Backus was not within “musket range of No. 1. Battery on the “21st of Sept.” An Engineer officer had estimated his distance, (the Tan-

nery,) from the distillery, at 120 yards. Capt Backus, in his report, made the same estimate. Genl Taylor ordered the ground measured; It was measured by Dr. Laub, now Surgeon U. S. A. at Fort Columbus, N. Y. & he certified to the distance being 117 yards and three-fourths of a yard. In the next place, Genl Twiggs, Genl Hamer, & Col Garland were appointed a commission, & sent to town to examine my position & report an opinion. I was ordered to go in, & show them my position. I did so. Their opinion was strongly in my favor, & Genl Hamer strenuously defended my claims, (without my knowledge at the time,) against the claims of the Volunteers.

Col McClung of the Mississippi Regt. sent me a message by a Capt. McAllister, “that he, McClung, was the 1st man who “entered Battery No. 1.—but that when “he entered, not a live Mexican was in “the work. They had retired, & he “saw a small party of Regular troops in “advance of him. He did not know who “they were, but was informed they belonged to, Capt Backus’s Company.”

A day or two after the battle, but before any controversy was developed, Col Campbell of the Tennessee Regt, said to Col Henry Whiting, Qr. Mr. that, “for some reason which he could not understand, when Quitmans Brigade arrived within a few hundred yards of “Battery No. 1, the firing *entirely ceased.*” Col Whiting replied, “it was because “the enemy had retired, & was pursued “by Capt. Backus.” This conversation was repeated to me a day or two after by Col. Whiting.

The advance of Genl Quitmans Brigade undoubtedly hastened the retreat of the Mexicans, but the fire of Capt. Backus’s command on their rear, must have been a positive incentive, to a change of position, which can not be ignored, or overlooked.

Genl Quitman says, “his Brigade ad-

\* See Henrys letters. E. B.

† For the figures, see Genl Taylors return of troops made on the 21st of Sept. 1846. E. B.

‡ Capt Backus & Capt. J. M. Scott. E. B.

"vanced under an unceasing fire for *two miles*." The absurdity of the remark could only excite a smile with those who saw the ground. For *two miles*, read *1000 yards*. Capt Henry says *500 yards*, but I think it may be *1000 yards* across the plain where Quitmans Brigade advanced. Twelve years after this occurrence, Gen Quitman, in his place in Congress, made the statement at the head of this article, & if uncontradicted, it would become a matter of history. I have endeavored to refute it, by documents which can not be controverted, & whether I have succeeded or not, I know the fact, that the whole statement was unjust, and an excessive exaggeration. An answer was written for publication two years ago, but suppressed on account of Genl Quitmans decease.

## VII.—NORTH AMERICAN ROCK-WRITING AND OTHER ABORIGINAL MODES OF RECORDING AND TRANSMITTING THOUGHT.\*

BY THOMAS EWBANK, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE  
ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The discovery or alleged discovery of inscribed stones keeps alive discussion on the subject. A volume recently published, '*Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London*,' refers to a stone axe described in the proceedings of the American Ethnological Society of 1860. The writer observes that it may be an aboriginal implement, but the inscription he considers "a modern joke of some 'smart Yankee.'" As the relic was at my request sent to the Society, I think it proper to state that not a circumstance relating to its discovery justifies the impromptu decision. I believe it a moral impossibility for the old and respectable family on whose ground it was ploughed

up to lend themselves to a fraud, and the late Dr. Evans was not one easily duped—of a cool and cautious temperament, familiar with the country's antiquities, a lover of science and, let me add, a member of the Society of Friends. Nor was there much, if anything, in the inscription itself suggestive of deception, unless to minds previously disposed to suspect it.

"Must we all condemn and all distrust,  
Because some are false and some unjust."

If the inscription be a joke, I should say it is not a 'modern' one; but that its author had passed away ere the opening of the present, if not a preceding century. The stone may have been turned up a hundred times, so little was there to distinguish it in the eye of a ploughman from others in the soil—soil rich in Indian relics.

Those whose fondness for jokes leads them in this direction hope to witness their success—to see them *take*. The only one worth mentioning that I remember was by the waggish Editor of the New Orleans *Picayune*, some years ago. He announced the discovery of a Greek MS. that promised a stream of light on the ancient history of the Continent. Two or three over-credulous antiquaries at the North were in raptures, and besought him to hasten lithographic fac-similes. He blandly advised them to look at the date of the paper. It was the *first of April*. Smart Yankees are little disposed to get up jokes in carved stone or aught else that do not *pay*. The Mormon plates mentioned by this critic were, like the Greek document, a myth. The Indian figments imposed by Domenech on the French Government press could not have induced an American publisher to print the first page or pay for a single engraving.

As for manufacturing antiques, that may answer in Egypt and other parts of the East. There can never be a market

\* Read before the New York Historical and Ethnological Societies, May 7, 1866.

for them here if even honest labor were not vastly more profitable. It is, moreover, incredible that any respectable citizen can be tempted to incur the risk of being proclaimed a compound of the fool and knave, and leaving the stain on his descendants. The more successful the fraud the more acute the punishment. Few impostors have surpassed Psalmanazar in learning, invention, assurance and success, and assuredly none in mental suffering. At the age of thirty-two he awoke to the ignominy of his course and withdrew from public notice to his death in 1762. Thirty years of anguish and remorse! He left no information as to his parentage and native country. As a matter of course, the axe was left by the Ethnological Society to take its place among things of uncertain origin till Time, the great expositor, reveals their real value.

Of remains of barbarous or semi-barbarous people, marks or 'signs' painted on skins and scratched or cut on wood and stone are the most barren of information. Other antiquities generally speak in language readily understood. However imperfect in form or fabrication, they seldom leave room to doubt the purposes for which they were made, and the social condition of tribes that used them. Such things are always vernacular and everywhere. They abound too, whereas inscriptions are few, inexplicable and dumb. Not a syllable has been got out of them this side of Mexico. Judging from absence of arrangement, poverty of design and execution, they indicate a condition of life little, if any, in advance of the present tribes. There are, however, others who think alphabetical characters occur, and thence infer a connexion with foreign people through travellers or settled colonists. This may have been the case, but it lacks sufficient proof. Elemental forms of foreign literature, could they have been comprehended, would certainly have been the last things

the natives would have touched or thought of touching. Unless accompanied with other and very marked advances in civilization, the hypothesis is untenable.

American inscriptions are of two kinds or classes:

1. Those in Gothic, Hebrew or other recognized languages. By some, these are ascribed to ancient colonists, and by others denounced as modern forgeries. In one respect, it matters little which party is right, as they are not claimed to be of native origin. If genuine and of remote date, they might sustain the intrusive theory of transient visitors or local settlers, just as the current prevalence of Spanish, Portuguese and English tongues prove a modern occupation but that would give them no more claim to an indigene parentage than the headstones in our grave-yards or inscription on our coffins.

2. Those of unknown characters, or partly unknown, found mostly on rock in distant and divers parts of the country. Such only can safely be attributed to the red race. But as a few rude figures bear resemblance to letters, they present an enigma which some have solved, or thought to solve, by assigning to them comparatively modern dates. The decision may be right, but the test is unphilosophical and unreliable. It does not follow that an inscription must be of civilized origin because some of its characters resemble letters in Eastern writings, nor yet that ancient-like character in modern inscriptions are derived from the ancients. Another proposition is that American aborigines had no conception of phonetic symbols; hence, inscriptions on which such occur are either foreign or forged. The strongest proof of the Grave Creek pebble not being of Indian origin would be its character yielding intelligent information as symbols of sounds. They are arranged in three parallel lines, as in a book, but

there is nothing like that observable on rocks; on the contrary, the figures generally present a jumble of groups and single marks that appear to have little connexion with each other, as if the work of individuals on different times and occasions. There is, in truth, no more resemblance between North American rock-writing and inscriptions of Assyria and the East than between a child's unintelligible scrawls on paper and a printed page. To my mind, nothing is more palpable than that phonetic characters were as worthless to the authors of rock inscriptions as are their signs to us, and that they were incapable of the blunder of presenting to the eye symbols addressed to the ear. The latter would have been as inexplicable to them as are cabalistic figures on physicians' prescriptions to our children.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

#### VIII.—WHAT ARE THE METHODISTS CELEBRATING?

The vast body of Methodists throughout the United States are joyfully celebrating a Centenary, but a Centenary of what, seems to be, by some at least, misunderstood. It is our purpose, respectfully to show just what the members of this wide-spread and honored denomination are doing and just what they are not doing.

They are celebrating the Centennial Anniversary of the introduction of *Methodism in America*, not that of the establishment of a *Methodist Church*, as such, in this country; and it will be well for those who shall talk on this subject, to bear this fact in mind.

The truth is, the American Methodists of 1766–85 were avowed *Episcopalians*; their preachers were only “preachers,” not Pastors—not one of whom was allowed

either to administer the Lord's Supper or to baptize a convert; and every movement was subordinate to, and for the especial benefit of, the parish Episcopalian Church.

We have before us a copy of the *Minutes of some Conversations between the Preachers in connection with Rev. John Wesley, Philadelphia, June, 1773*—the first “General Conference” in America—during which “the following Rules “were agreed to” by all the Preachers present:

“1. Every preacher who acts in connection with Mr. Wesley and the brethren who labour in America, is strictly “to AVOID ADMINISTERING THE ORDINANCES “OF BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

“2. *All the people among the labour to “be EARNESTLY EXHORTED TO ATTEND THE “CHURCH, AND TO RECEIVE THE ORDINANCES “THERE; but in a particular manner to “press the people in Maryland and “Virginia, to the observance of this “minute.*

“3. No person or persons to be admitted to our love feast, oftener than twice “or thrice, unless they become members; “and none to be admitted to the *Society “meeting more than thrice.”*

It will be seen from this authoritative testimony that the Methodists of 1766–85 were only a “Society” *within* “the Church”: Mr. Wesley's letter “To Dr. “Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in “North America”, dated “Bristol, September 10th. 1784”, shows that, at that date, even, *none of his preachers had been ordained*—Francis Asbury was not even a Deacon, before 1785, as will be seen in Section IV. of the *Form of Discipline*, Edit. N. Y. 1789.

No one will pretend that an unofficial member of any “Society” can administer a Sacrament: Mr. Wesley's own *Sunday service of the Methodists*—the “Methodist “Prayer Book”—in the Ordination service of Deacons, thus tells us what a Deacon might do: “It pertaineth to the

"office of a Deacon, to assist the Elder in "Divine Service, and especially when he "ministereth the Holy Communion, to help "him in the distinction thereof, and to "read and expound the Holy Scriptures; "to instruct the youth, and in the absence "of the Elder, to Baptize. And further- "more, it is his office to search for sick, "poor, and impotent, that they may be "visited and relieved." (Edit. London, 1786, pp. 287, 288.)

It will be seen that even Francis Asbury, prior to 1785, was disqualified for the administration of an ordinance; but it was equally certain that, prior to that date, there was not a Methodist Church in the country, to which such Ordinances were necessary; neither was there a Methodist Pastor. All this is evident from the *Minutes of some Conversations between the Ministers and Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at a General Conference held at Baltimore, January, 1785*, and the first perfected *Form of Discipline*, Section IV.; and it seems proper to remind some of our friends that, prior to 1785, Methodists were necessarily *Episcopalians* of the British Established Church; that those who taught them were simply "Preachers"; that their church edifices were simply "Preaching-houses"; that even Francis Asbury was, subsequently, made successively a Deacon, Elder, and Bishop; and that not before January, 1785, was there a Methodist Church, as such, in America, nor a Methodist Pastor.

Let all honor be paid to the memory of the zealous, God-fearing founders of the Methodist Church in this country; let songs of Thanksgiving and Praise arise throughout the land, for the glorious success which has followed their devotion and disinterested labor; but do not let inconsiderate speakers and writers claim for the pioneers in their cause, what they would disclaim were they now living.

H. B. D.

## IX.—THE NEW HAMPSHIRE CONSTITUTION OF 1779.

Captain GOODWIN's brief notice of the Constitutional Convention in New Hampshire, in the last number of the MAGAZINE, has recalled to my memory a clever performance of Dr. BELKNAP, relating to the work of that body, which I found in one of the newspapers of the day, preserved in the collection made by Dr. GORDON, the historian of the American Revolution. His index to the volume refers to it as

"Mr. Belknap's Pennycook Egg, A Burlesque on the proposed N. H. Constitution and which promoted the "Rejection of it."

[From the *Independent Ledger*: July 26, 1779.]

MESSESS. DRAPER and FOLSOM:

Notwithstanding all the strange stories which have been told in the papers, I question whether you have printed any that exceeds the following, which you may depend upon for fact, and which lately happened at Pennycook in New Hampshire.

A large *speckled Hen*, which had been sitting on her nest, at times, for a twelvemonth, did on the fifth of June last produce an egg of an uncommon kind, which is now carrying about for a sight. I shall attempt to give you some description of it, with the conjectures of the virtuosi upon it. As the shell is happily transparent the inside may be perfectly well seen. The *white* appears exceeding *thin and rare* with here and there a black spot. This rarity of the *white* is thought to be occasioned by some defect in the nutritive faculty of the hen; for as this surrounding fluid is supposed to be intended to mollify the yolk and preserve it in a state of fecundity, it is conjectured that this fluid in its present state is insufficient for the purpose, and that the spots in it are rather signs of putrefaction than preservation. However, as reasoning from an analogy is not always conclusive we do not pronounce positively on the matter. The *yolk* which appears somewhat obscurely indeed thro' the external coverings, has been examined with a good microscope in a clear sun, and those who have the best skill in such matters conjecture that it contains a *bird not of the right sort*; but what it is they are not agreed. Some supposing the hen would not have ingendered with a bird of another species, except in the night, imagine it to be an *owl* or a *whippoorwill*. Others insist upon it to be a *hawk*, and even go so far as to pretend they can discover the *beak and talons*,

but they can account for it no other way than by proposing a rape to have been committed on the hen:—For my own part, having been pretty exact in my enquiries and observations, I suspect it will prove a *lousy chick* of the degenerate *British* breed, vulgarly titled *omnipotent*; for a cock of that species has of late been seen hovering about the yard where the hen was kept. If it should prove to be the case, it would be a pity the egg should not be crushed in the shell, as the owner of the hen is an honest man, and would be glad to live peaceably with his neighbours, and has been somewhat remarkable in his time for breeding a number of *game cocks*, which have been of service in defending his own and their yards from birds of prey; and if he should live to see peaceable times again, intends to supply the markets with good poultry. I am informed the hen seems inclined to keep her nest, and if allowed to brood her egg, it is supposed will hatch about the third Tuesday in September next; and I think it proper to publish this account that the friends of the honest man may before that time interpose, and advise him not to spoil his breed of poultry; as much better cocks may be obtained, and a better breed be propagated with a little more expence; which in the end will prove a lasting benefit to himself and the public.

*P. S. Perhaps the ingenious Mr. Hazard may be glad of this egg to hang up among other curiosities in this collection, as a Lusus Naturæ or an American absurdity.*

The playful reference to Mr. HAZARD appears to have been misunderstood, and led to the following explanation in a subsequent number of the paper:

[From the Independent Ledger: August 2, 1779.]  
Messrs. Printers,

The Publisher of the account of a late extraordinary production at Pennycook, which was printed in your last paper is sorry to find that the design of that publication has been misunderstood, and that some have supposed a reflection upon Mr. Hazard was intended, as he had taken the liberty to mention that Gentleman's name. He therefore thus publicly declares that he had no such intention, nor doth he believe that Mr. Hazard had any interest in or connection with the political transaction alluded to therein.

I trust that Capt. GOODWIN or some other New Hampshire correspondent will be able to reproduce the work of the Convention. Every illustration of the Constitutional labors of that period in all the States is significant, and may prove important.  
G. H. M.

## X. NOTES.

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH AT BALTIMORE.—In the interesting biographical sketch of Mr. Sparks, in a recent number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the singular fact of the names of four of the Pastors of the above church being of an *inflammable* nature, is mentioned, viz. Sparks, Greenwood, Furness, and Burnap. The writer might have extended his list still further, as Dr. Bellows and Rev. Mr. Cole supplied the pulpit after the resignation of Mr. Sparks; so that the list would read, Sparks, Greenwood, Furness, Bellows, Cole, and Burnap.

Washington, D. C.

R.

ANECDOTE OF GENERAL BRADDOCK.—General Braddock, to whom I had been known from my infancy, and who was particularly fond of me, the evening before his departure for America supped with me, accompanied by his two aides-de-camp, Major Burton and Capt. Orme. Before we parted, the General told me he should never see me more; for he was going, with a handful of men, to conquer whole nations; and to do this they must *cut their way* through unknown woods. He produced a map of the country, saying at the same time, "Dear Pop, we are sent like sacrifices to the altar." The event of the expedition too fatally verified the General's expectations. On going away, he put into my hands a paper, which proved to be his will. As he did not doubt my being married to Mr. Calcroft, from his apparent fondness for me, from the alteration in my behaviour, and from the preference I had given to him before Mr. Metham, he had made him his sole executor, leaving me only the plate which he had received as the usual perquisite from Government on his nomination. The death of this second father (as she calls him), we are afterwards told, threw her into a fever.—*From An Apology for the Life of George Anne Bellamy. London, 1785.* K.

## XL.—PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

### 1.—THE NEW ENGLAND NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

*Boston, Thursday, July 20.*—The regular monthly meeting of this Society was held at its rooms, this evening; Mr. C. R. Williams, Vice-President from Vermont, in the chair. After the transaction of the regular business, an interesting paper relating to "Ancient Coins and the Rise and Fall of Numismatic Art in the Middle Ages" was read before the Society. Donations were received from Messrs. Fellows, Cook, Childs, and others, and the thanks of the Society tendered. Among the coins were a proof set of the five, three, two, and one cent pieces of 1866; a number of various coins, and Continental bills of the State of New Jersey; a copy of "Willard's *History of Greenfield, Mass.*, 1838," and copies of the "*Penny Magazine*, 1836," etc. Mr. Chadbourne exhibited a fine collection of Congressional Medals; and an excellent set of Napoleon medals, and an ancient medal bearing the busts of Christ and Mary on the obverse, and of Peter and Paul on the reverse, were exhibited by Mr. Fellows. The Society spent a short time in the discussion of their favorite topics, and then adjourned.

### 2.—THE BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

*Boston, Thursday, July 5.*—The regular monthly meeting of this Society was held this afternoon. Twenty-one volumes of old German works on coins and medals, illustrated with many interesting plates, were received from Mr. John K. Curtis, of New York. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Curtis, and he was unanimously elected a Corresponding Member. Dr. Green exhibited several varieties of the Massachusetts half cent for 1787 and 1788; and Mr. Davenport a proof of the five-cent piece of the new emission. The President read the following sketch of "An Early Boston Numismatist."

In the correspondence of John Andrews, of Boston, with Mr. Wm. Barrell, of Philadelphia, just published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in their sixth volume of *Proceedings*, under date of Dec. 25th, 1772, Mr. Andrews says:

"Yesterday your Aunt Anna spent the day with us, and I like her very much; more especially as she has promised to rummage up and make me a present of an ancient Roman coin, (one of the twelve Cæsars) which will make me possessed of five of that kind, besides a variety of more modern ones, having lately made an acquisition of one of Claudius Cæsar's and another of Domitian's; and this day bought for old silver a fine large medal of y<sup>e</sup> Emperor Constantine y<sup>e</sup> Great's. I mention this that in case any of the kind that are genuine should come within your

"knowledge, you would, if possible, procure them for me." *Proceedings*, 322.

Mr. L. M. Sargent says:

"I remember John Andrews, his trim dress and white-top boots and powdered hair. He was small of stature. When I knew him he occupied a beautiful estate at the northerly corner of Winter and Tremont (then Common) streets—an antique wooden house in the midst of a delightful garden, extending down Winter street, in rear to what is now Hamilton place. This house was once occupied by Sir Francis Bernard, probably till the year of his recall, 1769. My mother once pointed out to me the chamber she occupied when she made a visit to the Bernards. At a later period this estate was occupied by Earl Percy." *Do.* 321.

John Andrews was a selectman of Boston in 1785, and continued in that office until 1790, when he declined to serve longer. He was a hardware merchant, and kept at No. 4 Union street. His name appears in the first Boston Directory of 1789. He afterwards removed to Jamaica Plain, and was the attached friend and neighbor of the late Rev. Thomas Gray, D.D.

Upon the decease of Mr. Henry Andrews, of this city, about three years since, the son of John Andrews, the collection formed by the father, after passing through the hands of an elder brother, who died some thirty years ago, came to light from its place of deposit, where it had lain since the death of the last-named. The Secretary of this Society became its purchaser. Among several hundred specimens were the "N. E." shillings the first coinage of "1652," and the second known specimen of the same type, of the "III" pence; the other being in the collection in the library of Yale College, New Haven.

A letter was also read from the Secretary, Mr. Appleton, dated London, June 15, containing an account of the American coins and medals in the great collection at Paris, which, owing to M. Vattmère's exertions, is said to present by far the best display of American pieces in Europe.

The meeting adjourned until the first Thursday in October.

### 3.—NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

An adjourned meeting of the Society was held at its Hall, on Tuesday evening, June 19th, President de Peyster in the chair.

After the approval of the minutes of the preceding meeting, the President communicated a resolution of the General Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, returning thanks for the invitation extended to that body to visit the rooms of the Society.

The Librarian reported donations to the Society, since the last meeting, from Hon. W. A. Darling, Mercantile Library Association, G. J.

Adler, Chamber of Commerce, D. Appleton & Co., Emory Washburn, Orsamus H. Marshall, Frank Moore, Doct. A. K. Gardner, John Groshon, S. Alofsen, Judge Peabody, John Adriance, William B. Taylor, Doct. Winslow Lewis, and Col. G. E. Baldwin.

Mr. Benjamin R. Winthrop, in behalf of the Executive Committee, reported favorably on the propositions for membership which had been referred to it; and, no ballot having been demanded, the candidates were duly elected.

Mr. Winthrop, from the same Committee, also reported that pursuant to reference, it had prepared a Minute and Resolutions on the death of General Scott, which would be presented, in the course of the evening, by General Dix.

The Recording Secretary presented the final Report of the Committee on the Publication Fund, which was duly accepted, and the Committee discharged.

Six gentlemen were nominated for Resident Membership; and their names were duly referred to the Executive Committee.

General Dix, after some remarks, submitted the following Preamble and Resolutions:

"WINFIELD SCOTT, Lieutenant-General of the Army of the United States of America, died at West Point, on the twenty-ninth day of May, 1866, aged nearly eighty years. Born in Virginia in 1786, Scott was devoted to the service of his country, from early manhood to his last hour. Entering its army in 1808, when he was twenty-two years old, he rose from the rank of Captain, to die the chief commander of the military force of the nation. In our war with Great Britain, his young valor was conspicuous; and his grateful countrymen thanked him by their Congress. In our later war with Mexico, his maturer genius led our triumphant expedition into the ancient stronghold of the Aztecs. The American Congress thanked him again; and, with one accord, the Old world and the New placed '*the Conqueror of Peace*' in the first rank of Generals. By his sound judgment, Scott arranged international questions which threatened new wars. At length, when domestic treason jeopardied our Union, his ripened skill and prudence saved our capital from imminent peril, while his timely patriotism helped the Republic through the agony of her greatest danger. And then, the wounded veteran—too infirm to repeat the active services of his earlier days—resigned into the hands of his own military scholars, the duty of leading our armies to victory. Eminent as a soldier, Winfield Scott was scarcely less prominent as a civilian. Honest, brave, patriotic, never forgetting that he was an American gentleman, one of the last of the old heroes of our Republic has gone down to his

grave, in the fullness of age, honored and mourned by the people he served so long and loved so well.

"The death of such an illustrious citizen is an event which universal chronology must always mark.

"It is therefore, RESOLVED, that The New York Historical Society deeply laments the decease of its distinguished associate, Lieutenant-general Winfield Scott, whose commanding presence has so often added dignity to its meetings; while it shares in the grief which afflicts the whole American people, at the loss of their venerable soldier, whose just renown in life was their pride, and has now become their heritage.

"RESOLVED, that an attested copy of this minute be communicated to the family of General Scott."

Judge Daly addressed the Society in support of the Minute and Resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

The Librarian submitted, in behalf of Mr. John Romeyn Brodhead, the following Minute and Resolutions, which, as both the Orators and the Society had evidently become exhausted in their last efforts to galvanize the defunct "fame" of General Scott, were adopted without a single word, either in support or opposition, notwithstanding General Cass was, what the other was not, both a Soldier and a Scholar—a Scholar and Writer on *American History*—which should have secured for his memory, in a Historical Society, at least *one* word of praise.

"On Sunday, the seventeenth day of June, 1866, Lewis Cass died at Detroit, in Michigan, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was born in New Hampshire, in 1782, and, when twenty years old, was admitted to the practice of the law, in Ohio; to the Legislature of which State he was soon afterwards elected. When our war with Great Britain broke out, in 1812, Cass was chosen to be Colonel of a regiment of Ohio Volunteers, and bravely commanded the first American detachment which invaded Canada. Soon afterwards he was appointed Colonel—and then Brigadier General—in the regular Army of the United States. At the end of that war, General Cass was commissioned to be Governor of the vast territory of Michigan. For the next ten years he was occupied in administering its chaotic affairs, in treating with its Indian tribes, and in exploring its north-western wilds on Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi. His conspicuous ability caused him to be selected as Secretary of War, in 1831, by President Jackson, who, in 1836, appointed him to be Minister of our country in France. This station General Cass dignified until 1842; when he distinguished himself as an American, baffling the attempt of

Great Britain, to be allowed the right to search, *at her pleasure*, all the vessels of other nations which might dare to navigate the open ocean. On his return home, Cass was elected to the National Senate, by the State of Michigan; and in 1848, he was nominated to the Presidency of the United States. After the election of General Zachary Taylor, Lewis Cass was again returned to the Senate of the Republic; where he remained until the end of the administration of President Pierce. Having been appointed, in 1857, by President Buchanan, to be Secretary of State, General Cass held that office until 1860, when he voluntarily resigned it, and became, once more, a private citizen of the United States, after nearly fifty years spent in the service of the nation. During his long and varied career of official duty, LEWIS CASS was always earnestly interested in the scholarship of his country; especially in every thing concerning its history, and more particularly in the department which relates to its aboriginal owners. To his active friendship towards its commissioned Agent, our own State of New York is largely indebted for the rich collection of documents gleaned from the French Archives, which now illustrate its Colonial History. A sincere and unostentatious Christian, this venerable patriot and statesman now rests from his labors, of more than fourscore years, and is at peace.

"Be it therefore *Resolved*, that, in the death of *General Lewis Cass*, the New York Historical Society loses one of its most worthy and most eminent associates; and that, while in common with our whole country, the Society sincerely mourns his decease, it justly records the sterling patriotism, official ability, scholarly zeal, and untarnished private character, which illustrates his lengthened days.

"*Resolved*, that an authenticated copy of this minute be communicated to the family of General Cass."

The Society then adjourned to meet again on the first Tuesday of October next; and the greater number of the members and their guests proceeded to discuss the merits of the ample supply of strawberries and cream with which the liberality of the President had spread the tables in the supper-room. It was gratifying to us to witness the heartiness with which the merits of these good things were discussed by the members, when compared with the comparative indifference with which, when up stairs, they had listened to the unnecessary Eulogies of General Scott by General Dix and Judge Daly.

#### 4.—THE NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

This Society held its monthly meeting on the

evening of the 6th July, Wm. S. Vaux, Esq., Vice President, in the chair. The Corresponding Secretary reported a number of letters having been received since the last meeting, including one from Earl Stanhope, London, England, Hon. Emory Washburn, Cambridge, and Hon. George Ticknor, Boston, accepting Honorary Membership in the Society. Many donations were also announced as having been received, comprising, among others, a complete set of the publications of the New Jersey Historical Society.

Hon. Eli K. Price read an interesting paper on John Pemberton, being his annotations to two manuscript diaries of Pemberton's, kept during the years 1777 and 1778, which had lately been presented to the Society.

Charles H. Hart, Esq., in behalf of William P. Chandler, Esq., who was prevented from being present, offered a series of Resolutions commemorative of General Lewis Cass, and sustained them with some appropriate remarks; at the conclusion of which the Resolutions were adopted.

The Society then adjourned.

#### 5.—STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.

*Iowa City*, July 4, 1866.—The Board of Curators met in regular session, the President, Hon. Geo. W. McCleary, in the Chair.

Present, William Crum, Esqr., C. W. Hobart, Esqr., Prof. N. R. Leonard, Dr. F. Lloyd, Hon. G. W. McCleary, Dr. H. Murray, Prof. J. T. Robert, Prof. Benj. Talbot, and Col. S. C. Trowbridge.

The President of the Board, as chairman of the special committee appointed at a previous meeting to confer with the Trustees of the State University relative to the connection of the Historical Society to the University, made a verbal report.

Several bills were presented and ordered to be paid; one was referred to the Com'tee on Finance.

Messrs. Jno. P. Irish, Jno. B. Lee and I. A. Wetherby, of Iowa City, were elected unanimous members of the Society.

The Secretary was directed to draw orders on the Treasurer in favor of himself and the Librarian, each for a quarter's salary.

The Secretary's report showed the receipt of donations to the Library and Cabinet of the Society, from the persons and Associations whose names are annexed, since his last monthly report:

From the Secretary of the Dakotah Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, Rev. N. Brown, Dr. Henry S. Chase, C. Childs, Col. W. Penn Clarke, Essex Institute, J. B. Grinnell, Capt. Wm. Harper, Francis S. Hoffman, C. J. Hoadley, Senator Kirkwood, M. M. Moulton, New Hampshire Historical Society, Oskaloosa College, Edward Shippen, Mrs. A. L. Dayton, the Secretary of State of Iowa, and I. A. Wetherby.

The Board then adjourned.

## SUPPLEMENT. No. II.

### I. TRIAL OF JOSHUA HETT SMITH, FOR COMPLICITY IN THE CON- SPIRACY OF BENEDICT ARNOLD AND MAJOR ANDRE.—CONTINUED.

THIRD DAY, Oct. 2d.

The Court met according to adjournment and resumed the trial of Mr. Smith.

Colonel JAMES LIVINGSTON\* was produced on the part of the Prosecution and sworn.

Q. Do you know of there being an intimacy between Mr. Smith and Benedict, late General, Arnold?

A. I supposed there was from the passes he had from General Arnold. Mr. Smith was at my Quarters two or three times within a fortnight or three weeks ago, and previous to General Arnold's going off to the enemy. His stay was very short; and he produced a pass from General Arnold to pass by the guards at all times; he also had an order from General Arnold for a light boat, on the Quarter-master at King's Ferry; and General Arnold requested me to see that the Quarter-master furnished him with a light boat, if there was one to be had. Mr. Smith then informed me, that he was upon a plan, in conjunction with General Arnold, to gain intelligence of the utmost importance, and that he expected to meet a gentleman for that purpose near Dobbs's Ferry, but did not mention the time when he expected to meet him. He then agreed with the Lieutenant of my guard-boats to have a watch-word, so that the Lieutenant might let him pass at any time by day or night, by the boats, without his being detained. I neither heard nor saw any thing of Mr. Smith, until last Friday night week, just after dark. He stopped at my marquee for a few minutes. I asked him where he was going. He said up towards General Arnold's, or that route; and I gave him one letter to be delivered to General Arnold and another to Governor Clinton, as he

had informed me it was likely he would go that route. I then urged him to stay awhile and take supper or a drink of grog. He then informed me that there was a gentleman waiting for him who had just rode on, and was in a hurry to get off, and informed me his business was very urgent, and I did not insist on his staying any longer. He then rode off and I did not see the person who was with him, it being dark and he having rode forward.

Q. Do you know of Mr. Smith having made use of the guard-boat or watchword?

A. I do not know.

Q. Did Mr. Smith inform you before the time you have mentioned that he was employed by General Arnold to get intelligence?

A. Mr. Smith never was more than two or three times at my Quarters, and mentioned it the different times he was there.

Q. When Mr. Smith was at your Quarters and mentioned that there was a person with him, did you not desire him to request the person to walk in?

A. I did, and he informed me the gentleman had rode on slowly, and he was in a hurry to go after him.\*

Colonel HARRISON was next produced on the part of the Prosecution and sworn.

Q. Please to relate what you know respecting Mr. Smith being on board the *Vulture*, sloop-of-war, belonging to the enemy, and bringing a person on shore from that vessel.

Mr. SMITH objected to Colonel Harrison, and also to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, being admitted to give any evidence respecting any Confession that he might have made in their presence.

The Court being cleared, and having considered the matter, they were of opinion that they

\* In his *Narrative of the Death of Major Andre*, (page 138,) Mr. Smith said that Colonel Hay followed the Colquhouns on the stand, and makes no allusion to Colonel Livingston's testimony; although he refers to the harshness of that gentleman, in compelling him to travel through a heavy storm, notwithstanding he was suffering from severe sickness, Colonel Burr unsuccessfully interceding, in his behalf, for permission to remain under shelter, "until the tempest was abated." (*Narrative*, 220.)

\* Colonel Livingston commanded the American forces stationed at Verplanck's Point. ED. HIST. MAG.

should be admitted to give evidence respecting Mr. Smith's Confession in this case.

Colonel HARRISON, in answer to the above request,—I was at Robinson's house on Tuesday or Wednesday last, to the best of my recollection, and was requested by one of the gentlemen of His Excellency's family, or some officer who was there, to go into a room to hear the examination of Mr. Joshua Smith, the Prisoner, who I understood had been apprehended the preceding night, and brought there by Colonel Govion, in consequence of Orders from General Washington. When I went into the room, I found the General, the Marquis de la Fayette, General Knox, Colonel Hamilton, and Mr. Smith. In a little time after, to the best of my recollection, the General mentioned to Mr. Smith that he must be apprised of what had happened, and told him that he thought, or advised him, I don't recollect which, that he had better make a candid Confession of all he knew with respect to the matters that had been carrying on, I think, by General Arnold, and added again that it might be better for him to act with openness and candor. Mr. Smith, upon this, made the most solemn protestations of his innocence, and of his ignorance that General Arnold had been carrying on any matters injurious to the States; professed himself to be a warm friend; and that his person and his property, or his purse, I don't recollect which, had been devoted to their service. Mr. Smith continued to repeat his innocence of the matters then under consideration; and to the best of my recollection, made an appeal to the Almighty, who, he said, could witness the integrity of his heart. After having made these asseverations, the General observed to Mr. Smith that he was in possession of facts and evidence that would place his conduct in a very different point of view with respect to the matter in question. 'Till this period, Mr. Smith appeared to me to support himself with firmness and consistency. He then proceeded to tell the General that he would relate all he knew; and on being asked to inform whether an officer or *The Adjutant-general of the British Army*, I don't recollect which, under the assumed name of *John Anderson*, had not been brought on shore by him, from the *Vulture*, ship-of-war, he said that he had. Mr. Smith said he had been prevailed on, on the night of the preceding Thursday, to go on board that vessel, by General Arnold, to carry a letter or a message, I don't remember which, to Colonel Beverly Robinson, and whom he expected to bring with him when he came back, in the first instance, for the purpose of an interview with General Arnold, for intelligence or on business, I don't recollect precisely the expression, of importance to the States. That as

soon as he was on board of the vessel, it was concluded that an officer whom, Mr. Smith said, he only knew by the name of John Anderson, should return with him instead of Robinson. That the interview took place on the shore, between Arnold and this officer. That Arnold and the person or officer whom he had brought on shore, were at his house afterwards—the same night that he furnished this person, under the assumed name of John Anderson, with a coat to disguise himself; and that he had taken the uniform coat which he, John Anderson, had on before, and retained it. That he, Mr. Smith, crossed the Ferry at Stoney Point, on *Friday evening*, in order to conduct Mr. Anderson to the White Plains, on his way to New York, and was stopped, I think he said, to the best of my recollection, that night at Crompond, or near it. Mr. Smith, in the course of the examination, invariably declared that his object was to obtain intelligence for us; and assigned upon its being observed by *the General*, or some gentleman who was present, that the mode he had adopted appeared ill calculated for that end, as he was to procure it on board of one of the enemy's ships-of-war, that he thought it probable Colonel Robinson might be disposed to give such as would be beneficial to us, or serviceable, from a wish to have some favor, or, I think, countenance shown with respect to his estate, which was in our hands—it was observed to Mr. Smith that supposing it possible to conceive that he was really serious in the matter with respect to Robinson, that these motives could not exist in the case of Mr. Anderson, who had no property amongst us. Mr. Smith appeared much embarrassed, and answered that he could only say that Anderson was sent on shore instead of Robinson. As it appeared mysterious to the gentlemen who attended the examination, why this officer, under the name of John Anderson, was not returned on board of the ship after finishing his business, by Mr. Smith, some of the company were induced to ask the reasons. Mr. Smith replied that it was because he, meaning himself, had the fever and ague so bad that he could not go on board, though he had confessed but a little before, that he meant to proceed with him as far as the White Plains, by land, or somewhere in the country in the vicinity of that place. The examination of Mr. Smith, as well as I recollect, ended here, and he was remanded under guard. In a little time after, it was observed by some of the gentlemen, that it would be essential to gain possession of this uniform coat I have mentioned; when I was requested by the General to pursue such measures for the purpose as appeared to me necessary. I had previously understood that Captain Cearn's, of Lee's Light,

Horse, was at Mr. Thomas Smith's, brother of Mr. Joshua Smith; and I meant to write him an order to get the coat, in consequence of the request from the General. I wished from motives of policy, as well as humanity, to make as little noise about the matter as the case would admit, and applied to Mr. Joshua Smith, the prisoner, to know whether he himself would not give an order that Captain Cearn's might get the coat. Mr. Smith accordingly wrote a letter addressed to his brother, Thomas Smith, to deliver to Captain Cearn's, of Lee's Light Horse, a uniform or regimental coat, I don't recollect which, which he would find upstairs in the drawers, at his, meaning Joshua Smith's house, and which coat I understood was the uniform coat which the person under the name of Anderson, had left with Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith delivered the letter to me, which I transmitted to Captain Cearn's.\* The matter ended here, and I had no conversation with Mr. Smith afterwards. Mr. Smith did not acknowledge the officer who came on shore with him from the *Vulture*, under any other name, that I recollect, than that of Anderson.

Q. Did Mr. Smith mention that this person, under the name of John Anderson, and General Arnold, were at his house the Thursday night after he had brought him on shore from the *Vulture*?

A. To the best of my knowledge he did, but whether he did mention it explicitly I will not undertake positively to say, but from the whole tenor of Mr. Smith's Confession, I had not a doubt but the person under the character of John Anderson and General Arnold were at his house.

Q. BY THE COURT. Did Mr. Smith mention that he lodged with the person under the name of John Anderson, at Crompond?

A. I don't recollect that he mentioned that he lodged there. I think, to the best of my knowledge, that Mr. Smith mentioned that when they were stopped at Crompond, or when they stopped, I can't precisely charge my memory with the expressions, they were told that if

they proceeded they would run the risk of being taken up, as there were parties of militia below, or of "Cow-boys," which I understood were parties from the enemy, who would be equally dangerous, as it was in the night.

Q. Did Mr. Smith mention how long General Arnold and this person, under the name of John Anderson, continued at his house?

A. I don't recollect the time of their being together there was mentioned.

Q. You are positive that Mr. Smith mentioned that this person, under the name of John Anderson, and General Arnold had an interview at his house?

A. I am positive Mr. Smith said they had an interview at the landing; and, from the whole tenor of Smith's Confession, I had not a doubt in my mind, at the time, but that they were at his house; but I am not certain that Mr. Smith explicitly declared they were, though I verily believe he mentioned it.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. After the time you say you thought me firm, and previous to my proceeding in this Confession, did not His Excellency desire me to give an account of my conduct for the last ten days past, and whether I did not know General Arnold was gone off?

A. I recollect that you, whether by request of the General or of your own accord, undertook to give an account of your conduct for some days preceding. It is possible, and even probable, that the General might have asked such a question respecting General Arnold, but I don't recollect it precisely.

Q. BY DO. Did not General Washington first mention that this man I had brought on shore was the Adjutant of the British Army?

A. I believe that General Washington, when he asked you if you had not brought a person from on board the *Vulture*, called him an officer, or the Adjutant-general of the British army.

Q. BY DO. From this account I gave, did I not say that General Arnold assured me that Robinson was to give intelligence?

A. You mentioned, that in the first instance you expected that Colonel Robinson was to come on shore from the *Vulture* with you, to meet General Arnold. You said repeatedly and constantly, that your object was to gain intelligence which would be important and beneficial to the States. I don't recollect that you mentioned that General Arnold assured you that Robinson was to give intelligence; but you might have said so.

Q. BY DO. When I mentioned that Anderson, and not Robinson, came on shore, did you not hear me say that I conceived that Anderson was to do Robinson's business, and give his communications to General Arnold?

\* The following is a copy of the letter referred to:

"ROBINSON'S HOUSE, Sept. 25th, 1780.

DEAR BROTHER:

"I am a prisoner, and am therefore unable to attend in person. I would be obliged to you if you would deliver to Captain Cairns, of Lee's Dragoons, a British Uniform Coat, which you will find in one of the drawers in the room above stairs. I would be happy to see you. Remember me to your family.

"I am, affectionately, Yours,

"JOSHUA H. SMITH.

THOMAS SMITH, Esq."

Addressed, "Thomas Smith, Esq., Haverstraw."

This letter forms one of the collection, belonging to the late of New York, known as "The Clinton Papers,"—Ed. ST. MAG.

Q. BY DO. Did I not appear very much surprised at hearing it?

A. I do not exactly recollect your appearance at this time.\*

Q. BY MR. SMITH TO COLONEL HARRISON. Did you not see surprise in my conduct, on being informed that the person whom I brought on shore was Adjutant-general to the British army?

A. As I observed before; you, in the commencement of your examination, behaved with great firmness and great consistency; but on matters being disclosed to you and the General's telling you it would be better to make a candid and open Confession, you discovered a good deal of surprise; and here I would observe, that it was only the afternoon of the preceding day that General Washington himself had received an account of the capture of Mr. John Anderson, who afterwards proved to be MAJOR JOHN ANDRE, ADJUTANT-GENERAL TO THE BRITISH ARMY, and of the escape of General Arnold to the enemy. Supposing your examination was on Tuesday, it was on the preceding day that General Washington had received an account of the capture of Major Andre, the Adjutant-general to the British army, and of General Arnold's having gone off to the enemy; and that you had been seized, the night of General Arnold's escape, by Colonel Gwion,† and brought down to Robinson's House, in the Highlands, and probably had not the means of knowing these events until the period of your being informed of them by the General. As to the motives of your surprise, I cannot undertake to say what they were.

COLONEL HARRISON also declares to the Court. I recollect that Mr. Smith mentioned, in the course of his examination, that when he approached or was near the *Vulture*, the precise expressions I do not recollect, he was hailed and received some rough language; but I did not understand, after he was on board the vessel, that he received any incivilities or rough treatment from the officers of the ship. I also recollect that upon questions being asked Colonel Hamilton, about the mode of Mr. Anderson's going to Mr. Smith's house, that it appeared to me Mr. Smith left Arnold and Anderson together, at the place of landing; and that he, himself, pro-

ceeded in the boat with the two persons to some upper landing, and that there had occurred some difficulties about going on board the vessel again.

Q. BY MR. SMITH TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HAMILTON. Don't you recollect that when I said that I had brought one, Anderson, on shore, that I said I understood that Anderson was to negotiate Robinson's business with General Arnold?

A. You did profess that supposition.

Q. BY THE COURT TO SAMUEL CAHOON. Do you know who wrote the letter you carried to General Arnold?

A. I don't know; I got it from Mr. Smith; I don't know whether the letter was sealed or not; it was night when I got it, and had it not out of my pocket until I got to the General's.

Q. BY DO. to Do. Had you particular directions not to deliver that letter to any person but the General?

A. To the best of my recollection, I had not.

The Court postponed further proceedings on the trial of Mr. Smith until to-morrow; and adjourned until that time, nine o'clock, A. M.\*

## II. OLD NEW YORK REVIVED—CONTINUED.

### 6.—NOTES CONCERNING THE OLD TAVERNS IN THE CITY.

1. THE QUEEN'S HEAD TAVERN, in December, 1731, stood "in William-street, not far from "Captain Anthony Rutgers," (*The N. Y. Gazette*, 321, December 21, 1731,) whose house was in Maiden Lane.

2. THE SCOTCH ARMS, in September, 1732, stood opposite Coenties Market, (*The N. Y.*

\* In his *Narrative of the Death of Major Andre*, (page 133.) Mr. Smith said, "General Knox and Colonel Hamilton came, "in testimony, more pointed to the exact truth of what I had "declared, especially the latter, whose evidence was perfectly "correct, by which was anticipated what must have been "otherwise extracted in the cross-examination; yet Hamilton "artfully threw in a chain of reasoning, tending to prove my "being in full knowledge of General Arnold's intentions."

† It is probable that Lieutenant-colonel Gouvion is here referred to. ED. HIST. MAG.

\* In his *Narrative of the Death of Major Andre*, Mr. Smith said: "No farther testimony was, however, offered at "Tappan, or Orange Town; for the day after the sacrifice of "Major Andre, the third of October, the American army "broke up their encampment, and marched to Paramus; "whether from an apprehension of being too near the British "army, at that place no more than twenty miles, or that the "country was sufficiently exhausted, I cannot pretend to determine; the former, however, was the general opinion, "from the enraged state of the royal troops. I was marched "under the Provost Guard, on foot, very weak and languid, "although my horse was ready to convey me, with one of my "servants to attend me; but he was not permitted to go, and "the horse was stolen that night. I was at first placed in a "barn, with my guard, but the night being wet and cold, I "was, through the intreaty of a Colonel Lutterlough a perfect stranger, suffered to sit before the fire, in a good "kitchen, attended by some of the guard." (pp. 189. 190.)

It is proper to state, that, although some portions of the Grand Army may have moved from Tappan to Paramus during the night of the second, the Head quarters of that Army remained at the former place until the sixth or seventh of October, as is evident from the correspondence of the Commander-in-Chief. ED. HIST. MAG.

*Gazette*, 358, September 4, 1732)—then in Coenties Slip.

3. THE EXCHANGE COFFEE-HOUSE, existed in 1731. (*The N. Y. Gazette*, 280, March 8, 1730-1.) In 1737, it was next door to the FIGHTING COCKS, (*The N. Y. Gazette*, 600, May 16, 1737;) in 1748, on the Great Dock, at the foot of Broad-street, (Parker's *Weekly Post-boy*, 283, June 20, 1748;) and was re-opened, under the sign of THE GENTLEMEN'S AND EXCHANGE COFFEE-HOUSE AND TAVERN, in December, 1749, by Andrew Ramsey, "next door to where Mr. Cox lately "kept it, near the Exchange," corner of Water and Wall-streets; (*The Weekly Post-boy*, 361, December 18, 1749.) In May, 1750, it was taken by Richard Clark Cooke, and appears to have dropped its old title and assumed that of THE KING'S ARMS. (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 381, May 7, 1750.) A few weeks afterwards, Mr. Ramsay announced his intention to remove to the West Indies. (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 389, July 2, 1750.)

4. THE HORSE AND CART. In 1732, a meeting of the Proprietors of Equivalent Lands granted to Hanley & Co., met at this Tavern; (*The N. Y. Gazette*, 364, October 16, 1732;) and in 1733, they met there a second and a third time; (*The N. Y. Gazette*, 390, April 16, 1733; and 416, October 15, 1733.) In 1749, a servant man, belonging to David Nevins, of Canterbury, Conn., ran away from this Tavern; (*The Weekly Post-boy*, 356, November 13, 1749;) and, in 1750, the celebrated George Burns, "who had lately kept Tavern opposite the Merchants Coffee-house," became its Landlord. (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 393, July 30, 1750.) It stood in William-street, near Fulton.

5. "THE COFFEE HOUSE" is referred to in *The N. Y. Gazette*, 396, May 28, 1733, and in Zenger's *New-York Weekly Journal*, 122, March 8, 1735; but it is not known whether reference is made to the EXCHANGE, the MERCHANTS', or some other named COFFEE-HOUSE.

6. THE BLACK HORSE TAVERN. In 1735, this Tavern stood "in Smith [William] street, near "the old Dutch-Church," in Garden-street, now Exchange-place. (*The N. Y. Gazette*, 511, August 11, 1736.)

7. THE PINE-APPLE, kept by Benjamin Kierstede, in 1734, stood on the New Dock, near the foot of Wall-street; (*The N. Y. Gazette*, 490, March 18, 1734;) and it was the head-quarters of several of the Privateers, in 1743-6. (*The N. Y. Weekly Post-boy*, 40, October 17, 1743, *Do.* 74, June 18, *Do.* 85, September 3, *Do.* December 3, 1744; and *Do.* 195, October 13, 1746.)

Kierstede was its landlord as late as September 6, 1749; (*N. Y. Weekly Post-boy*, 355, November 6, 1749.)

8. THE ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON stood at the foot of Wall-street, "below the Meal "Market." (*The N. Y. Gazette*, 511, August 11, 1735.)

9. THE THREE PIGEONS stood near Mr. Samuel Bourdet's, in Smith, now the lower part of William-street. (*The N. Y. Gazette*, 514, September 1, 1735.)

10. ROBERT TODD, VINTER, after the fashion of other Tavern Keepers, afforded rooms for public entertainments; (*The N. Y. Gazette*, 533, January 13; *Do.* 535, February 3, 1735. *The Weekly New-York Post-boy*, 102, December 31, 1744;) and some of the prizes of that day settled their accounts there. (*Do.* 105, January 21, 1745.) Mr. Todd died in the latter part of 1745. (*Do.* 147, November 11, 1745.)

The place where he transacted business is not known to us.

11. OBADIAH HUNT kept a tavern, next door to the Custom House, on the North side of Dock (Pearl) street, a short distance East from White-hall; but, about 1735, he sold it to William English. (*The N. Y. Gazette*, 533, January 13, 1735.)

12. WILLIAM ENGLISH, purchased Obadiah Hunt's old stand, as above stated; but nothing more is known of him.

13. THE JAMAICA PILOT BOAT stood on the corner of Wall-street, opposite the Meal Market, as the old Wall-street Market was then called.

On Sunday, the 18th of January, 1735, a fire broke out there, but was speedily extinguished. (*The N. Y. Gazette*, 534, January 20, 1735.)

14. MR. S—S'S TAVERN. The following, from *The N. Y. Gazette*, 541, March 15, 1736, will convey all we have been able to discover concerning one of the early Tavern Keepers in New York:

"We hear that about two years ago a certain *Irish* Gentlewoman was brought into this "Province a Servant, but she pretended to be "great Fortune, worth some Thousands (was "call'd the *Irish Beauty*) her Master confirming "the same, a certain young man (Mr. S—ds) "courted her, and she seeming shy, her Master, "for a certain Sum of Money makes the Match, "& they were Married, and go to their Country "seat, but she not pleased with that, perswades "her Husband to remove to the City of *New-York* and set up a great Tavern, they did so. "Next, she perswades her Husband to embark "for *Ireland* to get her great Portion, when he "comes there, he finds her Mother a Weeder of "Gardens to get Bread. In his absence *Madam* "becomes acquainted with one *Davis*, and they

"sell and pack up her Husband's Effects (which were considerable) and imbark for North-Carolina; when they come there they pass for Man and Wife, and he first sells the Negros and other effects, then sells her Cloaths, and at last sells her for a Servant, & with the produce returns to his Wife in *Rhode-Island*, as having made a good Voyage. [*Let this be a Caution to ----*"]

15. THE ROSE AND CROWN, in June, 1736, stood "by the Old Slip Market." (*N. Y. Gazette*, 553, June 7, 1736.)

16. THE FIGHTING COCKS, in 1737, stood adjoining THE EXCHANGE COFFEE-HOUSE, in Wall-street, near the East River. (*N. Y. Gazette*, 600, May 9, 1737.)

17. THE COCOA-NUT TREE, kept by Richard Baber, stood, in 1737, "on the New Dock," at the foot of Wall-street. (*N. Y. Gazette*, 612, July 25, 1737.)

18. THE SHIP AGROUND ON THE DOCK, in 1738, stood "on the Dock, near the Meal Market," at the foot of Wall-street. (*N. Y. Gazette*, 644, March 14, 1737.)

19. THE JAMAICA ARMS, kept by Benjamin Pain, in 1744, stood "on the New Dock," at the foot of Wall-street; (*N. Y. Weekly Post-boy*, 73, June 11, 1744) and it was evidently a head-quarters for privateers. (*Ibid.*, 288, July 25, 1748.)

20. THE MERCHANTS' COFFEE-HOUSE, was an important Public-house, as early as 1744. (*The Weekly Post-boy*, 84, August 27, 1744.) It stood at the corner of Wall and Water-streets, (*Ibid.*, 323, March 27, 1749;) and public sales were made there. (*Ibid.*, 298, October 3, 1748; *Do.* 371, February 26; *Do.* 377, April 9, 1750.)

It gave the name of "Coffee-house Slip" to the slip at the foot of Wall-street; and the name is still often used by old persons, when referring to that locality.

21. THE GRIFFEN, also a resort for Privateers, stood, in 1734, "on the New Dock," at the foot of Wall-street. (*The Weekly Post-boy*, 85, September 3, 1744.)

22. THE UNION FLAG, a country tavern, stood, in 1745, a little beyond Turtle Bay, on the road to Boston. (*The Weekly Post-boy*, 105, January 21, 1745.)

23. THE ADMIRAL VERNON, was a tavern in this city, in 1745; (*The Weekly Post-boy*, 107, February 4, 1745;) but we have been unable to ascertain where it stood.

24. A Tavern was also kept, about the same period, by George Nicholls; but we have been able to learn no more of it or its Landlord, than

Anthony Rutgers, Brewer, was his Administrator. (*The Weekly Post-boy*, 113, March 18, 1745.)

25. THE HARTFORDSHIRE AND YORKSHIRE HOUSE, which stood "opposite the Secretary's Office," at the corner of Whitehall and Market-field-streets, appeared to have been a resort for the Military, in 1746. (*The Weekly Post-boy*, 157, January 20, 1745-6.)

26. THE GREEN DRAGON, kept by William Creed, stood "on the New Dock," near the foot of Wall-street, (*The Weekly Post-boy*, 198, November 3, 1746;) and appears to have enjoyed the advantage of the Sheriff's sales. (*Ibid.*)

27. A Tavern was kept "near Coentjes-Market," by Peter De Joncourt; but we have found no further particulars concerning it, except the fact that he "left off keeping" it, in November, 1746. (*The Weekly Post-boy*, 199, November 10, 1745.)

28. The widow SUSANNA LAWRENCE, kept a Tavern "on the Dock, near the Meal Market, at the lower End of Wall Street." (*The Weekly Post-boy*, 169, April 14, 1746.) Her house was a resort for Privateers; (*Ibid.* 223, April 27, 1747; *Ibid.* 271, April 4, and *Ibid.* 283, June 20, 1748;) and in an advertisement for its sale, in 1749, it was described as "the Corner House on Bur-let's Key," the North-west corner of Wall and Front-streets, with "a Store-house thereto adjoining on the Side of Wall-street Slip." (*Ibid.* 311, January 2, 1749.)

29. THE SPREAD EAGLE, kept by Hamilton Hewetson, was in the "rear of Whitehall-Slip." (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 241, August 31, 1747, Supplements.)

30. ADAM VAN DERBERG kept a Tavern and Race-course on the Church-farm, probably in the vicinity of the present Astor House, (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 242, September 7, 1747; *Ibid.* 396, August 20, 1750.)

31. The widow NIBLETT kept a Tavern, in New-York; but we have no other account of it than a notice "that she now leaves off to keep a Publick House of Entertainment." (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 247, October 12, 1747.)

32. THE WHITE SWAN, kept by Agnes Minott was "near the Ferry-stairs," but which Stairs is not known, although it is probable that those at the foot of Maiden Lane were referred to. (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 265, February 15, 1748.)

33. MRS. VALENTINE kept a Tavern, which was resorted to by Privateers. It was "on the New Dock," at the foot of Wall-street. (*The N. Y. Weekly Post-boy*, 271, March 28, 1748.)

34. THE *Devonshire* MAN-OF-WAR Tavern, kept by Mr. Lewis, "near the White-Hall Slip," was the stopping-place of the Philadelphia Post. (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 273, April 11, 1748.)

35. THE WIDOW CANNON kept a Tavern "on the Dock," a resort for Privateers; (*The N. Y. Packet*, 274, April 18, and *Ibid.* 283, June 20, 1748;) but the exact locality of the house is not now known.

36. THE LEOPARD TAVERN, kept by Thomas Lepper, was "near the Long Bridge," at the foot of Broad-street. (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 293, August 29, and *Ibid.* 306, November 28, 1748.)

37. THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, was opened as an Ordinary, by the same Thomas Lepper, "opposite to the Merchants Coffee-house," in Wall-street, on the twenty-second of May, 1750. (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 284, May 28, 1750.)

38. THE SIR PETER WARREN'S HEAD, kept by Mr. Ramsay, formerly of THE EXCHANGE COFFEE-HOUSE, was referred to, but its locality was not given, in 1749; (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 318, February 20, 1749;) but, soon after, he appears to have left this establishment, and opened THE EXCHANGE COFFEE-HOUSE, "next door to where 'Mr. Cox lately kept it.'" (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 361, December 18, 1749.)

39. THE HORSE AND MANGER TAVERN, kept by Edward Willett, was "near the Slaughter-House," which stood on the bank of the East-river, near the foot of James-street. (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 330, May 15, 1749; *Map of the City*, 1742-4, by David Grim.)

40. THE DOLPHIN TAVERN, stood "near the 'Work-house,'" near the site of the new Court-house in the Park. (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 351, October 9, 1749; *Map of the City*, 1742-4, by David Grim.)

41. ELIZABETH CARTHEW appears to have kept a Public-house, near the Fort; but, on the first of May, 1750, she removed to Broad-street. (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 371, February 26, 1751.)

42. THE KING'S ARMS TAVERN, was opened by Richard Clark Cooke, in May, 1750, in the house recently kept by Andrew Ramsay, under the sign of THE GENTLEMEN'S AND EXCHANGE COFFEE HOUSE AND TAVERN, near the Exchange, at the foot of Broad-street. (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 381, May 7, 1750.)

43. GEORGE BURNS, subsequently well known to historical students as the Landlord of the house where, in the fall of 1765, the Merchants met, to oppose the Stamp Act, kept a Tavern "opposite to the Merchants' Coffee-house," in Wall-street; but we know nothing more about it than the fact that he left it, in 1750, to become

the Landlord of "the noted Sign of THE HORSE 'AND CART.'" (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 393, July 30, 1750.)

44. THE WIDOW BAKER appears to have kept a Tavern, "over against the Merchant's Coffee-House," in Wall-street; but nothing more is known of it than that derived from a shipper's advertisement, referring to the Agents of the vessel, at that house. (*The N. Y. Post-boy*, 138, September 9, 1745.) H. B. D.

#### 7.—CEREMONIAL OF LAYING THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE CITY HALL.

[From *The Commercial Advertiser*, vi., 1748, Friday, May 27, 1803.]

Yesterday afternoon the honorable the Mayor and Corporation of this city, attended by the gentlemen of the bar and escorted by a detachment of Artillery, and of the uniform companies of militia, commanded by Major Curtenius and Loomis, performed the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the New City Hall, in front of the Park.

Precisely at 6 o'clock, on signal guns being fired, his honour the Mayor, assisted by Mr. M'Comb, the architect, laid the stone at the southeast corner of the edifice. The artillery fired a federal salute, and the band of music performed a military air. After which the Mayor delivered a short appropriate address, which was received with the acclamations of a vast concourse of citizens assembled on the occasion. A *feu de joie* by the uniform corps concluded the ceremonies of the day. The detachment on marching from the ground, paraded in the Park and was served with refreshments provided by the Corporation.

#### ORDER OF PROCESSION.

	The Military,	
	Citizens,	
	Master Builders,	
	High Constable and Marshal,	
	Door-keeper and Messenger,	
	Deputy Sheriffs,	
	President & Vice-President of the Mechanic Society.	
	Chamberlain and Clerk,	
	Comptroller and Superintendent of the Alms-House,	
	Street Commissioner and Surveyor of the Customs,	
	Police Magistrates,	
Constables.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <i>Ex-members of the Board,</i>  Assistants of the 7th and 6th Wards,  Alderman of 5th &amp; Assistant of 4th do.  Alderman and Assistant of 2d do.  Alderman and Assistant of 1st do.  Mayor and Recorder, </div> </div>	Constables.

Clerks of Supreme and Circuit Courts,  
Gentlemen of the Bar,  
Grand Master, and Spanish Consul,  
Judges of Supreme Court, & Members of Congress,

Mayor of Albany and Chancellor of State,		
High Sheriff of the City and County,		
Alderman and Assistant of the 7th Ward,		
Marshals.	do. do. 6th do.	Marshals.
	do. do. 5th do.	
	do. do. 4th do.	
	do. do. 3d do.	
	do. do. 2d do.	
	do. do. 1st do.	
Mayor and Recorder.		

[From the *Morning Chronicle*, 202, Friday, May 27, 1803.]

NEW CITY HALL.—Yesterday the foundation stone of the New City Hall was laid by his honor, the Mayor, at the head of a procession, composed of the Common Council, Public Officers, Mechanic Society, &c. &c.

Gen. Steven's regiment of artillery, under Major Curtenius, and a detachment from Col. Morton's infantry, under command of Maj. Loomis, formed the escort.

The procession commenced at the City Hall, [Wall-street, opposite Broad,] and proceeded through Broad-street, Beaver-st. and Broadway, to the Park, where the military formed and saluted the Mayor and Recorder as they passed along the line.

The stone being laid at the discharge of a signal gun, a national salute was fired from the field pieces, and a *feu-de-joye* of three rounds from the musketry.

The military then proceeded to the Park, where they formed a hollow square, were regaled with a supply of wine from the Corporation, and dismissed.

The inscription, &c. we are obliged to postpone till to-morrow.

[From the same paper, 203, Saturday, May 28, 1803.]

NEW CITY HALL. We now give the order of Procession at laying the Corner Stone, and also the inscription. We find that only the President and Vice President of the Mechanic Society walked in the Procession, and not the whole body.

[The "Order of Procession" having been published above, we do not repeat it.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

#### INSCRIPTION.

"This Corner Stone of the City Hall of New-York, was by order of the Common Council, laid by Edward Livingston, Esq. Mayor.

"John B. Prevost, Recorder,  
"Vinant Van Zandt, Alderman, } 1st. Ward.  
"Andrew Morris, Assistant, }  
"John Oothout, Alderman, } 2nd. do.  
"Caleb S. Riggs, Assistant, }  
"Philip Brasher, Alderman, } 3d do.  
"Ebenezer Stevens, Assistant, }  
"John Bogert, Alderman, } 4th do.  
"Jacob Le Roy, Assistant, }  
"John P. Ritter, Alderman, } 5th do.  
"Robert Bogardus, Assistant, }  
"Joshua Barker, Alderman, } 6th do.  
"Clarkson Crolius, Assistant, }  
"Mangle Minthorn, Alderman, } 7th do.  
"Henry Brevort, Assistant,  
"This 26th day of May, A.D. 1803, and in the  
"27th year of American Independence."

#### ON THE REVERSE.

"John Oothout, Esq. }  
"Vinant Van Zandt, } Building Committee.  
"Jacob Le Roy, }  
"Philip Brasher, }  
"Robert Bogardus, }  
"Joshua Barker, }  
"John McComb, jun. Architect,  
"Anthony Steinback, } Masons,  
"Arthur Smith, }  
"George Knox, } Stone Cutters."  
"Alexander Campbell, }

#### 8.—A PALACE IN NEW YORK.\*

The magnificent structure now approaching completion, on the corner of Thirty-fourth St. and Fifth Av., for Dr. S. P. Townsend, of Sarsaparilla memory, excites almost as much of wonderment and curiosity as did ever its more pretending cotemporary, the Crystal Palace. Though having a very imposing exterior of handsomely wrought brown stone, an observer would scarcely suspect it of surpassing in costly elegance any private mansion in the New World, and vieing with the most renowned mansions and halls of the Old. A brief description will convey some idea of this new claimant to the attention of wonder-seekers and letter-writers. The building is 90 by 56 feet, and occupies five lots of ground, in an elevated position, which cost \$42,000. Its general appearance is of the rich, massive character common to many first-class houses, though internally the arrangements have the claim of

\* We copy the above article from an old number of *The Journal of Commerce*.

It is interesting from the fact that the house referred to, stood less than ten years, when it was torn down to make room for one even more gorgeous, the residence of Alexander T. Stewart, Esqr., the well-known merchant, in Broadway.

originality. It has been remarked, however, by those who have visited the European continent, that the house has some resemblance to the residence of the late Duke of Parma. Upon entering, the visitor finds himself at the threshold of a grand hall, flanked on either side by tiers of galleries and columns, which extend upward to the roof, where they terminate under a gorgeous dome. The galleries, walls and columns are all decorated in the richest manner, with fresco-painting, gilding and elaborate mouldings. The prevailing color employed in decorating the ceilings being blue, relieved with gold, these are presented most prominently to the eye, but the effect of the whole, when first beheld, is to bewilder with a sense of magnificence. The columns supporting the galleries through the several stories, are sixty in number, of the Corinthian style, which are sustained at the base, on the first story, by pilasters of scagliola. Passing to the rear, in one corner of the edifice is a grand spiral staircase, having a diameter of about twenty feet, and terminating in the highest story, beneath a rich dome. Niches at the side are to be filled with appropriate pieces of statuary, and decorations in plaster. Fresco, gold and carved wood are introduced at the discretion of the artist. The cost of this stairway will not be far from \$3,000. The chambers and other apartments above are all finished in the same superb style. The fresco-paintings upon the walls generally represent scenes in Italy, though there are many figures, scrolls, &c., purely fanciful: other portions, such as are designed for the picture-gallery and library, are classic; the bathing-rooms are furnished with nymphs and juvenile angels, &c. One of the "curiosities" is a chapel for religious worship, which occupies a portion of the third and fourth stories. The apartment is 33 by 16½ feet, furnished in the Gothic style, and is to be provided with a superb altar piece to represent the baptism of the Redeemer. The requisite amount of "dim religious light," properly colored, enters through a single circular window of stained glass. There is also a gymnasium, with suitable apparatus for physical exercise, and a bowling saloon. The upper floors being too lofty to receive water from the public works, a tank is provided into which water for the baths, &c., will be forced by a pump. The picture gallery is 28 by 24 feet, and it is said that twenty pictures for it are in course of preparation in Italy, by the best living masters, at an average cost of \$1,000 each. Some of the apartments are provided with very costly fire-places. We noticed one of beautiful Italian marble, which cost \$400. The entire cost of the building and ground is estimated at \$200,000; the contract for stone is about \$30,000; fresco-

painting, \$6,000; plastering, from \$8,000 to \$10,000, and the carpenters' contract is about \$30,000. Such, in brief, is the last and greatest of the great "up-town" houses.

### III. PRIVATELY-PRINTED BOOKS, IN AMERICA.

Our readers are acquainted with the various "Book-Clubs" of America, which have issued, or are preparing to issue, "Privately-printed" books, so called, in small editions and for special circulation; and they have seen, in the increased and intelligent demand for "fine books," which has recently sprung up in their midst, some of the fruits of the labors of those Clubs and of the spirited gentlemen of whom they are mainly composed. There have been other influences, however, which have been silently co-operating with the "Book-Clubs," in this great and good work, chief of which are the parallel movements of amateur publishers, by whom what are familiarly known as "Privately-printed" books have been frequently issued to their friends and especial customers; and to the latter of these, the private issues from amateur presses throughout the country, we propose to devote a limited space in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

It is proper to remark, however, that there are two classes of "Privately-printed books"—those which are really "private" issues, by gentlemen of fortune, for their own use and that of such of their friends as they may be pleased to give them to, and those which are sold by those who issue them, but only to such as have subscribed therefor. Among the former may be considered the publications of MESSRS. JAMES LENOX, GEORGE W. RIGGS, GEORGE LIVERMORE, and some of those of Mr. FRANCIS S. HOFFMAN, THE BRADFORD CLUB, DOCTOR W. ELIOTT WOODWARD, etc.: among the latter may be considered the principal issues of the greater number of the "Book-Clubs," and those of MESSRS. JOEL MUNSELL, HENRY B. DAWSON, CHARLES I. BUSHNELL, J. SABIN, WILLIAM VEAZIE, JOHN CAMPBELL, etc. The former of these are *always* scarce and obtained with difficulty: the latter not unfrequently become so, although when first issued they may generally be purchased from the publisher, and at moderate prices. The volumes of both these classes are generally printed in small editions; sometimes of more than one size; seldom in any other than a very superior style. They are not offered, when offered at all, to "the Trade;" nor are they often seen for sale,

even second-hand, on the shelves of the book-sellers, throughout the country.

In discharging the duty which we have assigned to ourself, in the preparation of a brief description of the various works which have been issued in small editions, outside of "the Trade," we propose, FIRST, to notice those which have been issued to subscribers; and, LAST, to refer to those, most properly styled "Privately-printed," which have been printed for private circulation only, the latter of which, from their character, being probably the smallest in number but most eagerly sought for.

## I.

## BOOKS ISSUED TO SUBSCRIBERS.

One of the earliest of those who issued "fine books," in small editions, to subscribers only,—what are generally known as "Privately-printed" books—was MR. JOEL MUNSELL, of Albany, N. Y., a printer with Historical tastes and a proficient in his art; and he may properly be considered as one of the Pioneers in this branch of the business.

We propose, therefore, to commence our notices of "Privately-printed books, in America," with a sketch of MR. MUNSELL'S experience, as a printer of that class of works; and we are sure that, in common with ourself, our readers will welcome the following, prepared at our request by MR. Munsell himself, for this work:

"In the year 1855, Doctor F. B. HOUGH, having found some early papers relating to the "Island of Nantucket among the archives in the "office of the Secretary of State at Albany, the "Hon. J. V. L. PRUYN suggested to me the idea "of printing them in the types of the last century, now familiarly known as *Old Style*. I "objected to it the argument that we should aim "to go *forward* in typography, and not backward. "But he favored the old style of type as appropriate to the ancient style and orthography of "the Manuscripts.

"There were then no suitable types to be had "in this country. Messrs. FARMER, LITTLE & Co. "had a Great Primer and a Long Primer in "Roman only. The indispensable Italics, Superscripts, and other necessary sorts, could only be "procured in England. Therefore, the types "were ordered from the foundry of the Messrs. "CASLON, so long celebrated for the production "of this style of types. The founts being "rather small, the progress of the work was "necessarily slow, the more so as I undertook to "filch time from my business to set the types "myself, and did compose the whole work with "my own fingers. I could not then find suitable paper, nor get a paper-maker to understand what I wanted by a cream-white of the

"right shade. One of them, who seemed to "catch a glimpse of the art, exclaimed, 'Oh! "yes, I see, you want some dirt in it!' It was "hard printing upon the porcelain surfaces of "the paper which composes the first volumes, "although we know how to do it much better "now.\*

"Having the types on hand, I sought for "something to use them upon, and was advised "by Doctor O'CALLAGHAN to publish an *Orderly Book of the campaign of General Amherst, "in 1759*, the manuscript of which was in his "possession, having been written, apparently, "by Commissary Wilson, whose name was on "the cover.

"This volume was edited by Doctor O'CALLAGHAN, who added all the Notes and the Index. "But, receiving very few orders, after announcing "it in Circulars to such persons throughout the "country as were thought to take an interest in "such matters, at Two Dollars and fifty cents a "copy, I offered the whole edition to General J. "WATTS DE PEYSTER, the owner of the Manuscript. He took sixty copies at Two Dollars, "which, with the twenty subscribed for, paid "the cost of printing in those cheap times.

"It attracted no particular notice until 1864, "when all my copies having been disposed of at "the subscription price, they began to be sought "for, first at Five Dollars, then at Ten Dollars, "and finally at Forty Dollars and upwards; and "at FOWLE'S sale in Boston a copy was knocked "down at Sixty Dollars.†

"Doctor HOUGH now brought me *A Narrative of the Causes which led to King PHILIP'S Indian "War, of 1675-76*, by JOHN EASTON, which had "been found among the Manuscripts in the Secretary's office at Albany, where it seems to have "laid more than a century and a half. MR. "DRAKE was supposed to have collected pretty "much everything that was likely to turn up "respecting King PHILIP and his war; but "although he had found an allusion in MATHER "to this narrative of EASTON, he regarded it as "lost to the world. Considering how long the "Manuscripts in the Secretary's office were used "for packing purposes, it is a miracle, almost, "that it did not perish. This document, with

\* This volume is entitled *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*, With Documents relating to the Original Settlement of that Island, Martha's Vineyard, and other Islands adjacent, known as Dukes County, While under the Colony of New York. By Franklin Hough, Albany, 1856.

It embraces eight preliminary pages, and a hundred and sixty-two of the text; and is illustrated with a map.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† This volume bore the following title: *Wilson's Orderly Book: Expedition of the British and Provincial army under Maj. Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 1759*. Albany, 1857.

It embraces twelve pages of preliminary matter, and two hundred and twenty pages of text; and is illustrated with a map.—ED. HIST. MAG.

"others entirely new, derived from the same source, with Introduction and Notes by Doctor HOUGH, formed the second volume of what I had now resolved to call my *Historical Series*.

"The usual Circular brought about twenty responses only, the price, Two Dollars and fifty cents, and the limited number of copies printed, which was one hundred for sale, (and twenty-five to the author,) was regarded and complained of as an aristocratical mode of publishing which it was thought proper not to countenance. The Hon. JOHN V. L. PRUYN, learning the poor encouragement of the work, gave me a subscription for twenty-six copies, which he distributed gratuitously. Before the book was finished, I received from the Honorable J. R. BARTLETT, of Providence, about twenty-two names of persons which had been obtained in Rhode Island.

"By slow sales, and some donations, this volume finally *went off*; and in due time it rose in the market to over One Hundred Dollars.

"I cannot refrain from mentioning that, despairing of selling the large-paper copies, of which ten were printed, and the small ones being dispersed, I cut them down to a *saleable size*, and received Two dollars and fifty cents a copy for them. Six copies went to London at Two dollars each, four of which I received back as unsaleable.\*

"I next fell in with an *Orderly Book of the Northern Army at Ticonderoga, under Wayne*, "Northern Army at Ticonderoga, under WAYNE," which I annotated myself, it being a new subject to me. It went off by the help of a subscription by Mr. PRUYN.†

"Mr. JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, of London, now offered me a manuscript *Diary of the Siege of Detroit, by Pontiac, 1762*. He had begun to print it, but discovering at the end of the second sheet that the binder had transposed the sheets so that he had begun to print in the middle of the Diary, he abandoned it. A large number of documents were found among the State archives relating to the same period, by Doctor HOUGH, who undertook to edit the work for a

"few copies. It extended to three hundred and four closely-printed pages, and it was thought to be rather an expensive luxury at three dollars. Yet the subscriptions had somewhat increased since the first volumes were issued; and Mr. J. CARSON BREVOORT, a liberal patron of literature, and widely known as an amateur of Science, lent a hand to lift it from the press. Mr. PARKMAN was thought to have garnered pretty much all that would ever be known of PONTIAC's war; but here was a large addition to the stock of knowledge on that great episode in American history."\*

#### IV.—NOTABLE PLACES IN AMERICAN HISTORY—CONTINUED.

##### 2.—RECOLLECTIONS OF A VISIT TO THE WEE-HAWKEN DUELING GROUND.†

*Editor of the Historical Magazine :*

In reading your interesting letter, No. II. of the Supplement to the July number, entitled "Notable Places in American History," in which an account of the death-place of General Alexander Hamilton is given, I was forcibly reminded of a day agreeably spent many years ago, when a resident of your city.

On the fourth day of July, 1830,—one of the loveliest of all summer days,—with a small party of pleasure-seeking friends from New York, I visited the justly-celebrated spot, for the honorable settlement of difficulties according to the patronized "Code of Honor" prevailing at the beginning of the present century. Indeed, the foolish and barbarous custom is hardly obsolete yet. Rumor then said that quite a number of those paired combats had taken place on the same spot, and prominent among them, three fatal ones which I now remember. One, a young man named Bird, it was said, was shot through the heart, sprang up nearly ten feet, and fell dead: the other two were those of the Hamiltons—father and son. The son was killed, I think, in 1802, in a duel with George Eacker, a

\* This volume bore the title, *A Narrative of the Causes which led to Philip's Indian War of 1675 and 1676, by John Easton of Rhode Island*. With other Documents concerning this Event in the Office of the Secretary of State of New York. By Franklin B. Hough. Albany, N Y. 1858.

It embraces twenty-three pages of preliminary matter and two hundred and eight of text; and is illustrated with a map.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† This volume is entitled *Orderly Book of the Northern Army, at Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence, from October 17th, 1776, to January 8th, 1777*; with Biographical and Explanatory Notes and an Appendix. Albany: 1859.

It is uniform in size and style with the preceding volumes of the series; contains eight pages of preliminary matter and two hundred and sixteen of text; and is illustrated with a map.—ED. HIST. MAG.

\* This work is entitled *Diary of the Siege of Detroit in the War with Pontiac*. Also a *Narrative of the principal events of the Siege, by Major Robert Rogers*; a *Plan for Conducting Indian Affairs*, by Colonel Bradstreet; and other Authentic Documents, never before printed. Edited with Notes by Franklin B. Hough. Albany. N Y. 1860.

It embraces twenty-four pages of preliminary matter and three hundred and four pages of text; and has no illustrations.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† The article on "Tarrytown," which was expected for this number of the Magazine, being incomplete, we avail ourselves of the more practised pen of J. R. SIMMS, Esq., of Fort Plain, N. Y.—the widely-known and respected historian of Schoharie County and the Mohawk valley—and give this article, by him, in its stead. Our readers will thank us for the change which we have effected.—ED. HIST. MAG.

native of Palatine, N. Y., then a promising young member of the New York Bar; and the father, General Alexander Hamilton, in 1804, by Colonel Aaron Burr.

Our approach to the spot was down a somewhat steep, rough and woody declivity upon the Weehawken shore. From the limited level spot where the duelists had met, there seemed almost a natural flight of steps to the water's edge of the rocky shore, where they effected a boat landing. A portion of a granite boulder, beside which tradition said Hamilton stood, and upon which he reclined to break his fall, yet remained, rising perhaps a foot above the ground. It had originally risen, as stated, some three feet above the surface; but it had been broken off and carried away by visitors, anterior to our visit.\*

I think ten paces had separated Hamilton and Burr; and anxious to know where the latter stood, I paced from the rock, Southward, and as the level space was so limited, there being only a small belt of even ground, one could well imagine himself in the very tracks of the duelists. Only two or three paces farther, if memory serves me, would have placed Burr on ground a foot or two lower than that upon which his antagonist had stood.

Hamilton and Burr, as the late Isaac Hall Tiffany, Esq., who read law with the latter, assured the writer, had previously been personal friends, whom he had several times seen walking arm in arm, and who were about of one size. They were rather under than above the medium stature of man. This is a fact no one would suppose, who ever saw Hamilton's statue in the Albany City Hall, which is said to be larger than life.

One reason why I desired to know Burr's position, was the fact that it had always been stated that Hamilton did not return the shot of his antagonist, but discharged his pistol in the air, the ball striking the limb of a tree far above his head. I remember seeing beside the supposed position of Burr, several feet of a tree-stump, perhaps six or eight inches through; but there was then no living tree near, whose branches would have covered his position. It is said that a monument was once erected to the memory of Hamilton on the ground where he fell, which had entirely been destroyed by vandal hands. It seems a well-authenticated fact that Hamilton did not desire or intend to kill his adversary; but if he had designed, without precision, to fire toward him, a direction out of line would naturally be given his ball, if that of Burr took effect before his pistol went off.

\* It is not improbable that what Mr. Simms took to be a "boulder," was all that remained of the monument which the St. Andrew's Society had erected to the memory of General Hamilton.—*Ed. Hist. Mag.*

Eacker, who killed young Hamilton, died of consumption in 1804; and a stone marks his resting-place in the lower end of the ground—Vesey-street side—of St. Paul's Church, in Broadway, New York. Only a year or two before his death, he delivered a Fourth of July oration, in the city, which added a laurel to his rising fame.

Politics at this period ran high, and Eacker was a disciple of the Jefferson school and the Democratic theory of retaining power, as far as possible, in the hands of the People; while young Hamilton and his friend Price were converts to the strong Government theory of Hamilton's father. Soon after the delivery of his oration, Eacker took a Miss Livingston, to whom rumor said he was engaged, to a theatre. Price and Hamilton were in an adjoining box, and took occasion to say, ironically, some insulting things about the oration, for Miss Livingston's ear, which Eacker promptly resented. They both challenged Eacker to a duel. He exchanged shots, first with Price, because his challenge reached him first, and then with Hamilton, who was killed. Political envy caused those duels.

J. R. S.

*Fort Plain, N. Y., Aug. 13, 1866.*

## V.—BOOKS.

1.—*A True Relation of Virginia*, by Captain John Smith, with an Introduction by Charles Deane. Boston: Wiggin & Lunt, 1866. Small quarto and royal quarto, pp. xlvii, v\*, 88.

This volume forms Number I. of what Messrs. Wiggin & Lunt call their "Virginia Series"—a small number of choice tracts on the early history of Virginia, which Mr. Deane has in hand for them;—and it will be welcomed by collectors and by those students, at a distance from the cities, who cannot enjoy the privilege of turning to the original edition.

The original of this volume is the earliest publication concerning the Colony at Jamestown, which is known to bibliographers; and as it was written by Captain Smith, the master-spirit of the Colony, and records the events which transpired from the date of the arrival of the first colonists at Cape Henry (*April 26, 1607*) until the return of Captain Nelson (*June 2, 1608*), its great importance will be evident to the most casual observer.

Mr. Deane's "Introduction" has been prepared with his usual care; and the reader will find in it a curious description of the various editions of the work, a similarly careful description of the evident omissions from the author's MS., in the original edition, a discussion

of the probable causes for those omissions, notices of contemporary publications illustrative of the subject, etc.

The tract itself, Mr. Deane tells us, is "a literal transcript of the original work, as regards the spelling, the punctuation, and the retaining of all the errors, even those clearly typographical. In some instances, where the meaning of the author has been obscured or perverted by the defective print, or where he has himself failed to express his thoughts clearly, [he has] ventured, in aid of a more correct understanding of the text, to make some suggestions in the Notes at the foot of the page." The original map has also been re-produced, and an excellent Index closes the volume.

Typographically, the work is highly creditable to Messrs. John Wilson & Son, by whom it was printed; and the publishers deserve the liberal support of scholars and collectors.

Of the edition of Three hundred and fifteen copies, thirty-five are Royal quartos, and two hundred and eighty are small quartos.

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2.—*Biographical Sketches of the Bordley Family, of Maryland, for their descendants.* By Mrs. Elizabeth Bordley Gibson, edited by her niece, Elizabeth Mifflin. Philadelphia, 1865. Octavo, pp. 159.

This volume, which was printed for private circulation only, is an exceedingly interesting collection of Sketches of one of the oldest and most honored families in Maryland, by one of its members, the well-known friend of Nelly Custis, the grand-daughter of Mrs. Washington.

This family of Bordley were of Yorkshire, England, where they once maintained a highly respectable position; but, in 1694, two of their number, brothers, emigrated to Maryland, settling in Kent County, on the Eastern shore.

The younger of the two subsequently became one of the leading lawyers of his day, a member of the General Assembly, and Attorney-general of the Colony, dying in 1726, at the early age of forty-three years; and it is the object of this little volume to perpetuate his memory and that of his children—the youngest of whom was the father of the authoress, Mrs. Gibson.

The second wife of Mr. Bordley was Ariana Frisby, a daughter of Matthias Van Der Heyden, of Albany, in this Colony; and that marriage connected him with several well-known families and personages—the Schuylers of New York, the Shippens of Pennsylvania, the Brices of Maryland, etc.; George Chalmers, the annalist, being his great grand-nephew; Major Leitch, who fell at Harlem, his step-son-in-law; and Governor Edmund Randolph and Rear-admiral Wormeley, Mrs. Bordley's grand-children.

Mr. Bordley's eldest son, Stephen, was a celebrated lawyer of Annapolis; and Mrs. Gibson's "Sketch" of his life and character is one of the most interesting in the volume. The most extended of these memoirs, however, is that of Mr. Bordley's youngest son, John Beal, who was the authoress's father.

This gentleman was a member of the Colonial Council and Judge in Admiralty, under the Proprietary Government of Maryland; but the rising difficulties between the Mother Country and the Colonies led him to retire to one of his estates, Wye Island, in Chesapeake Bay, where the greater portion of his latter days were spent, in the enjoyment of all the comforts of a wealthy and enlightened country gentleman.

He was an enthusiastic agriculturist; a well-read scholar, and a high-toned Christian gentleman; and his daughter, in this charming "sketch" of his life and character, has admirably discharged a duty which she owed to his memory.

The edition numbered one hundred copies; and we are deeply indebted to Edward Shippen, Esq., of Philadelphia, for the copy which we possess.

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3.—*Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts.* By George H. Moore. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. iv, 256. Price \$3.

If there is one subject more than another which has been steadily and unblushingly misrepresented, during the past eighty or ninety years, it is the character and conduct of the earlier inhabitants of Massachusetts; and if the falsehoods which have been invented to conceal the every-day conduct of the earlier generations of her Freemen can be equalled by those which disfigure the History of any other People, ancient or modern, we have never met with any evidence of the fact.

According to the Mythology of New England, the Fathers of Massachusetts were the veriest Saints on the earth—meek and lowly in spirit; loving God with all their hearts and their Neighbors as themselves; offering to those who had struck one cheek the privilege of hitting the other; and gracefully tendering to him who had stolen their coats an opportunity to carry away their cloaks also. As Christians, they are declared to have been more holy than Peter and Thomas, since they neither denied nor doubted; as neighbors, they are held up as spotless patterns of Christian forbearance and love. If the stories of modern Massachusetts are true, they were more virtuous than any who preceded them, more tolerant than any of their contemporaries, more learned and influential than any who have succeeded them. Indeed, so righteous were they

so disinterested in every good word and work, so devoted to freedom of conscience and freedom from kingcraft, if the Massachusetts text-books are true, that the very hills up which they trudged to meeting, the very valleys which resounded with their nasal songs of praise, became holy ground; while the air they breathed loosened the bonds of the Slave and infused new life in him who had been oppressed.

Such a community of Saints, if any such ever existed, could never have looked with the least allowance on a wrong to their fellow-men—as for slavery of mankind, we have the very best of Massachusetts testimony for supposing that these Fathers of the Bay Colony never allowed it to pollute the sacred soil on which *they* trod; that the earliest squeal of a Massachusetts darkey has always proclaimed the advent of an incipient "Freeman;" and that *all* who have breathed *her* air have been "equal before the law."

It has been the work of Mr. Moore, in the volume before us, to break a portion, at least, of this delusion. No Roundhead ever performed his iconoclastic labors with more zest or more thoroughly; nor was Aaron more completely stripped of his priestly garments in Mount Hor, because of his false ministrations at Meribah, than have been the false priests in this portion of the temple of modern New England's idolatry, because of their abominations in the name of "History."

In these *Notes* the reader is carried back to the earliest days of the Colony; to the period when the *bogus* Israel of the seventeenth century, because there was less "straw" in the English ideal brickyards in which they labored, than they supposed they were entitled to, went into the wilderness; as the *genuine* Israel had done, in the ante-Christian period of the world's history.

We have never heard that the impudent assumptions of these emigrants and of some of their descendants,—that they were God's peculiar People; a Nation on whom, *en masse*, had fallen the choicest of Heaven's blessings and the monopoly of exercising the Lord's prerogatives on earth—were ever ratified by the Almighty, himself, either by a pillar of cloud, by day, or a pillar of fire, by night, as had been the like claims which the *other* Israel had advanced in its approach to Canaan; and we are very much disposed to doubt that the terrible grandeur of Sinai has been eclipsed by the puny rhetorical displays, concerning the squatters on Plymouth Rock and Beacon Hill, with which our Eastern Moseses, year after year, have been accustomed to enforce their pretensions to leadership among the less-favored ones, outside of Massachusetts, among whom they have settled.

Our business, in this place, however, is not to

test either the *original* claim of these pretenders to superior holiness or their pretensions to the successorship of the *genuine* Israel of old: we do not propose, even, to inquire how soon, like their assumed antitypes and predecessors in God's favor, their descendants will become the undoubted collectors of cast-off clothing and the sellers of dirty linen, in the Chatham-streets of yet unheard-of and unfounded cities, throughout the universe. It is rather our purpose to call attention to the fact that the Fathers of modern Massachusetts, the *bogus* Israel of whom we have spoken, were consistent in their pretensions to superiority; that in imitation of the *other* Israel,—"*the original Jacob*,"—they consistently regarded all other Nations on this Continent, as mere tenants at will of the ground on which they dwelt, and liable to be removed and utterly destroyed, as noxious weeds are destroyed by a farmer, whenever *THEY* saw fit to enter on that labor. We desire to notice, also, the fact, that while they gravely considered themselves as the *only* Holy Ones then extant, they as insolently assumed that the Heathen had been given to *them* for "an inheritance," to the same extent that the Hittites and Amorites, the Canaanites and Perizzites of old, had been given to the *other* concern; and that those Heathen were in possession of no rights whatever, either social or political, which these intruders on the territory of some of their number were bound to recognize.

With such notions of superiority and such assumptions of authority from the Almighty, it was not long before these hungry refugees, in Massachusetts, like those in the Eastern wilderness, trumped up a reason for seizing the possessions and the wives and little-ones of those among whom they had squatted; and in "that fatal year," 1637, when the warlike Pequots, as nobly contending for their homes and their Nationality as *ANY* who have succeeded them, were attacked, and overcome, and exterminated, after the fashion of the *genuine* Israel, (*Deuteronomy* xx. 13-18,) the *bogus* concern, in Massachusetts, had reached the utmost limit of its primitive glory; and was enabled to revel awhile, on the spoil of their enemies, which "the Lord their God had given them."

Roger Williams, the illustrious outcast from the Bay Colony, indeed wrote from Providence to John Winthrop, in July, in that year, concerning the "miserable droue of Adams degenerate seede," which it had "again pleased the Most High to put into [*their*] hands," claiming these unfortunate captives as "our brethren by nature," and soliciting the privilege of "keeping & bringing vp of one of the children" which he had seen; and it is not less true that

in September and November following,—in how many other instances we know not,—the same pen was employed in addressing earnest remonstrances and protests, concerning the treatment of the overborne Indians, to the same cruel and relentless leader of the counterfeit Israel, in the Bay Colony. Poor Roger, however, wrote from the “nest of vipers,” the inmates of which, one by one, had crept, with marks of bad usage on their backs, through the thickets and swamps of the wilderness, from the settlements in Massachusetts; and why should those who had thus been found unworthy of places on the sacred hill-sides of that Colony, or on the sands of her wave-washed beach, then presume, no matter how humbly, to remonstrate and protest against the treatment of their “inheritance,” by the Moses of New England and the Israel whom he led? Why was not the cry from the tribe in Salem, that city of Peace, which went up to Boston at the same time, more worthy of their respect; and who shall say that the request for “some boyes,” which was sent from the latter place, not for “keeping and bringing vp” after the Rhode Island fashion, but “for Bermudas,” was not much more “considerable”?

The success of the experiment, in its military operations, and the consequences of its trade in Roger Williams’s “brethren by nature,” with Bermuda and the West Indies, soon led the un-circumcised Israel of New England to take an additional step in its blasphemous progress, as the assumed successor of the house of Abraham.

In December, 1641, the *Code of Fundamentals, or Body of Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony in New England* was adopted, after the most careful deliberation; and the Ninety-first Article of that Code, recognizing the existence of SLAVERY in the Colony, provided, under the title of “*Liberties of forreiners and strangers,*” that “there shall never be any bond slavery, villinage or captivitie amongst us unless it be lawfull captives taken in just warres, and such *strangers* as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in *Israell* concerning such persons doeth morally require.” There was a distinct Section, devoted to the “*Liberties of Servants,*” who were not “sold to us,” either in Bermuda or in Guinea; but those who had been so “sold to us” were not, technically, styled “*Servants,*” and they, therefore, needed a distinct provision.

As “the law of God established in *Israell,*” concerning Slavery, was thus re-established by positive enactment, in the Israel of Massachusetts, there need be no room for doubt respecting the intent and meaning of the Legislators, in the Bay Colony.

A Jew could be sold as a punishment for crimes committed, or he could sell himself; but he was never known as a “Bond-man,” nor could the term of his servitude be possibly extended, without his own consent, freely given before the Magistracy, beyond the beginning of the seventh year. (*Exodus* xxi.) He was called a “*Servant,*” to distinguish him from those “*Forreiners and Strangers*” from whom only the Israelitish “*Bondmen*” and “*Bondmaids*” could be taken; (*Leviticus* xxv. 44–46;) the last of whom, “and *their families that were with them,* WHICH THEY BEGAT IN THE LAND,” unlike the “*Servants,*” were LEGALLY “an inheritance” for the Israelitish children, and their *Bondmen* for ever,” (*verse* 46.) For these being “forreiners and strangers” taken from among “the heathen round about” Israel, (*verse* 45,) there was no seventh year nor year of Jubilee; but, like the unfortunate Negroes which the *Desire* carried into Massachusetts, they enjoyed only the dreary “*liberties*” which were established by the Code of Moses, and were doomed to a life-long, hopeless, and degrading servitude. No Jew, even those sold as criminals, could be sold as “*Bond-servants,*” (*verse* 39;) and as Aben Ezra and Jarchi have both said, only the heathen “forreiner and stranger,” not the more favored “*Servants,*” could be legally employed in a mean and disgraceful occupation.

With these facts before us, we can understand the character of the servitude which the Ninety-first Section of the *Body of Liberties* provided for the “*Forreiners and Strangers*” referred to therein; and we can understand, also, why no attempt appears to have been made to retain the captive male Pequots, as their slaves, when we read, (*Leviticus* xxv. 44,) that the heathen of the land in which the Israelitish people dwelt were not to be enslaved, but only those “that were round about them”—the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites and Syrians, whose utter extermination had not been expressly ordered.

But this *Code of Fundamentals* was passed and amended, leaving it, doubtless, just to the mind of the Israel of Massachusetts, whatever that might have been. Let us see how those holy men understood its provisions in their every-day practice. Did they steal men, women, and children any the less because of its passage? Did the Mavericks of that day, or the Job Tildens of a later period, cease to breed negroes, either as women breed canaries or men do hogs and horses—the former as amateurs, the latter as seekers of gain? Did they cease to buy and sell negroes, and exchange rum or Indians for them? Not they.

I. In 1645, Governor Winthrop’s brother-in-law thought “a warr with the Narragansett”

[ALLIES of the Colonists] "is very considerable to *this Plantation*;" just as the war with the Pequots, their ENEMIES, had been "considerable," eight years before. Why? Just because "we might easily haue men, woemen and children enough to exchange for Moores, which *wilbe more gayneful pilladge for vs than we can ceive.*" Why? "For I do not see how wee can THRIVE *entill wee gett into a stock of SLAVES sufficient to doe all our BUISINES.*" Slavery the foundation of Massachusetts thrift, under the Fathers!! What becomes, in this case, of that peculiar virtue, or that combination of virtues, invented by the elocutionists of New England, on which they have so constantly and so boldly based the success,—the *slave-created* success,—of Massachusetts; and not only the success of that Commonwealth, but that of such other parts of the Continent as have been sprinkled with the droppings of her sanctuary, even in their highest dilution?

But there is another feature in this business which is particularly noteworthy.

II. It will be evident, even to the most casual reader of this volume, that the business of man-stealing, man-trading and man-driving, in the early days of Massachusetts, was a *monopoly*, retained and worked by the *Colonial authorities, officially*. It was the *Government of the Colony* who, officially, got up the wars, both that with the Pequots and that with the Narragansetts: it was the *Government of the Colony* who, officially, disposed of the captives taken in those wars, at home and abroad: it was the *Government of the Colony* who, officially, credited on its Cash account, £397 13s. "for 188 prisoners at war sold;" who "sent [others] away by the Treasurer;" and who, under "Leiftenant Davenport," hired out the *black-skinned proceeds* of still other portions of its unflinching aboriginal plunder, on the account of the Colony. When it shall be remembered that it was the same *Colonial authorities* who, during the same period, officially framed and promulgated, and revised and re-promulgated, this *Code of Fundamentals*, it will be very evident to the reader that the subject was not a new one to the Legislators; and if he will read that *Code*, it will also be evident that while they thus unwillingly recognized the "Rights" of the great body of the Colonists they also carefully confirmed their own, already established, monopoly of man-stealing and manselling; that, in truth, they were only the predecessors in insolence of those arrogant champions of "the Institution," who, within our own memory, have seemed to defy all law, human and divine, in the Federal Halls of Legislation, in their efforts to secure, more completely, their own "Rights" and their negroes' Wrongs.

Can such men be properly held up as examples for us and our children? Can anything but the most intense assurance, worthy the offspring of such God-forsaken men, point to them as among those who held that *ALL men* were "equal before the law?" We shall require more reasons than we have yet heard, before we can believe so.

III. But, in addition to the promotion of wars in order that the *official* monopoly in human flesh might be made still more certain and profitable and the prosperity of the Colony be more permanently secured, like all others of their class, they wanted MORE; and this they obtained when, by the erasure of the word "strangers" from the Ninety-first Section of the *Code*, it became unquestionably *lawful* IN MASSACHUSETTS, to hold those who were not "strangers," in hopeless and life-long bondage.

We are aware that modern Massachusetts has denied that *natives of her soil* have ever been held in *legal* bondage, within *her* boundaries; that *hereditary* slavery never existed therein, with the sanction of *her* Law to support it. We are aware, however, that modern Massachusetts has made other averments without sufficient authority; and we have been inclined to *read* for ourselves and to *judge* for ourselves, on this subject, as we presume, modern Massachusetts has done, to some extent, at least.

The question raised is one of *fact*; and a decision of the Supreme Judicial Court of the State, either way, will not change it a hair's breadth. *Facts* are stubborn things, as all mere theorists know, sorrowfully; and Courts, even, have sometimes been puzzled in their ludicrous attempts to make their *theories* and other persons' *facts* pull evenly together. That this is so, more than one Massachusetts Court has discovered; and HISTORY, that stern recorder of *facts*, has seriously damaged more than a dozen Puritanic reputations, the owners of which went to their rest, flattering themselves that, as Judges in the new Israel, they had done marvelously, in the Lord's service.

What are the *facts* in the case before us, which modern Massachusetts would have us believe are fictions?

In 1637, the Government monopoly in human flesh in the Bay Colony, was opened for the disposal of the captive Pequots; and, during the same year, "some boyes for Bermudas," were thought to be "considerable." In the same year, the official monopolists, through Captain Pierce, *shipped to Bermuda and the West Indies*, divers of their noble victims, and received therefor, among other merchandise, some *Negroes*. The trade was continued; and in 1639, the unsold balance of the Negroes, which the official monopolists had on hand, were officially held for

hire, under "Leiftenant Davenport," one oft he Government's servants.

In the mean time the great body of the unofficial Colonists began to grow uneasy under "the snap of the whip" which these official Slave-factors loved so well to handle; and they demanded, but demanded in vain—what some of the subjects of the Hapsburgs have also since demanded in vain—a written organic Law. The arrogance which is the result of unbridled authority, is the same everywhere; and the Government of the Bay Colony, with both the reins and the whip in its hands, like the more modern European Despots, evidently saw nothing among the asserted rights of the great body of the Colonists—"the poor whites" of Massachusetts—which it considered that it was bound to recognize.

Indeed, in the words of Mr. Moore, "Never were the demands of a free people eluded by their public servants with more of the confortions as well as the wisdom of the serpent;" but, as we have seen, in December, 1641, the *Code of Fundamentals*, with its Ninety-first article, on "Liberties of Forreiners and Strangers," defining the extent and character of "bond slavery" in the Colony, was unwillingly promulgated by the Magistracy.

Does any one suppose that the very hands which had drawn the Pequots into strife, for the sole purpose of *stealing and enslaving them*; which had inhumanly separated husbands and wives, parents and children, and sent each to the best market; which had received kidnapped Negroes in exchange for overpowered Indians; which had sold men, and women, and children, Indians and Negroes, as heartlessly and avariciously as any Factor in more modern Guinea,—we say, does any one suppose that *these* hands were well qualified to frame *Bodies of Liberties* for any one, much less for those who were their victims and the assumed sources of their prosperity? Does any one imagine that such a body as this Magistracy—of whose tyranny even Winthrop, one of their number, bears evidence—would yield a particle of "Liberty" to the "forreiners and strangers" whom they had trafficked in so many years, of whom they still held numbers in bondage, and without whose degradation, the opinion had long been entertained that there could be no prosperity in the Colony? \* Most CERTAINLY NOT; YET THESE VERY SLAVE-FACTORS WERE THOSE WHO ENACTED THIS *Code of Fundamentals*, this *Body of LIBERTIES*!!

But what is the fact concerning this particular Ninety-first Section, in which the Slave-factors of the Bay Colony provided for the

"Liberties of forreiners and strangers?" Simply this: "nothing more." It recognized, *in Law*, what had existed before only by *Arbitrary Authority*, WITHOUT LAW—the Right of one man, in Massachusetts, to buy and sell another man, residing in the same Colony; and to enjoy the fruits of his labor, within the same Colony, without his consent. It re-established the long-since abrogated Mosaic Code—its framers could find no better license than that, for their unholy monopoly in human flesh;—and it gave *legal* authority to these official Negro-factors, to do what they had dared to do, before that memorable *Code of Fundamentals* was graciously promulgated by the Slave Oligarchy of Massachusetts, only because theirs were the Might and the Will.

As we have said, the Puritanic Negro-drivers of Massachusetts framed and enacted this *Code*: the great body of the Colonists were soothed: the "forreiners and strangers" were consigned, for the first time, to a hopeless *legal* servitude. Nothing more could have been expected from such Legislators, under such circumstances—the Colonists compelled the concessions which they secured; but the unhappy Bondmen having no one to look after their "Liberties," could have expected nothing less than another rivet in their fetters, and they obtained nothing more, from those who had already proved their entire fitness for the detestable office which they filled with so energetic a snap of their whips.

There is no reason to suppose that what, prior to the promulgation of the *Code*, had been shamelessly and openly carried on in the Colony, *without authority in law*, was either discontinued or abridged after that *Code* had given to it both *legality* and *worldly* respectability. If Mr. Maverick became weary of his beastly attempts to improve the breed of his negroes, by crossing Plebeian and Patrician blood, (JOSSELYN, 28) Job Tilden, and how many others we know not, were evidently ready to continue the experiment; (BARRY'S *Hanover*, 175;) and the African slave-trade, with ALL its outrages and horrors, flourished under this *Code*—this ancient Puritanic "covenant with hell"—as it has seldom flourished since that period.

At length, in the progress of events, this *Code* required amendment, inasmuch as these official Negro-factors found themselves surrounded by those who were neither "forreiners" nor "strangers," the market value of whose flesh, and blood, and sinews, had already excited their cupidity, evidently because it was thought to be "considerable,"—young negroes, born in their houses, concerning whose Bondage there were reasonable doubts *in Law*, since they were neither "forreiners" nor "strangers," prisoners of war nor sellers of themselves into Slavery.

\* "I do not see how wee can thrive vntill wee gett into a stock of slaves sufficient to doe all our buisines."—*Letter to Winthrop*, ante pp. 49, 50.

There is no doubt that little darkies, like other little animals, had often found places on the official shambles of this modern Israel, under the general authority of the resuscitated Law of Moses, contained in the Ninety-first Section of the *Code*; but the word "strangers," in the text of that Section, seemed rather out of place, the official Slave-factors probably conceived, notwithstanding the little curly-headed negroes who frolicked innocently before the doors of the monopolists, could not appreciate the "Liberties" which possibly belonged to them, would find plenty of purchasers, and add materially to the incomes of their black-skinned mothers' white-skinned whipper-in.

The Legislative pruning-knife was promptly drawn, and the Legislative Negro-drivers of the Colony as promptly cut off that unsightly portion of Section Ninety-one, leaving not even a stump to keep alive the remembrance of that freedom which, in the first *Code*, had been reserved to the natives of the Colony; and, thenceforth, there was no limit found in that celebrated Instrument, to those who might become Slaves to the Puritanic Fathers of Massachusetts—children and parents, natives and "forreiners," following each other, in regular succession of degrading and unrighteous servitude.

The practice of *hereditary* slavery was thus recognized in Law, as slavery itself had been recognized in 1641; and every bar which might possibly obstruct the projects of the Puritanic Slave Oligarchy, was thus removed from the Statute Books of the Colony.

We see no reason to suppose that *hereditary* slavery had not existed in the Colony, long before this *Code* recognized it in Law; but, like Slavery itself in its earlier days in Massachusetts, it probably existed only under the law of Might against the Right, of the strong against the weak. One example will suffice to show the reason for this supposition, although there are many others.

Unless Mr. Maverick was prompted, in 1639, by a merely beastly whim, which is not probable, his desire "to have a breed of Negroes" from a Royal dam must have originated in the superior *marketable* qualities of such a breed;\* and we have, in that case, a recognition of the assumed right of ownership in a master to the offspring of his female slaves, two years anterior to the promulgation of the first *Code* and many more before others than captives and "strangers" could have been *legally* reduced to "bond-slaverie" in the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay.

\* That "breeds" of Negroes were points which were noticed by the Puritanic connoisseurs, in the shambles and on the auction-block, at Boston, see the advertisement of an *expected* Negro child, "of a good breed," from *The Independent Chronicle*, (Boston, December 14, 21, and 28, 1780, copied by Mr. Moore. (*Notes*, 208.)

Whatever may have been the practise in the Colony, *prior* to the Amendment of the *Code*, we are not left to conjecture what it was *after* that Amendment was effected; and those who assume to deny the *legality* of hereditary slavery in the Colony, are left to reconcile, if they are correct, the open and unchallenged defiance of Law, both human and divine, by the Puritan Fathers of Massachusetts, with the assumed Virtues of those Fathers, of which we have heard so much, whenever one of their descendants has opened his mouth.

As we have said, we are not left in doubt concerning the practise of the Fathers, *under the amended Code*, in enslaving the offspring of females who were Slaves, from the period of that Amendment until the disappearance of Slaves from the Commonwealth, at the close of the last Century.

In June, 1666, the Rev. John Davenport, in a letter to the younger John Winthrop, spoke of the baptism of Slaves "*borne in the house, or bought with monie,*" (p. 59), without appearing to consider them a novelty or to suppose that Mr. Winthrop would thus consider them. This is the more remarkable, as it was written within six years after the appearance of what is supposed to be the first edition of the amended *Code*; and because Mr. Winthrop was a resident of a distant Colony and, probably, not well acquainted with the novelties which were then appearing in Boston.

In October, 1704, Gurdon Saltonstall, a native of Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard, and one of the most learned and most influential men in New England, in a case laid before the General Assembly of Connecticut, concerning a fugitive Slave, said, "According to the *laws* and constant "practice of this colony and all other plantations, (as well as by the civil law) such persons "as are born of negro bond-women are themselves "in like condition, that is, born in servitude. Nor "can there be any precedent in this government, "or any of her Majesty's plantations, produced "to the contrary."—(pp. 24, 25.)

Mr. Saltonstall also produced what seems to us an unanswerable argument, as further evidence on this subject—the fact that Mulattoes were among the Slaves, notwithstanding it was notorious that they were held as such only by the title of their Mothers' Bondage.

In 1708, Governor Dudley made an official Report on Slaves, the Slave-trade, etc., to the Board of Trade, in which he stated that "in "Boston there are 400 negro servants, one half "of whom were born here," (p. 26, note.)

In November, 1716, a Petition was presented to the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, without challenge or contradiction, in which the Petitioner describes himself as the "*son of a*

"FREEMAN, [or Citizen of the Colony] by a Servant Woman, and has been sold as a Slave;" and prays that his owner, who is willing to manumit him, may be permitted to do so without giving the Bonds required in such cases, (pp. 246, 247.)

In 1731, *The N. E. Weekly Journal*, No. 267, contains an advertisement of "a likely negro woman about 19 years and a child of about six months of age, to be sold together or apart," (p. 70.)

In 1773, the town of Leicester instructed her Representative in the General Court, among other means for extinguishing Slavery, to urge "that every negro child that shall be born after the enacting such law should be free at the same age that the children of white people are"—a clear indication that children of different colors were not then "equal before the law," in Massachusetts: indeed it proves that negro children were not then "free," on attaining their majority, (p. 26.)

In 1776, Doctor Gordon, the widely-known Historian, in one of his Letters, dated Roxbury, September 21st of that year, while urging the adoption of measures for the liberation of Slaves, said, "Let the descendants of the Africans born among us, be viewed as free-born;"—conclusive evidence that those "descendants" were not then considered "free-born," (p. 177.)

In 1777, when the negroes, themselves, prayed for Legislative relief from bondage, they prayed that "their children (who were born in this land of liberty) may not be held as Slaves after they arrive at the age of twenty-one years"—which prayer would have been needless had they not been considered and treated as Slaves, at the date of that Petition, (pp. 27, 181.)

In January, 1782, the celebrated Nathaniel Jennison sent a Petition to the General Court for relief in the action instituted by his Slave, Quock Walker; and he used therein these words: "That your Memorialist having been possessed of Ten Negro Servants, most of whom were born in his family, some of them young and helpless, others old and infirm, is now informed," etc., (p. 218.)

In 1799, the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts formally decided a negro girl born in the Province in 1759, to have been "the legal Slave of a citizen of Massachusetts, from 1765 to 1776," (p. 24.)

Thus, not only, if modern Massachusetts is correct, had these God-fearing, man-respecting, tolerant, freedom-seeking, liberty-loving Fathers of that Colony\*—Pilgrim and Puritanic,—live in

open, general defiance of their own Laws and of the Laws of Humanity, from December, 1641, until 1780; but they thus lived, a community of outlaws—we call such persons, "Pirates"—without a single reminder from any one, that they were violating a human Law; and with only a very occasional rebuke from such as Eliot, and Williams, and Sewall, as violators of the Laws of Humanity and those of God.

It is, indeed, true that the victims had no standing in the Colonial Courts, and could not, therefore, appeal to those Courts for a redress of their wrongs; yet there were, occasionally, honest, earnest, and capable men, such as those we have named, who had such a standing, and were not indisposed to occupy it, whenever the existing Laws permitted them to hope for success.

We are constrained, therefore, to believe that modern Massachusetts has libeled her Fathers more grossly than have any others; that those Fathers, bad as they were in their intolerant selfishness, were NOT open and unchallenged PRACTICAL violators of the Laws of the Colony, during a hundred and thirty-nine years; and, sustained in this particular point by a fair interpretation of her Laws, as written by Moses and her own Secretary, and by the constant practice, under those Laws, of her own citizens, we are satisfied that hereditary slavery WAS established by Law, in Massachusetts, as stated in this volume.

These Fathers, Pilgrim and Puritan, were only men. Why, then, should they not be allowed to have the passions of men? Why should not they be examined and measured, both in their motives and in their actions, as other men of that period are examined and measured? Why should they be considered, historically, now-a-days, as demi-gods, while History tells us they were not demi-gods? Why should a superiority of motive and a righteousness of conduct be ascribed to them, which belonged not to other men, and which History tells us belonged not to them?

IV. But the Fathers of Massachusetts—slave-holders, slave-dealers, slave-breeders, as they were—were not content with their performances among their Indian captives and Negro bondmen, in New England: they must needs seek gain in a wider field of operations.

In 1646, legal authority was given to seize peaceable and unsuspecting Indians whose tribes were at peace with the Colony, and to ship them to foreign markets for exchange for Negroes. (*Plymouth Records*, ix. 71.)

In 1658, two unprotected WHITE children, whose parents, Quakers, had been banished from the Colony, were ORDERED TO BE SOLD IN VIRGINIA OR BARBADOES; (*Bishop's N. E. Judged*, 85,) but, as "none was willing to take

\* In ascribing these qualities to the great body of the Fathers of Massachusetts, we are following the programme made by some of their descendants. If we read HISTORY correctly, and we think we do on this subject, at least, the true character of the great majority of these Fathers was exactly the reverse of that ascribed to them in the Text.

"or carry them," the intended official speculation failed. (*Bishop*, 190; *Sewel's History of the Quakers*, i. 278.)

The Christian Indians, also,—those who had always been friendly with the Colonists, and who had embraced Christianity,—were stolen and sent away to a foreign market; but, strange as it may appear, in this case, the *Spaniards and Moors*, "whither the vessel went, would not buy them," and they were abandoned at Tangiers, for the want of an appreciative market. (*Compare Eliot's letter to Boyle*, Nov. 27, 1683, and *Mather's Magnalia*, Book III., Part III., with the narrative of shipment, per *Capt. Sprague*, DRAKE, 224.) Puritan New-England—the Reformed Church in the Wilderness—taught its duty to Protestant Christian proselytes, by Papal Spain and Mohammedan Moors! Massachusetts official man-stealers openly rebuked by the Algerines and Tripolitans!! Where is thy blush, oh! shameless, falsifying, modern Massachusetts?

In 1675-6, the Indians of Maine were kidnapped, in time of Peace, and shipped to foreign parts, for sale as slaves—by legal authority and without challenge.

V. But it was not alone in these respects that the slave-holders of Puritanic Massachusetts furnished precedents for the worst forms of American, or Algerine, or Guinea slavery.

1. The Confederated Colonies of New-England, "in which Massachusetts was the ruling Colony," furnished, in 1643, "the original of the Fugitive Slave-Law provision, which is in the Federal Constitution," (pp. 27, 28;) and the same power carefully protected its property in Slaves, three years later, by opening a correspondence on the subject with the Dutch authorities at Hartford, and by subsequently providing, by Treaty with the same power, for the rendition of any fugitives who should seek shelter from their masters, among the subjects of the States-General, (p. 28.)

2. They prevented and hindered the Instruction of their Slaves, even in Religious subjects, (pp. 37, note, 79, 249;) just as Virginia has more recently imprisoned a female for teaching Negroes their duty to God and Men.

3. Marriages of Negroes were obstructed and often denied; and this was sustained by Custom and Usage as well as by Law; (p. 55;) while, in 1758, a child of Slaves who had never been married according to any of the forms prescribed by the Laws of the Colony, was declared, by the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, to have been no bastard, (*QUINCY'S Reports*, 30, note,)—a virtual declaration, by that distinguished tribunal, that on that subject, at least, all men were not then "equal before the law," in Massachusetts.

4. Families were separated—husbands from wives, parents from children, &c.

Doctor Belknap says "negro children were considered an incumbrance in a family; and "when weaned, were given away like puppies;" (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Collection*, I., iv., 200;) and Mr. Moore tells us "they were frequently publicly advertised 'to be given away,'—sometimes with "the additional inducement of a sum of money "to any one who would take them off," (p. 57.)

5. Free negroes were not permitted "to entertain any servants of their own color in their "houses, without permission of their respective "masters or mistresses;" (p. 61;) and they were not permitted to enter the Militia, so obnoxious was their presence to the ancestors of some of those who now pretend that Massachusetts has ever been true to "the spirit of Freedom," (pp. 60, 61.)

6. Slaves were variously considered as "persons" and as "personal estate," at different periods and under different circumstances, although the latter seems to have generally prevailed, (pp. 62-65.) They were "persons," we have no doubt, when their owners could gain by counting them as "persons;" and they were, doubtless, "property" when those owners ordinarily "snapped the whip" over them, or bought and sold them in the market or on the auction block.

7. Slaves were denied Baptism, probably because it was supposed to work their Freedom, (pp. 58, 59,)—so much are the Fathers entitled to places among the Apostles of Liberty;—and it was probably denied, also, because it would entitle them to Church membership, if not to citizenship, in the Colony, (pp. 94-96, note,)—a condition to which they could never be admitted, among the Puritan Fathers of the Colony.

8. Slaves had no legal right to acquire property of any kind, in Massachusetts—not even the white servants of these avaricious, Puritanic Slave-factors were permitted "to give, sell, or "truck any commodity whatsoever without "license from their Masters, during the time of "their service, under pain of fine, or corporeal "punishment, at the discretion of the Court, as "the offence shall deserve;" (*Mass. Laws*, Ed. 1672, p. 104, quoted p. 103;) why then should a dark-skinned "Bond-slave" have any greater privilege, even for the purpose of purchasing his own Freedom? Whatever either of these classes obtained, either by extra work, or by gift, or by the natural increase of their pigs or their poultry, belonged to the Master, and could not be sold by the servant, under any circumstances, or for any purpose. Not a solitary ray of hope was there for the self-emancipation of a Massachusetts Negro. Not an opportunity was there for him to work his Freedom in such a hide-bound Community.

9. Slaves were not legally vested with even the right of LIFE, in Massachusetts, (*pp.* 52, 97-102;) any more than he was in Israel, whose laws, re-enacted, formed the corner-stone of American Slavery, as formally laid by the Puritanic Fathers of Massachusetts, in 1641; and which, *at all times*, formed the standard of the Master's rights in the premises, (*pp.* 100-102.)

It is indeed true, that in one case a Master seems to have been arrested and tried on a charge of "Killing his Negro;" but it is equally true that in that case nothing seems to have been left of the evidence or the record of the Court to tell us of the exact result. Although it is known that the master unsparingly punished his Negro, and that the Negro died *in consequence of that punishment*, little else beside that information and the tradition of the acquittal of the brutal Master by a Jury of the Colony, seems to have been saved—indeed, all concerned at the time of the murder, whether as principals or accessories, seem to have followed the alleged example of the murdered Slave, and *swallowed their tongues*, so completely does the matter appear to have been covered and concealed.

10. No member of the Southern States ever resisted the *legal* abolition of *practical* slavery with more tenacity and perseverance than did the members of the Colony and State of Massachusetts, from the beginning of that "Institution," in her territory, until its decease.

We have not room to follow Mr. Moore in his elaborate and thoroughly fortified recital of the various fruitless attempts at *legal* Emancipation in Massachusetts: the record, however, bears such remarkable testimony against the Fathers and Grandfathers of modern Massachusetts, that we fear that if, as seems to be the prevailing opinion among the natives of that State, today, a current of Godliness had really flowed from the Puritan and Pilgrim Fathers, making any of their descendants more holy, and, consequently, more worthy, than were the descendants of the Dutchmen hereabouts, that current must have been lost in the quagmire of Proslavery, in which Massachusetts wallowed during the last half of the Eighteenth century; and that the character of modern Massachusetts is now no better, its blood no purer, its superiority, *in any respect*, no clearer, than are those of the descendants of less talked-of, although equally honest, ancestors.

At length, what the Legislature dared not do from fear of its Constituencies, was partially effected by more indirect and more questionable means, through the Judiciary; and practical Slavery gradually disappeared in Massachusetts; but the hatred to the Negro was not less prevalent, throughout the State, because the clank of the shackles and the snap of the whip no longer

disturbed the quiet of the Common, nor increased the interest which clustered around the Auction-block, in State-street.

VI. In 1778, when framing her first proposed Constitution, SLAVE-HOLDING Massachusetts excepted from the franchise "Negroes, Indians" and "molattoes," Bond and Free; and Doctor Gordon, the historian of the Revolution, was dismissed from his office of Chaplain of the House, because he insisted that all men should be "equal before the Law."

In March, 1788, FREE Massachusetts enacted a Statute *excluding from her territory* every Negro who approached her boundaries, except those whom, by compact with other States, she had bound herself to receive; and she imposed upon those unfortunates who dared thus to seek a home within her borders, a penalty of imprisonment and whipping, to be repeated every ten days in case of contumacy, without regard to age or sex, (*pp.* 228-230.)

VII. Only one other instance will be given of the peculiar "Spirit of Freedom" which Massachusetts has displayed; but that occurred within the memory of living men.

The State Paper, *The Massachusetts Mercury*, No. 22, Vol. xvi, Boston, September 16, 1800, officially notified One hundred and sixty-four Negroes and seventy-six Mulattoes and Indians, many of them residents of years' standing, and all *free, to leave the State*, on or before the tenth of October following; in default of which the same punishment was ordered as was imposed on *strangers* proposing to settle in the State, by the Act of March, 1788, last referred to, (*pp.* 230-237.)

Thus Massachusetts spake, thus she acted, when her duty, to both God and man, urged her to be *just and fear not*.

But there are various other matters, incidental to the main subject, which find places in this remarkable volume.

"The Freedom suits," in which the relations of Master and Slave, both those founded on the Law of England, on the revised *Code of Fundamentals*, on the Charter of the Province, and on the Constitution of 1780, were judicially determined, are thoroughly discussed; (*pp.* 111-124, 209-215;) the character of the Royal Instructions to the Colonial Governors of Massachusetts, concerning the Slave-trade, are ventilated somewhat to the injury of Mr. Jefferson's recital in the *Declaration of Independence*, (*p.* 132;) the leadership of New York in the early Revolutionary movements, is fully recognized; and the dullness of Massachusetts in her study of the lesson of "Non-importation," which New York had placed before her, is duly noticed, (*p.* 133;) the statistics of Slavery, in Massachusetts, are examined; and "the way of putting it," by one

of the historians of that State, is good-naturedly exposed; (pp. 49-51;) the tariff on Negroes taken into the Colony, and the drawback allowed on Negroes exported therefrom, are noticed; (pp. 59, 60;) the trade between Guinea and Massachusetts, both before and after 1780, is illustrated with some curious documents and references, descriptive of the traffic by Massachusetts merchants, in human-flesh, (pp. 65-69;) the views of James Otis, on the Rights of Negroes, are compared with those of John Adams, (pp. 109-111;) the real character of the Somerset case is displayed, (pp. 115-117;) etc. Mr. Moore also refers to the Conspiracies of the Massachusetts Negroes—one of them, in conjunction with the Regular troops, "to drive the 'Liberty Boys to the devil,'" (pp. 129-131;) to Deacon Benjamin Colman, who, in 1775, declared that Boston was "the first port on this 'Continent that began the Slave-trade;" and who also declared the closing of the port, under the Boston Port Bill, as a noteworthy "Providence," if not a "judgment of God," (pp. 146, 147;) to Negroes, as captives in war, (pp. 149-176;) to the rejection of the proposed Constitution of 1778, (pp. 191-196;) to the Constitution of 1780, and its relations to the Abolition of Slavery—showing that it was powerless, on that subject—(pp. 200-209;) to the process by which the employment of Slaves in Massachusetts was rendered hazardous and unprofitable, (pp. 209-215;) to the attempt, in 1821, of the General Court of the State to make still more stringent laws than the unrepealed Statute of March, 1788, for the purpose of excluding Free Negroes, strangers, from that State, (pp. 238-241;) and, last, but not least in importance, to the fact that the *Slave Code of Massachusetts*, promulgated in 1641, and subsequently amended, remained, unrepealed, on her Statute-books until it was "accomplished by the votes of South Carolina and Georgia," a few months since, "when the grand 'Constitutional Amendment terminated it for ever throughout the limits of the United States,'" (p. 242.)

There are one or two other subjects in this volume to which we desire to call the attention of our readers.

The first of these is the glorious records of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, concerning Slavery, when compared with that of the official Puritanic persecutors of the Baptists and Quakers, whose action was thus recorded, on the same subject.

In 1652, the Commissioners of Providence and Warwick, in session at Warwick, forbade the holding of Slaves within the Colony; and provided for the punishment of those who should assist in enslaving another; (pp. 73, 74.)

In 1688, the Society of Friends, at German-

town, prepared a Minute on the same subject, which was transmitted, successively, as is their habit, to the Monthly Meeting at Dublin, to the Quarterly Meeting at Philadelphia, and to the Yearly Meeting at Burlington—(pp. 74-78)—in all of which bodies, however, it was treated with tenderness.

The second subject is the curious—we had almost said laughable—instance of the author's ideas of a "divided Sovereignty;" (p. 154.) He might just as appropriately have interpolated into such a work as this, an essay on white blackbirds, or one on perpetual motion, as this on the character of Sovereignty in Massachusetts, in 1776. Besides, we shall be happy to see a good authority or two,—in this case he offers no evidence,—and hear a good reason or two, for believing that Sovereignty can be divided, anywhere.

The third is the equally unhappy use which Mr. Moore has made of Mr. Froude, as a guide in his raid on Calvinism. Our author, in this adventure, reminds us of a few lines which we read, when a boy, respecting the blind leading the blind, and where they landed—Mr. Moore's memory, and our readers', will supply all the details of that affair.

Concerning the utility of publishing such an *expose* as this work contains, there seem to be two opinions, at least.

The first is that of *The Springfield Republican* and *The Boston Traveller*, which frankly admit the importance of cutting a few inches from the lofty stilts on which modern Massachusetts has stalked around the country, during the past seventy or eighty years, especially when "the 'Fathers'" and their doings have been spoken of. The second is that of *The Independent*, and of some zealous, transplanted New England journalists, nearer home than Boston, by whom the work is characterized as a libel, the author as "a Copperhead,"—whatever that may be,—and his motives as wicked in the extreme.

We look upon it from yet another standpoint. It is a question of History, whether ancient Massachusetts was or was not a pleasant home for the oppressed, both political and religious; and it is equally a question of History, whether or not she was ever a nursery of man-stealers and man-enslavers;—whether or not the clanking of Bond-men's shackles, the snap of the Driver's whip, the persuasive eloquence of the Slave-factor's vendor, the fine taste of Puritanic Connoisseurs in human live-stock, as they examined the fine points of the victims standing on the auction-block, and the shrieks of the Fugitives relieved with the barkings of the blood-hounds and the curses of their masters, ever added to the interest of passing events within her borders.

The men of modern Massachusetts deny that that State ever gave legal sanction to slavery, in

any form; and some of them, with an arrogance which has evidently come down from "the Fathers," have claimed for Massachusetts, and for themselves, on that assumption, a pre-eminence to which many have supposed that neither are entitled.\* It is for History, therefore, to canvass this claim, and either to stamp it as genuine or to condemn it as spurious;—to give to Massachusetts men, everywhere, a clear warrant of superiority by virtue of a more righteous ancestry, or to reduce them to the level of other men of like virtues and abilities with themselves.

The author of this volume, with a courage which is honorable to him, has undertaken to give us the exact truth of the matter, as the Records of the Past have preserved it. He has labored patiently, as the extent of his research and the number and character of his authorities, clearly indicate: he has labored dispassionately, as the rigid coldness of his narrative, backed by the authorities, fully proves: he has labored effectively, as is proved by the absence of any but carping criticisms, and by the extreme backwardness of all competent Massachusetts men in the work of disproving its statements.

As we have seen, Mr. Moore has fully accomplished what he set out to do. The teachings of History, on the claims of modern Massachusetts, have been fully noticed; and his conclusions thereon are calmly presented, as such important subjects should be, for the instruction of the world. Those teachings, it is true, do not sustain the pretensions of modern Massachusetts, either concerning "the Fathers," or themselves; yet they are full, authentic, and authoritative; and we do not see how the claimants to superiority, throughout the Bay State, can maintain the elevated position, above their neighbors, which they have so long and so insolently attempted to occupy.

The book is beautifully printed, by John F. Trow, and we commend it to the notice of our readers.

4.—*The Age of Louis XIV.* By Henri Martin. Translated from the Fourth Paris Edition by Mary L. Booth. In two volumes. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co., 1865. Octavo, pp. xxii. 563; viii. 543.

*The Decline of the French Monarchy.* By Henri Martin. Translated from the Fourth Paris Edition. By Mary L. Booth. In two volumes. Boston: Walker, Fuller, & Co., 1866. Octavo, xvi. 546; viii. 623.

*The History of France*, by M. Martin, of which these form the concluding volumes, is so well

known to the great body of our readers that we have no occasion to describe it for their information: for that of the few who are unacquainted with it, we notice it more fully.

Its author, one of the most accomplished scholars in Europe, after a severe training for the task in the preparation of a history of the kingdom, from the earliest period, which was designed to serve as an introduction to Thiers' *History of the French Revolution*, commenced the preparation of another work which should be considered a standard history of his country.

Twenty years were spent on this new and commendable undertaking; and every known original authority on the subject was impressed into the service—even the Archives of the Kingdom, generally withheld from the historical student, were thrown open for his inspection and usefully employed. In 1855, the work was completed; and it was received by the literary public, in France, with entire satisfaction; even the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres—a most accurate and fastidious critic—awarded to it the unusual and distinguished honor of the Great Gobert Prize of Ten thousand francs, as the most *learned*, and the French Academy, the highest literary authority, pronounced it the most *eloquent*, historical work on France.

Four editions have been demanded, and the learned author has availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to revise and, in some portions, to entirely re-write the work; and the Fourth edition, in sixteen volumes, with one of Index, is now considered as completing the author's labors.

The plan adopted by M. Martin, in the preparation of this great work, was peculiar. He divided his subject into eight distinct parts, or series—Ancient France, France in the Middle Ages, The English Wars, etc.—each complete in itself; and to each of these he appropriated two volumes of his work, while a seventeenth, which is an elaborate analytical Index of the whole, completed the undertaking.

The volumes before us form the seventh and eighth of M. Martin's parts—it was considered most advisable, we suppose, to re-produce, first, those which related to the most modern periods of the French Monarchy—and they have been translated by Miss Mary L. Booth, whose untiring industry, entire capability, and conscientious fidelity are so well known to our readers—M. Martin stamping the undertaking with his approval by writing for it a special Introduction to the American reader.

In view of the decisions of the two Academies in Paris, to which we have referred, our readers will not expect anything from our pen, concerning the merits of the original work—the trivial errors into which the author has

\* The following are specimens of these pretensions to superiority:

"From the earliest days, Massachusetts had taken up a position on the subject of slavery in advance of every other nation in Christendom."—STEVENS'S *Anthony Burns*, 231.

"If others trot after the Bay horse, it is simply because Massachusetts means always to keep on the right road, and, by unerring instinct, knows the way."—CHARLES SUMNER'S speech at Worcester, September 14, 1865.

fallen, in treating of the merely incidental subject of the American Revolution, taking nothing from the great merits of the work, as a *History of France*.

The work of translating, however, seems to have been unsatisfactorily performed to some of our contemporaries; and of that we desire to say a word or two.

There are some Frenchmen who are, also, excellent English scholars; and, it is fair to suppose, these may be capable of judging, understandingly, concerning the merits of a translator, especially when the translations of *their own writings* are referred to their critical judgment.

To say nothing of the entire confidence of competent French scholars, at home, which Miss Booth enjoys, or that of Gasparin, Laboulaye, Cochin, and other competent English scholars well known to fame, abroad, which she also possesses, the distinguished author of this work is perfectly competent to judge for himself of the character of this particular version of his *chef d'œuvre*; and he has not neglected to do so.

In a letter, dated January 25th, 1865, M. Martin said to Miss Booth, on this subject:

"I have at length received the two volumes of the *Age of Louis XIV.* I have already read a very large part of them, and, by preference, the chapters most difficult, most abstract, those which were the hardest to put in a foreign tongue. I cannot tell you how grateful I am to you for so energetic, so persevering, and so completely successful an effort to express, with perfect fidelity, not only the substance, but the turn of expression of the thought of the author, the physiognomy of the ideas. Your work appears to me a true model of what a translation should be: neither an unfaithful paraphrase, nor a not less unfaithful *word-for-word* translation, wherein the heavy imitation stifles the spirit as much as the paraphrase. It is elegant without artificiality, vigorous without stiffness, and always clear. The literary and philosophic history surpasses what seemed to me possible; all those passages of metaphysical exposition concerning Leibnitz, Spinoza, Malebranche, etc., have left no difficulty unsurmounted, no cloud on the true meaning of the thought. It is needless to say, after this, that the narrative and political history is fully satisfactory; what I have read of it answers to me for the rest.

"I will sum up all in a few words,—happy is the writer that meets with such an interpreter!"

On the sixth of May, 1866, he wrote further, to the translator, as follows:

"You must have been surprised at being so

"long without hearing from me, or receiving my thanks for the two new volumes of the *History of France*—'The Decline of the French Monarchy.' You have displayed in them the same qualities that merited such high esteem in your excellent translation of the two preceding volumes; and as is the case in works so profoundly studied, your progress cannot but be more and more strengthened, and your possession of the subject which you appropriate to yourself cannot but become more and more complete; although, on reading the first two volumes translated, one is at a loss to conceive, at the first glance, how it would be possible to do them better."

Our readers will perceive, from these extracts, the reason for our satisfaction with Miss Booth's translation of M. Martin's work; yet this evidence is strengthened by the knowledge which we possess of the peculiar animus which prompted her most influential detractor to depreciate her version of it—a cause which is as disgraceful to him as it is discreditable to American journalism.

We need say no more concerning these volumes, than to refer to the neatness of style in which the Publishers have dressed them.

##### 5.—The New York Directory.

Among the events of the past month, and not the least important of these in the city of New York, is the appearance of the *Directory* for that city.

We have not yet seen the work, but we learn from the newspapers of the day that the purchasers of it have been treated to a "Preface" or "Introduction," of a rather unusual character. In addition to the ordinary statements concerning the growth of the city, etc., the Editor or Publisher has gone back to "the days of auld lang syne;" and the unlucky Knickerbockers have fared as badly at his hands as they would have done had they fallen into the hands of a party of the Puritans of Boston. We clip the following specimen from the columns of one of the city papers:

"New York is so full of new-comers that the number of old residents who take any interest in the family antiquities of the city form a very inconsiderable class; but still there are some who do look back with a fond, inquiring gaze at the last century, and can solace themselves with tracing their kinship to those mythical personages who are called 'The Old Knickerbockers.' To all such the *New York Directory*, the first number of which was issued in the year 1795, must be what the roll of Battle Abbey or Doomsday Book is to an Englishman.

"The proud New Yorker, who wishes to trace his descent from the Knickerbockers, should consult the pages of this *Directory*. To his dismay he will discover that the New York Knickerbockers are like the snakes in Ireland. There were never any Knickerbockers in the old *New York Directory*. In the *Directory* for 1796, the name of Stuyvesant first occurs. There is but one, and he is recorded as 'Peter Stuyvesant, shoemaker.' Two years after, there are two, 'Peter Stuyvesant, shoe ware-house,' and 'Peter Stuyvesant, Jr., attorney.'

"Another great New York name makes its first appearance in the *Directory* of 1796, where we find John Jacob Astor, fur merchant, 149 Broadway; and 'H. Astor, butcher, 61 Bowery lane.' Gulian 'Verplanck' was then a 'merchant,' 16 Wall street; and 'John Jay, Governor,' was to be found at 'the Government House, Broadway.'

"Another name, which was not of much account then, but has become notorious enough since, though it has disappeared from the *Directory*, is that of 'John Slidell, soap boiler, Broadway.' This was the father of the expatriated Senator who went into rebellion because of his aristocratic superiority to 'Northern mudsills.'

"A closer search into the volumes of the *Directory* will be rewarded by a great many highly-interesting and amusing discoveries; but we do not think that it will prove on the whole very encouraging to the family pride of New Yorkers, except to such as take proper pride in being the descendants of honest tailors, shoemakers and butchers.

"It is curious, in looking over the earlier volumes of the *Directory*, to see how gradually the distinctively New York names have disappeared, or been completely overshadowed by the infusion of new elements into our population."

Mr. Trow is an excellent Printer, and Mr. Wilson may be a very excellent Statistician, but if this extract is to be taken as a specimen of their industry in procuring material for the manufacture of a RELIABLE *Directory*, or of their good taste and ability in the employment of that material, we rather suspect that their *Directory* might be improved, without much trouble.

"The first number of *The New York Directory* was issued," they say, "in the year 1795:" the truth is, the first number was issued nine years before, in the year 1786.

"In the *Directory* for 1796, the name of STUYVESANT first occurs," they say; but did they not know that the STUYVESANTS were farmers, living in the country,—a class whose names are not often found on the pages of a *City Directory*?

But, notwithstanding, "the name of Stuyvesant" does appear on the pages of a *New York Directory* before 1796. For instance, in that for 1789, (page 84,) appear the following:

"STIVERSON, PETER, farmer, Bowery lane,"

"STIVERSON, BARNET, carman, Great Dock street;"

and in that of 1794, stands the following:

"STUYVESANT, PETER, Bowery-lane"

—even the shoemaker, STUYVESANT, whose appearance in the *Directory* for 1796 gives Messrs. Wilson and Trow so much satisfaction, had appeared, previously, in those for 1792, 1793, and 1795, without arresting their attention.

They say, also, that "another great New York name makes its first appearance in the *Directory* of 1796, where we find JOHN JACOB ASTOR, fur merchant, 149 Broadway; and H. ASTOR, butcher, 61 Bowery lane," etc.

Had they taken the trouble to look at the *Directory* for 1789, (page 8,) they would have seen

"AORSTOR, HENRY, butcher, corner of First and Fisher-streets;"

while in that for 1790, they might have read, had they taken the trouble, the following:

"ASTOR, HENRY, butcher, 31, Bowery-lane.

"ASTOR, JOHN J., furr trader, 40, Little-Dock street."

In the *Directory* for 1791, JOHN JACOB is called JOSEPH; and, with that exception, the record of the two brothers is exactly the same as in that for 1790. In the *Directory* for 1792, JOHN I. is said to be engaged in business at the same place; and HENRY is not referred to: in that for 1793, HENRY is noticed, but JOHN JACOB's name does not appear. In the *Directory* for 1794, HENRY is referred to, as usual; but JOHN JACOB had removed to 149 Broadway: in that for 1795, both names appear, without change.

Our readers may judge, from these corrections, how much Messrs. Trow and Wilson have wandered from the truth, on a subject which is peculiarly their own. Had such a demonstration been made in the columns of the Sunday press, by some hungry penny-a-liner, it might have been overlooked; but Mr. Trow owes it to himself, as well as to his office, when he undertakes to tell us of the Past of New York, not only to be tolerably sure that his materials are trustworthy, but to use them as becometh one who has a duty to perform.

## VI.—CURRENT EVENTS.

THE NEW SOUTH CHURCH, BOSTON.—The newspapers of the day inform us that the New South Church, Boston, of which Rev. William P. Tilden was Pastor, has been dissolved.

We are told that, on the twentieth of September, 1715, forty-four persons associated in the good work of forming a church, to meet in Summer-street; and, soon after, the Selectmen of the Town, on the petition of Samuel Adams and thirteen others, granted the newly-formed church the piece of land known as "The Church Green," at the corner of Summer and Bedford streets. A meeting-house of wood was erected and dedicated on the eighth of January, 1717, on which occasion, sermons were preached by Revs. Benjamin Wadsworth and Cotton Mather. The pastors who preached in this house were Revs. Samuel Checkley, Pennel Bowen, Joseph Howe, Oliver Everett, John Thornton Kirkland, and Samuel C. Thacher.

During Mr. Thacher's pastorate an elegant granite structure was constructed on the site of the old wooden meeting-house, and dedicated on the twenty-ninth of December, 1814. Mr. Thacher died in January, 1818, and was succeeded by Revs. F. W. P. Greenwood, Alexander Young, D.D. and William P. Tilden.

On Sunday morning, the first ult., the closing services were held; the Pastor preaching a most impressive discourse from Isaiah lxvi. 6. From the published report of this discourse, we make the following extract, from which our readers will learn something of the causes which lead to the dissolution of the church:

"There is only one sadness, one real sadness, in this change. It is that this society and this church is to become extinct, to die—to die with all the means of life at its command, to die of its own free choice, of its own deliberate act, voluntary suicide. This is, indeed, sad; this calls for tears. We would gladly turn the deaf ear to this voice, but we must listen to it, sad as it is. It has been seen by those who have watched the march of commerce that the demolition of this church edifice was inevitable. Mr. Tilden said that when he came to settle over the church four years ago it looked like decay, but he, and others, entertained strong hopes that it would be transplanted where in new fields it would gain new life. The removal of the church seemed obviously right. With a history stretching back many years, wreathed with sacred memories of the honored dead; with a Sunday-school library waiting for children as roses in June for bees; with a clear-toned bell waiting to swing in the steeple of a new church; with a sweet-sounding organ which so many love to hear; with a rich service of church-plate, a gift of one and another of honored memories since 1720; with an amount of property abundant to build a grand church; with the voices of the churches of the faith asking us, in tender and fraternal entreaty, that the church may not be left to die; with the assurance that there is

"work for us to do; with the many voices calling, and with all the facilities at hand to obey that call, it did seem strange, it did seem sorrowful, that a large majority of the proprietors of the church should vote to ask leave of the Supreme Court to die, to dissolve the corporation and to divide the property. The preacher would call in question no man's motives, but he was sorry for the act; sorry for the church which had come to such an untimely and unworthy end; sorry for the cause of religion; sorry that the opportunity for doing good had been missed. What the result of the case in the court would be he would not attempt to predict; perhaps the court will do that which the friends of the church could not; but if it decides that church property is like factory property, that a pew in a church is no more sacred than a share in a billiard saloon, then he trusted that the church would consecrate itself to God, and not allow itself to be the property of men.

"The preacher rejoiced to know that this act was not with the consent of all the members of the church. Had it not been for the votes and the influence of those who did not attend the church, but yet owned part of the property, this event would hardly have transpired. He honored those who stood up and protested against this action. He rejoiced to know that among that noble band of seventeen who had recorded their votes against this project, were not only the most honored but the oldest of the members of the church, whose love was too deep and strong in their hearts for the old place to permit it to go out of existence without their most earnest and solemn protest."

Where is the patriotism of Boston, thus to stand still and see the church of Samuel Adams's affection broken up? The testimony of Trinity and John-street, of St. Paul's and William-street, of St. Peter's and St. George's speaks better than this for busy, money-seeking New York.

THE PRINCE LIBRARY.—Our readers will be glad to learn that this valuable collection is to be properly cared for, and made more accessible than it has been, to students.

In the Board of Aldermen of the City of Boston, on the second of July, the following communication was read:

"MAYOR'S OFFICE, CITY HALL, }  
"BOSTON, July 2, 1866. }

"To the Honorable the City Council:

"Gentlemen,—It affords me much gratification to transmit to your honorable body a communication from the trustees of the Public Library, proposing to assume, with the consent of the City Government, the custody of the Prince Library.

"The Rev. Thomas Prince, a pastor of the Old

"South Church from 1718 to the period of his death, in 1758, was particularly distinguished for his interest in all matters connected with the early history of New England. In addition to his own publications, which have made his name famous as one of the early and most accurate of our historians, he collected from all sources, at home and abroad, a large library of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts. At his death, this collection was bequeathed to the Old South Church, with the condition that they should be kept entire and under the control of its pastors and deacons. With the exception of those lost or destroyed during the Revolutionary War, when the church, the place of their deposit, was in the possession of the British soldiery, those books have been kept together; known to be in existence by the antiquarian and student in historic lore, but of little practical use to the great mass of readers, from the difficulty of access to them. It is now proposed that they should be added to the volumes now in our Public Library, subject to such conditions as may be agreeable to the city and the present legal custodians. The Old South Church cannot wholly part with them, but cheerfully puts them in charge of the trustees of the Public Library, in order that they may be properly preserved, and that the community may have a better opportunity of consulting them.

"The communication herewith transmitted will fully explain the plan proposed, which has, I understand, been submitted to the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, and has been approved by him. The Board of Trustees desire that an appropriation may be made to defray the expense of putting the books in order, and for the printing of a catalogue. This whole subject will, I trust, meet with your approval, for I have no doubt this rare and valuable collection will hereafter be considered as one of the most interesting features of our popular Public Library.

"(Signed) F. W. LINCOLN, JR., Mayor."

City Document No. 76 accompanied the communication, and contained the agreement in relation to the library. The main conditions are that the books shall be kept by themselves, and not removed from the library building, unless for the purpose of being repaired; they are to be accessible for reference and use in the same way with the other books of the Public Library which are excluded from circulation and use excepting within the building. Clergymen and literary men not residents of Boston, if known to the superintendent of the Public Library, or bringing a note of introduction from a pastor or deacon of the Old South Church, shall be permitted to consult the library. The books are to be restored

to the deacons of the Old South Church, or their successors, whenever demanded by them, acting under the direction of that Church; the said deacons or their successors first paying to the city the expenses incurred in putting the books in order and preparing and printing the catalogue—providing such expense does not exceed the sum of two thousand dollars. The following order accompanied the document, and was passed:

"That the trustees of the Public Library be, and they hereby are, authorized to receive the said Prince Library, on the terms and conditions set forth in the foregoing agreement, and that a sum not exceeding two thousand dollars be transferred from the reserved fund to the appropriation for the library, to cover the expense of binding and otherwise preparing the books."

**CURIOUS COINCIDENCE.**—*The Portland Press* recounts a singular incident. At the burning of Portland by the British during the Revolutionary War, an infant of but a few weeks of age was removed from a house on Fore street, and taken out of town for safety. The house was burned down. During the recent conflagration in that city, that same infant was removed from a house erected on the spot where stood the one burned by Mowatt, from which, ninety years ago, she had been removed; and she was once more taken to a place of safety. It was the venerable Miss Hannah Thorlo, the daughter of Capt. Peter Thorlo.

**AN OLD TREE.**—That famous old oak, Lone Tree, which stood in the south part of Bureau county, has at length succumbed to the fierce winds of the Illinois prairies, and is now numbered with the things that were. This tree, known to many of the earliest settlers of that county and State, had a wide reputation—reaching beyond the confines of the State, and across the broad waters to the mother country. It marked a point to weary and distant travelers between Peoria and Dixon, as well as other distant points, in a day when travelers were governed by points instead of roads.

**PENNSYLVANIA AND THE WAR.**—Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, has appointed Samuel P. Bates, LL.D., to the position of State Historian, in accordance with the act of Assembly of 1865, authorizing the appointment, and appropriating \$5000 to the work of collecting and writing a complete history of the Pennsylvania regiments in the service of the United States during the rebellion. Mr. Bates is a graduate of Brown University, and has served as the Deputy Superintendent of Common Schools of Pennsylvania for the past six years.

FOURTH OF JULY ORATION AT BOSTON.—The Corporate authorities of the city of Boston annually listen to a Fourth of July Oration, in which, from year to year, some of the best talent of Massachusetts has been employed.

This year, the Rev. S. K. Lothrop, D.D., was the Orator; and as the Doctor is one of the most honored members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, we laid aside the paper which reported his *Oration* with the expectation of finding in it, at some leisure hour, a feast of fat things, particularly in all that related to the history of our Country.

Although we have not been wholly disappointed, there are some points of this discourse which need explanation, especially when viewed as the work of one of those whose associations impose upon him the duty of giving different information. We instance the following:

1. The Orator, when speaking of "the quick and thorough Union of the Colonies, when the hour for resistance came," said, "*suddenly*," through means whose suggestion and efficacy "seem wonderfully providential, *the thirteen became a unit*, with a General Congress, and "Articles of Confederation strong enough to carry them through as long and severe a struggle as liberty ever exacted of her champions."

The "hour for resistance came," in April, 1775: the Congress of the States—a mere Convocation of Envoys from independent Colonies—had met in the *preceding* September, and adjourned soon after; while the Articles of Confederation were not adopted, and did not take effect for *six years* after, (March 1, 1781.) There is not much similarity between Doctor Lothrop's statements and these facts.

Again: The Doctor appeared to suppose that the Continental Congress and the Articles of Confederation were "strong enough to carry them [the Colonies] through" the conflict of the Revolution. We do not think so; and we venture nothing in saying that without the aid of France, Holland, and Spain, direct and indirect, and the co-operative exertions of the friends of America, in England, the Colonists, notwithstanding their Congress and their embryo *Articles of Confederation*, and notwithstanding the blunders of the Royal Generals-in-chief, would have been inevitably prostrated, and overcome, long before the Colonies were even "Confederated."

2. Doctor Lothrop said, "No one of the Colonies, in the exercise of individual Sovereignty, declared itself independent of Great Britain, or undertook in its own name to be or to set up a 'new Nationality on the earth.'"

Will Doctor Lothrop please examine the *Journals of the General Court of Massachusetts*, for the first of May, 1776, and the Rolls of the Acts

passed on that day, and tell us what he thinks of the "new Nationality" entitled "The Government and People of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England," which that General Court introduced to the world on that day? Having done that, will he be kind enough to extend his researches to the Records of the General Assembly of the Colony of Rhode Island, of the fourth of May, 1776, and to those of the Council and House of Representatives of New Hampshire, of the fifteenth of June, 1776, and tell us what he thinks of the action of those bodies, on the dates referred to? We beg also, respectfully, to call his attention to the fact that the Independence of only *twelve* Colonies was declared on the fourth of July, 1776,—the thirteenth remaining a Colony of the King until the *ninth* of that month, when, through her Provincial Congress assembled at one of her own villages, (White Plains, the County-seat of Westchester County,) *she declared her own Independence without the assistance of the Continental Congress or that of any other body whatever*. These facts do not, in the least, sustain Doctor Lothrop's rhetoric.

3. Doctor Lothrop said, "As Colonies uniting in revolt, they passed into a Confederacy of States, and thus made their Declaration of Independence to England and to the world; and from a Confederacy of States they passed under the Constitution into a Union, not of the States, but of the People."

Does the Doctor really pretend that it was "a Confederacy of States" which made the Declaration of Independence?"

The title of the paper reads thus: "IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776. THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION of the thirteen united STATES OF AMERICA." Does the reader see anything in the expressive words "*the thirteen united STATES OF AMERICA*"—the word "*united*" being merely an adjective belonging to the noun "STATES"—which indicates an existing "Confederacy"?

The Declaration reads thus: "WE, THEREFORE, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they [the States] are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of

"right do."\* Does this indicate an act of a Confederacy? Are the rights of a Confederacy, or those of "Independent States," here asserted?

The motion for Independence originated in the express Instructions sent by an *individual* Colonial Assembly to her *individual* Delegates; it was moved under those Instructions, and it was supported and opposed by the respective Delegations, *as such*, according to the terms of their respective Instructions; it was voted for, by its friends, as *Delegations*, and by Delegations, *as such*, it was resisted; and it was subsequently ratified by the several States, each for itself. Where, then, was the Confederacy?

Having invented a "Confederacy" of the Colonies through which to secure their Independence, Doctor Lothrop continued his handiwork thus:—"from a Confederacy of States, they "passed under the Constitution into a Union, not "of States, but of the People."

If the good Doctor had told the world just what the difference is between a "People" and a "State," we think that both he and his auditors would have been benefited—he would have showed that he knew something of the subject on which he was speaking, and was willing to tell of it; *they* would have learned the exact difference between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee.

He would, also, in that case, have let his audience know just when "The Commonwealth of "Massachusetts," formed in 1780, ceased to be "a free, sovereign, and independent body-politic "or State," in order to become a component part of some other "body-politic or State;" and he would, also, have told it, *who* made the Constitution, *who* have subsequently amended it, *who* [1802-15] defied it and the Government which existed under its provisions, and *who*, to-day, are diligently seeking its overthrow.

No one better than Doctor Lothrop knew that the *Constitution of the United States* only amended the *Articles of Confederation*, without repealing them. He knew that the "Union" of which he said so much, is that which was formed on the first of March, 1781, *and not another*—why did he not say so in this *Oration*? He knew, also, that there was no warrant for the use, by him, of the term "The United States of "America," except in the *unrepealed* First Article of *The Articles of Confederation*; and he knew, too, that a dissolution of the Confederacy of 1781, and the formation of a *new* Union, would have necessarily abrogated the Treaties which had been entered into, either by the individual States or by the Confederacy. Has such a catastrophe happened? If not, why?

4. The Orator said that "No one of these "States ever has been for an hour an independent State in the exercise of all the rights of "absolute Sovereignty. At first the most important of these rights vested in Great Britain: "then they were assumed, I had almost said, "rather than transferred to the Continental Congress; and then, by a grand and solemn act of "the people, they were committed to a Federal "or National Government under the Constitution "of the United States."

*The Declaration of Independence*, or that portion of it which we have quoted, said that these States, "AS FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, "have FULL POWER to levy War, conclude Peace, "contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and "DO ALL OTHER ACTS AND THINGS WHICH INDEPENDENT STATES MAY OF RIGHT DO." Doctor Lothrop said it was not so "for an hour." Which of the two is the best witness?

*The Declaration* said that Allegiance had been due to "the British Crown," as the Sovereign power: Doctor Lothrop placed this right in the great body of the Nation—"in Great Britain." Which is the best witness?

*The Declaration*, in the paragraph which we have quoted, transferred the Sovereignty from the King to the respective States: Doctor Lothrop gave it to the Congress—in defiance, also, of another clause of the same *Declaration*, which said that Governments are *subordinate* to the Governed, not their Sovereigns.

Whether or not that Sovereignty which the Doctor said had been "assumed by the Continental Congress" after the *Declaration of Independence*, was again "committed," "by a grand "and solemn Act of the People," "to a Federal or "National Government," is a fact of History, not one of speculation. It is not so clear, however, if the Doctor's word can be relied on, that *the People* had anything to do with the Sovereignty, when that alleged transfer is said to have been made, since it already belonged, *he said*, to "the Continental Congress;" and if "the people" really, interfered with it, as he stated, it was simply an act of usurpation on their part, and invalid in law. Besides, if "the most important "rights of absolute Sovereignty" were "assumed," "at first," by the Federal Government, and had never been reclaimed, "for an hour," by those to whom they legally belonged, why was it necessary to go through the farce of "committing" them, *thirteen years after*, to the same "Federal "Government" which had not ceased to hold them, without dispute, from "the first" of the country's existence? Will not some one tell us?

There are other portions of this *Oration* which are open to censure, because they are founded on Fancy rather than on History; but we have no more room to devote to the subject.

\* We have strictly followed the original, in the use of Capitals and Italics, in Punctuation and in Spelling, in both these extracts from *The Declaration of Independence*.—ED. HIST. MAG.

The fact is patent, however, that our History, like our Constitution, seems to have become a foot-ball, to be kicked on one side or the other, as the agility of the performers or their fancy seems to dictate. Even a grave Doctor in Divinity, an associate in the most venerable Historical Society in America, seems inclined to disregard the teachings of the Records of our Country, and as boldly to substitute his own inventions; and we not unfrequently see the same contempt thrown on the unimpeachable memorials of the Past, in order to flatter the vanity of a family or the false pride of prominent members of a State.

We cannot too strongly condemn this wholesale disregard of the Truth of History; and whether the transgressors shall be our Seniors or our Juniors, we shall fearlessly expose those who are guilty of this sacrilege, to the condemnation and the contempt of the world.

## VII.—ERRATUM.

### WHAT ARE THE METHODISTS CELEBRATING?

[The following, belonging to the article, in this number, entitled "What are the Methodists Celebrating?" was overlooked, until the article had been printed. The reader will please place it immediately after "Rule 3," adopted by the General Conference of 1773, where it properly belongs.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

The "Rules" thus "agreed to by all "the Preachers present," in the General Conference, in 1773, were unquestionably respected by the Methodists throughout the several Colonies;—even the War which, soon after, broke down all the sympathies of the great body of the inhabitants for everything that was English, could not eradicate the fidelity of the Methodists to the Established Church of England, as required by the "Rules" which we have quoted. To prove this, we cite the following facts:

In the General Conference, held in Kent County, Delaware, on the twenty-eighth of April, 1779, the tenth question asked, and the answer thereto of the Conference, were as follows:

"*Ques.* 10. Shall we guard against a "separation from the Church, directly or "indirectly?

"*Ans.* By all means."

Again: In the General Conference, held at Baltimore, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1780, the subject was renewed,

and similarly determined. The following is the official record of that action:

"*Ques.* 12. Shall we continue in close "communion with the Church, and press "our people to a closer communion with "her?

"*Ans.* Yes.

"*Ques.* 13. Will this Conference grant "the privilege to all the friendly Clergy "of the Church of England, at the request or desire of the people, to preach "or administer the ordinances in our "Preaching-houses or Chapels?

"*Ans.* Yes."

What was meant by "the Church," among those who, like this Conference, favored "the Establishment," at the dates referred to, needs little illustration—it referred to "the Church" of England, as established by Law, in Virginia, etc.

Again: The General Conference, held at Ellis's Preaching-house, Sussex County, Virginia, on the seventeenth of April, 1782, made the following minute on its records:

"The Conference acknowledge their "obligations to the Rev. Mr. Jarratt, for "his kind and friendly services to the "Preachers and People, from our first "entrance into Virginia, and more particularly for attending our Conference "in Sussex, in public and private; and "advise the Preachers in the South to "sult him and take his advice in the absence of Brother Asbury."

When the facts shall be remembered that Mr. Jarratt was a minister of the Established Church of England, whose Intolerance is so well known, and that "Brother Asbury"—whose equal in authority, under some circumstances, Mr. Jarratt was thus formally voted—was immediately afterward chosen by the same body to "preside over the American Conferences and the whole work," the relation of the Methodists of that day to the Established Church of England will be very apparent.

H. B. D.

# THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. X.]

SEPTEMBER, 1866.

[No. 9.

## I.—MORE ABOUT HENRY LAURENS.

BY HIMSELF.

[For the purpose of illustrating the remarkable confession by Mr. Laurens, which we published in the August number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we submit the following extracts from his Letter Books. They were copied from the originals and sent to us, several years since, by the late Doctor Henry Johnson, of Charleston, whose volume of *Traditions of the American Revolution* is well known to our readers.—Ed. Hist. Mag.]

### 1.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM HENRY LAURENS TO JOSEPH BROWN.

GEOTOWN, 11th Oct. 1765.

At a Meeting here this morning of some of the inhabitants, the result of their opinions portends no evil or disturbance to the expected Stamp Officer, but rather discovered an inclination to discountenance all riot & mobbing & every mark of tumult & sedition; & to encourage an humble & dutiful acquiescence to an Act of Parliament however oppressive it may be until by proper representations & remonstrances a repeal of that Act can be obtained, which as I most heartily wish for it, so I do not despair of that happy event—provided we pursue only the right measure.\*

\* \* \* \* \*

Conclude not hence that I am an advocate for the Stamp Tax. No, by no means! I would give—I would do—a great deal to procure a repeal of the Law which imposes it upon us, but I am sure that nothing but a regular, decent, becoming representation of the inexpediency & the inutility of that Law will have the desired effect; & that all ir-

\* It is to be regretted that the copyist failed to give, in this place, a perfect copy of what seems to have been a decidedly Loyal sentiment.

Ed. Hist. Mag.

regular, seditious practices will have an evil tendency, even perhaps to perpetuate that & bring upon us other Acts of Parliament big with greater mischiefs.

### 2.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM HENRY LAURENS TO JOSEPH BROWN.

GEOTOWN, 22d Oct. 1765.

\* \* \* \* \*

Some of our folks were wise enough to exhibit certain Effigies on Saturday last, a minute and pompous account of which I suppose you will see in the Gazettes. I was out of town & saw not the farce; but some sensible men have convinced me, that six Men of Spirit could in the beginning have crushed the whole Show. Whereas meeting with no opposition, they carried their point with a high hand, & those Sons of Liberty as they stile themselves, or as others call them Devil burners did not close the play in defence of Liberty, before they had most shamefully given the Lie to their pretended Patriotism.

\* \* \* \* \*

### 3.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM HENRY LAURENS TO JOSEPH BROWN.

GEORGETOWN, 28th October, 1765.

\* \* \* \* \*

At mid-night of Wednesday I heard a most violent thumping & confused Noise at my western door & chamber Windows, & soon distinguished the sounds of "Liberty," "Stamped Paper," &c., "Open your doors & let us search your house & Cellars."

I opened the Window, saw a crowd of

men chiefly in disguise & heard the Voices & thumpings of many more on the other side. I assured them that I had no stamped Paper, nor any connexion with Stamps. When I found that no fair words could pacify them, I accused them of cruelty to a poor sick Woman in a particular situation & called their attention to the shrieks of Mrs. Laurens. I added that if there was any one man among them, who owed me a spite & would turn out, I had a brace of Pistols at his service, & would settle the dispute immediately, but that it was base for such a multitude to attack a single Man. To this they replied in general, that they loved & respected me—would not hurt me nor my property, but that they were sent even by some of my friends to search for Stamped Paper, which they were certain was in my custody, & advised me to open the door to prevent worse consequences. Conscious of my innocence, & influenced by the condition & cries of Mrs. Laurens, I opened the door which in two minutes more they would have beat through. A brace of Cutlasses across my breast was the salutation & "Lights" "Lights" and "Search"—was the Cry. I presently knew several of them under their thickest disguise of Soot, Sailors habits, Slouched hats, &c., & to their great surprize called no less than nine of them by name & fixed my eye so attentively upon other faces as to discover at least the same number. They made a very superficial search, or rather no search at all, in my House, Count's House, Cellar, & Stable.

After that farce was over they insisted on my taking what they called "A bible Oath" that I knew not where the Stamped Paper was, which I absolutely refused. They threatened then to carry me away to some unknown place & punish me: I replied, they might if they would, they had strength enough, but I would be glad to have it attempted by any Man alone either among them or of

those who they said had sent them. When they found this Attempt fruitless a softer Oath as they thought was propounded—this I also refused & added that I would not have one word extorted from my mouth—that I had voluntarily given my word & honor, but would not suffer even that to pass my lips by compulsion. Further, that if I had once accepted of a trust they might stamp me to powder but should not make me betray it. That my sentiments of the Stamp Act were well known; I had openly declared myself an enemy to it, & would give & do a great deal to procure its annihilation, but that I could not think they pursued a right method to obtain a repeal, &c. &c. Sometimes they applauded, sometimes they cursed me; at length one of them, houlding my Shoulders, said they loved me & everybody would love me, if I did not hold way with our Gov<sup>r</sup> Grant. This provoked me not a little, as this exhibited to me the cloven foot of a certain malicious Villain, acting behind the curtain, who could be reached only by suspicion.

I answered that "if he meant that I corresponded with Gov<sup>r</sup> Grant & esteemed him as a Gentleman, I acknowledged with pleasure that I did *hold way* with him. That I knew nothing in Gov<sup>r</sup> Grant's conduct or principles as a Gentleman that could shame my acquaintance with him. That if Gov<sup>r</sup> Grant had any criminal schemes or projects, he was too prudent to trust me with his secrets; but in one word for all, Gentlemen, I am in your power, you are very strong, & may if you please barbacue me. I can but die, but you shall not by any force or other means, compel me to renounce my friendship or to speak ill of men that I think well of; or to say or do a mean thing". This was their last effort, they praised me highly & insisted upon giving me three Cheers, & then retired with "God bless your honor," "good night,

"Colonel," "we hope the poor lady will do well" &c. A thousand other things you may believe were said & done in an hour and a quarter (the time of their visit) but the above is a fair abstract of all that is important.

Is it not amazing that such a number of men, many of them heated with liquor & all armed with Cutlasses & Clubs did not do one penny damage to my Garden, not even to walk over a bed; & not 15£ damage to my fence, Gate or house. Mrs. Laurens has been very ill indeed, but to day I have great hopes of her recovery.

The Party have gained a great Victory & triumph to day over G. Saxby & Caleb Lloyd.

\* \* \* \* \*

I pray God to preserve you from insurrection & from every evil.

I am &c.,

HENRY LAURENS.

4.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM HENRY LAURENS TO JOHN LEWIS GERVAIS, HERENHASEN, 96

12th May, 1766.

The Governor & the House of Assembly differing about the proceedings of the Courts without Stamps. The scene of trouble & confusion was extending, & would have been very wide in a few days, but happily during a short adjournment from Friday to Tuesday, advices were received from Barbadoes that the House of Commons had resolved in a great Majority to repeal the Stamp Act. This raised an universal joy through this Town, heightened again in two days by a confirmation of that News from Bristol, & further intelligence that the repealing Bill had been twice read in the Lower House. Resentment therefore began to subside & gave way to ideas of supposed benefits. The House voted Money to pay for the Pictures of those three Gentlemen who were sent to the American Congress at New York; & afterwards for a statue to be erected in

grateful memory of Mr. Pitt. A Motion was made to erect a Statue to his Majesty the King, but the Mover had not the honor of a second, on the contrary he was derided for his presumption.

Everything at present wears the Aspect of Peace & quietness. The Victors upon the first intelligence were insolent enough—abused many people who had not illuminated their houses, though the omission was merely through ignorance or accident; among others those worthy fathers Mr. Manigault & Mr. Beaufain did not escape.

The conduct of the Parliament is to me irreconcilable at present. . . . Glad am I upon the whole that the Act is repealed, though I know not yet the cause to ascribe it to, nor am I clear about the durability of our present seeming happiness.

5.—EXTRACT OF ANOTHER LETTER FROM HENRY LAURENS TO JOHN LEWIS GERVAIS.

1st Sept. 1766.

Dear Sir

I have just received a Letter from you of the 20<sup>th</sup> Ult informing me that you were then out of your Wits; I beg that in your next you will let me know how long you have been in that unhappy condition, & when you recovered them again; if it was not for that candid confession, I should have really been at a loss to account for some parts of your letter, but that apologises for the whole—to one or two particulars of which only it will be needful to reply. I like your purchase of the Waggon much in preference to that of the Irish Woman, although she is about *forty years of Age*; but in my opinion you might have done very well without either of these carriages, & if you will take my advice in a few words, I would give the latter away, rather than detain her another week. "Verbum sat est Sapienti."

I like the purchase & your account

of the cattle better than all except your Crop which is upon a Par with the other. How can you talk of exile & *Cruel Exile* too, when you have a fine Crop, fat Cattle, good Waggon & horses, and an *Irish maid of about 40 years old*, besides many other comforts not enumerated! Who but you would say this is Life indeed! but to leave sight of your commercial letter, which is the only exceptionable one I ever saw of your writing.

## II.—HENNEPIN NEVER IN ALBANY.

It has been generally understood and stated that the Franciscan Father, Louis Hennepin, visited Albany in the spring of 1677. The authority for this theory is the imperfect English translation of Hennepin's "*Nouvelle Découverte*," published in 1698. On examining the French original, I am satisfied that Hennepin—who had been staying with the Jesuit Father, James Bruyas, in the Mohawk country—did not go from there to Albany, (as has been wrongly supposed,) but that he returned directly to Fort Frontenac, whence he had walked over the snow, in the winter of 1676–7.

The following is, I believe, an accurate rendering of Hennepin's words, from the *Nouvelle Découverte*, pp. 28, 29 and 30: "We remained some time among this latter nation, [*the Mohawks*,] and we lodged with a Jesuit Father, [*Bruyas*,] a native of Lyons, in order to transcribe there a little Iroquois Dictionary.\* The weather having become fine, we one day saw there three Hollanders on horseback, who came on an embassy to the Iroquois, on account of the beaver trade. They had come in consequence of an

"order from Major Andros. It was he who has reduced Boston and New York for the King of England, and who is at present [1698] Governor of Virginia.\* Those gentlemen alighted from their horses, to induce us to mount them, and to take us with them to New Orange, in order to entertain me there. When they heard me speak Flemish, they expressed much friendship for me. They told me that they had read many histories of the discoveries which our priests of Saint Francis had made in South America, but that they had never seen any one in the habit of our order. They finally expressed to me that they would have been very happy to see me settled among them for the spiritual consolation of several Catholics of our Low Countries, who were in their habitations. I would willingly have done so, since they urged me to it. But I feared to give umbrage to the Jesuits, who had received me well, and, besides, I feared to do an injury to the Colony of Canada, in regard to the beaver and fur trade with the savages whom I was acquainted with. We, therefore, thanked these estimable Hollanders, and we returned to our ordinary dwelling-place of Cataracony, [*Kingston*,] with less difficulty than we had in leaving it."

Thinking that this will interest the readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I send it to you.

JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.  
New York, July, 1866.

\* This Dictionary, entitled "*Racines Aguières*," was published in the Appendix to the Report of the Regents of the University of New York, of 15 April, 1863, *Senate Document*, No. 115.

\* Major Edmund Andros was the Duke of York's Governor of New York, from 1674 to 1681. In March, 1677, Andros ordered messengers to be sent from Albany to signify to Father Bruyas and to the Mohawks, that the Iroquois were under the government of New York. These messengers were the "Hollanders" of whom Hennepin speaks, and this was the first distinct claim of British Sovereignty over the Five Nations. Andros was knighted by Charles II. in 1678; and in 1686 he was appointed by James II. Governor of New England, to which "Dominion" New York was added in 1688. The next year, Sir Edmund was deposed; and in 1690 he was sent home to England. In February, 1692, King William III. appointed Andros, Governor of Virginia, in which office he remained until November, 1698.

### III. — LORD RAWDON AND THE DUKE OF RICHMOND, ON THE EXECUTION OF COLONEL ISAAC HAYNE.

Our readers are acquainted with the brutal circumstances which attended the execution, by Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour, of Colonel Isaac Hayne, in August, 1781; and the retaliatory Proclamation, by General Greene, with which that outrage was followed, on the twenty-sixth of the same month, will not be forgotten.

The alarm which this Proclamation excited among the officers of the Royal army in America soon extended to Europe; and on the thirty-first of January, 1782, the Duke of Richmond introduced the subject into the House of Lords, by asking the Ministers for information concerning it. Failing in his effort to obtain the desired information, the Duke moved that the House be summoned for the fourth of February, to take the subject into consideration; and the House accordingly adjourned to that date.

On the opening of the House, on the day to which it had adjourned, the Duke introduced the subject in a speech of great ability, in which he "branded the whole transaction as a piece of unwar-rantable cruelty, and equally disgrace-ful to the Nation and the profession of arms. It was a transaction," he said, "neither supported by prudent justice nor martial law, nothing like it having happened in any former war.

"In conclusion, his Grace moved 'That 'an humble Address be presented to 'His Majesty, that he would be gra-ciously pleased to give direction that 'there be laid before this House, copies 'or extracts of papers' [*Here his Grace particularized the several papers*] 'rel-ative to the execution of Colonel 'Isaac Hayne.'

A most spirited debate followed, in

which Lords Walsingham, Stormont, and Huntingdon, and the Lord Chancellor opposed the motion, and Lords Abing-don and Shelburne, the Earl of Effing-ham, and the Dukes of Manchester and Richmond supported it; when the House divided, and the motion was lost by a vote of 25 to 73. (*Debrett's Parlia-mentary Register*, Second Session, Fif-teenth Parliament, viii., 81-100, 213-217.)

This proceeding in Parliament led to unpleasant results out of doors; and on the evening of Thursday, the twenty-first of February, 1782, Lord Ligonier delivered the following letter, from Lord Rawdon, to the Duke of Richmond:

"Thursday, noon, Feb. 21, 1782.

"My Lord:

"I am this moment arrived from "Ireland, from whence I have been "hastened by the illiberal advantage "which you have taken of my absence. "When I learned, by the public papers, "that an inquiry into the execution of "Isaac Hayne, of South Carolina, was "moved for before the House of Lords, I "feared that their Lordships would not "find any materials on which to decide "their opinions; but, from the unspotted "justice of that high Court of Honour, I "rested secure that vague surmises and "unsupported insinuations would not be "permitted to affect the public character "of a British officer. The House, as I "conjectured, have rejected the sus-picion with disdain. It now rests with "me to notice such personal injury to-wards my private reputation, as could "not become the subject of their Lord-ships' animadversion.

"The expressions with which you, my "Lord, introduced the motion, were as "unnecessary to the business as they are "little reconcilable to the dignity of a "Senator, the public spirit of a Citizen, "or the candor of a Gentleman; of "course, I feel them fit objects for my "resentment. I do therefore require that

"you, my Lord, shall make a public excuse, in such manner and in such terms as I shall dictate, for the scandalous imputations which you have thrown on my humanity, a quality which ought to be as dear in a soldier's estimation, as valour itself.

"If your Grace had rather abet your malignity with your sword, I shall rejoice in bringing the matter to that issue. Besides the consideration of my own wrongs, I shall think myself the avenger of my brother officers in America, to whose security you have given an oblique attain, by your fears for the consequences of General Greene's Proclamation.

"RAWDON."

It appears that the Duke made no written answer to this ill-tempered note; although the following, "taken in writing by Lord Ligonier, from the Duke's own mouth," was returned to Lord Rawdon, within two hours after his Lordship's note was delivered to the Duke, [9 P. M., *Thursday, February 21, 1782.*]

"The Duke declines receiving the letter, as it is couched in terms which he thinks unjustifiable. That as it was never his intentions, so he firmly believes he made use of no expression that could be possibly misconstrued into a personal attack on Lord Rawdon; that he has no objection to referring to the Chancellor for his recollection and opinion on the subject; and that, if he can recollect any expression in the course of the debate, that could be applied as injurious to the character of Lord Rawdon, he would take an opportunity in his place, of disavowing such intention, provided Lord Rawdon desires the Duke so to do, in more admissible language. That Lord Rawdon has not specified any expression that is injurious to his character; consequently, the Duke cannot at present give any other answer."

At ten o'clock, on the same evening, Lord Rawdon sent the following reply to the Duke of Richmond:

"Lord Rawdon will not admit any one expression in his letter to be unjustifiable after the liberty which the Duke of Richmond has taken with his character. It is not of any particular word made use of by the Duke that Lord Rawdon complains; but Lord Rawdon arraigns the general cast of the proceedings which has publicly exposed him to the suspicion of wanton severity and abuse of power. That the Duke of Richmond should get up in his place in the House, and disavow the idea of casting any, the most distant, insinuation upon Lord Rawdon's conduct, is the mode of excuse which Lord Rawdon would require. But the terms, as the letter mentioned, must be dictated by Lord Rawdon.

"Thursday, 10 at night."

At noon, on Friday, the twentieth-second of February, the following paper, "in the Duke of Richmond's handwriting," was carried to Lord Rawdon, by Lord Ligonier and General Conway—the latter probably representing the Duke:

"Lord Rawdon says that he will not admit any one expression in his letter to be unjustifiable, after the liberty the Duke of Richmond has taken with his character; but, as the fact is that Lord Rawdon has been misinformed, and the Duke of Richmond did not take any liberty with Lord Rawdon's character, and has declared so to Lord Ligonier, he must persist in thinking several of the expressions in Lord Rawdon's letter very unjustifiable.

"Lord Rawdon says he does not complain of any particular word made use of by the Duke of Richmond; consequently the Duke of Richmond can have none to explain.

"But Lord Rawdon says he arraigns the general cast of the proceeding:

"this also the Duke of Richmond denies  
 "to have been in any degree personal to  
 "Lord Rawdon, which he took very par-  
 "ticular pains to explain in the opening  
 "of that business. In proof of this asser-  
 "tion, he has already expressed, and now  
 "repeats, his willingness to refer it to  
 "the Chancellor, whose name has been  
 "mentioned as having possibly conceived  
 "it otherwise, or to any other unpreju-  
 "diced Peer, whether the whole or any  
 "part of the Duke of Richmond's conduct  
 "had the least personality toward Lord  
 "Rawdon? And if, contrary to his ex-  
 "pectations, any thing of that nature  
 "can be imputed to him, he will be very  
 "ready, as it never was his intention, to  
 "say so in his place, upon a desire from  
 "Lord Rawdon, expressed in such terms  
 "as a man of honor can comply with, but  
 "a moment's reflection must satisfy Lord  
 "Rawdon that the Duke of Richmond  
 "cannot suffer himself to be dictated to  
 "by any man, and that such expressions  
 "can only serve to make it impossible for  
 "the Duke of Richmond to give Lord  
 "Rawdon the reasonable satisfaction he  
 "is otherwise, of his own accord, desirous  
 "of doing, by disclaiming any intention  
 "of attacking Lord Rawdon's personal  
 "character, if any unprejudiced Peer who  
 "was present, will say that there was the  
 "least reason for supposing he had done  
 "so."

This memorandum did not appease the haughty soldier's anger; and during the afternoon of the same day, he dispatched to the Duke, by the hands of Lord Ligonier, the following "Ultima-tum":

"The Duke of Richmond forgets that  
 "Lord Rawdon does not solicit, but re-  
 "quires, satisfaction for a gross injury  
 "offered (it matters not whether through  
 "design or carelessness) to his reputation.

"Were any reference necessary, the ap-  
 "proved honour, as well as the distinguish-  
 "ed ability of the Chancellor, would de-  
 "cide Lord Rawdon to submit the case

"to his opinion: but Lord Rawdon's feel-  
 "ings can alone determine whether any  
 "imputation may affect his character from  
 "the late proceedings of the Duke of  
 "Richmond. Lord Rawdon has left the  
 "Duke the only alternative his honour will  
 "allow.

"The excuse required is here subjoin-  
 "ed. It is expected that it shall be de-  
 "livered in full House, by the Duke, in  
 "his place.

"Friday, 3 Afternoon."

[THE "EXCUSE" REFERRED TO.]

"I find that my motion, for the enquiry  
 "into the execution of Isaac Hayne, has  
 "been considered as provoking a sus-  
 "picion against Lord Rawdon's justice  
 "and humanity. I solemnly protest, that  
 "I did not conceive that it could throw  
 "the most distant insinuation upon his  
 "Lordship's conduct; nor did I ever  
 "mean to say anything that could have  
 "that tendency. Since I learn that the  
 "matter is thought liable to bear a false  
 "construction, I declare that I am very  
 "sorry to have introduced it upon au-  
 "thority, to which (at the time of making  
 "my Motion) I said I could affix no de-  
 "gree of credit."

From the following "Memorandum of  
 "the Result," with which the record of  
 "this remarkable correspondence closes, it  
 "would seem that the Duke yielded to  
 "Lord Rawdon's insolent demand.

"Lord Rawdon having requested Lord  
 "Ligonier to demand from the Duke of  
 "Richmond, a decisive option upon the  
 "alternative proposed in the first letter,  
 "adhered to in the second message, and  
 "again ultimately insisted on in the  
 "message of last night, General Conway  
 "has this morning signified to Lord Raw-  
 "don, on the part of the Duke of Rich-  
 "mond, his Grace's unqualified acquies-  
 "cence in making the excuse as required  
 "by Lord Rawdon.

"Saturday, Feb. 23, two o'clock afternoon."

It is proper to state, however, that there is no mention of the submission to the House, of this "Excuse," in Debrett's *Parliamentary Register* of that period.

H. B. D.

#### IV.—THE BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE.\*

BY GENERAL HUGH BRADY, U. S. A.

The *National Intelligencer* of the twenty-fifth of February contains an obituary notice of General John McNeil, a distinguished officer of the war of 1812.

This brief review of his services was evidently dictated by a friend, and with the sole purpose of doing justice to the memory of a noble and gallant departed spirit. No one in the army, or out of it, held the General in higher esteem, or appreciated his valuable services more fully, than myself. Yet I feel constrained to notice one or two errors, apparently unintentional, *The Intelligencer* has fallen into, which, without adding a mite to the well-earned fame of the late gallant General McNeil, are evidently unjust towards his associates on the fields of Bridgewater and Chippewa.

The first error is as follows: "And again at the battle of Bridgewater, he had the honor to lead the celebrated Scott's Brigade into the action, in the face of the British Battery of nine guns." General Scott commanded, and led his brigade into action, in person. General McNeil, (then Major,) commanded the Eleventh Infantry, and was the last of Scott's Brigade to enter the field. He was in the position assigned him, and was equally entitled to credit for the performance of his duties, whether in front or rear. It was his post, and not a matter of option or choice. General Towson's Battery was the first to receive the enemy's fire, and the Twenty-second In-

fantry received it next. Major McNeil was wounded as soon as he presented his noble front to the enemy; and having turned over the command to Captain Bliss, he left the field.

The second error is contained in this sentence: "As Ripley's and Porter's Brigades came into action, McNeil redoubled his energies: when the Twenty-second Infantry broke, (its Colonel, Brady, having fallen) McNeil rallied and re-formed it."—Ripley's and Porter's Brigades did not arrive on the ground, until long, perhaps an hour, after McNeil was wounded and had retired. Neither had Colonel Brady fallen at that time. He was wounded at a much later period, and did not relinquish command of the Twenty-second until the gallant Miller had carried the heights, and the American Army had gained a victory. Nor was the Twenty-second "broken." When it first came into line, one company, whose Captain was wounded, received a heavy fire, and fell back, but was instantly restored to its place, by its Colonel. At this instant Major McNeil advanced with his Regiment, which marched in column, parallel with, and in rear of, the Twenty-second. He formed his Regiment in line, some distance on the left of the Twenty-second, and immediately received a wound which disabled him, and compelled him to leave the field.

#### V.—NORTH AMERICAN ROCK-WRITING AND OTHER ABORIGINAL MODES OF RECORDING AND TRANSMITTING THOUGHT.

—CONTINUED.\*

BY THOMAS EWBANK, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Indians have always made significant marks on various substances, and occa-

\* This paper was written by General Brady, and published in *The Detroit Advertiser*, about March, 1850.

\* An error in our number for August stated that this paper was read before the New York Historical and Ethnological Societies, May 7, 1866. It should have read March 6, 1866.

sionally on diverse implements. Even on a celt or axe I see nothing strange in its owner thus distinguishing a favorite tool or weapon from mere fancy, if not from a more serious motive. Why not it as well as his war club, paddle and pipe? Are not sword blades ornamented with etchings, and did not Eastern warriors have devices engraved on their battle-axe blades? Without proof or strong indication of fraud, I would rather attribute the marks to caprice than deception; for such a solution, lame as it may be, would accord with that of Captain B. Romans, who visited the Floridas in 1771-2, and published his account of them in 1776. He mentions, among other things, stones deeply marked with straight and crossed lines, which, says he, "do not ill resemble inscriptions," but conjectures they were made by the savages *in grinding their awls*. Whether these were iron or steel substitutes for bone bodkins used in making their moc-casins, and sewing skins, we are not informed, nor is it material. Pointed instruments are sharpened in straight grooves. Anything like an inscribed stone in which they cross each other in every direction, would be the worst kind of whetstone for the purpose. He admits that they fairly resembled inscriptions, but was not prepared to acknowledge them as such, probably because incompatible with his ideas of the savage state, and his settled conviction that God created an Adam and Eve expressly for this part of the earth, and peopled it with quite a different species from other men and women.

Notwithstanding arbitrary and ideographic characters date far behind pre-historic ages, and have been and are more or less common with barbarians and semi-barbarians, there is a disposition to conclude that those of the Red race have been got, some way or other, from civilized sources; as if the inventive instinct was not common to every

race, and as if the seeds of important discoveries were not sown in the rudest ages. The characters and their application to transmit information are natural suggestions; they have been the resource of uneducated men everywhere, and are so still, even in enlightened lands. Who has not heard of litigations arising from them among the early settlers on the Hudson and Mohawk? A chalked ring was, in country stores, a common representation of a cheese, one of which being charged to a farmer instead of a grindstone, led to an acrimonious dispute, the clerk having omitted to mark a hole in the centre—an illustration of wrangles common to all people before symbolic gave way to phonetic signs.

American, like other aborigines, must of necessity have originated their signs. None else could have been understood. But, it is said, resemblances to letters are so obvious as to suggest a common origin. This, I submit, is a common error. Try it, by applying the same reasoning to other things—to such as with equal reason it may be applied—and the inference must be, that the indigines of this half of the earth are indebted to the other for the bow and arrow, the sling, club and canoe. I would as soon imagine the habits and instincts of animals of one country derived from those of another as that these characters or signs must have come from abroad. Communication of thought by them is more readily developed than ensnaring animals, catching fish, spinning and weaving, vessels of earthenware and heating water. The resemblances are, I believe, as innocent of imitation as any native, inborn device whatever—they are coincidences which might be expected and hardly to be avoided. It would be remarkable if similitudes and occasional fac-similes did not occur, for it may be doubted if half a dozen lines of new characters can be produced that would not afford ground for ingenuity to show,

with much plausibility, the derivation of more or less of them from alphabets.

I suppose there is scarcely an Indian sign on rock, tree, bark, skin, wood or bone that may not be thought to afford ground for zealous theorists to suspect imitation. Of some rather common, there is a circle, and yet who in his right mind would say it was derived from the letter **O**, a half-circle from **C** or **D**, a straight line from **I**, another joined to it at right angles from an **L** or **T**, or acutely joined from a **V**, and so we might proceed with **M** and **W**, **N** and **Z**, **X** and **-**, **U** and **∩**, to the arrow-headed and the common musical character, found more or less distinct on rocks. Why, there is hardly a tribal mark painted on the face of a savage, or tattooed on his person, but the germ of some European or Oriental letter might be imagined in it. As well derive Indian totems from books of natural history, and insist that moccasins were imitations of our shoes, and their leggings of our stockings. Something like a short twisted rope, and a series of letter **M**'s symbols of water, occur, resembling some Egyptian hieroglyphics.





Impulses of instincts are as strong in man as in the lower tribes, and it is only as reason grows in him that he rises above them. Among early examples is that of communicating information by cutting marks on the boles or barks of trees. As hunger impels him to hunt for food, the desire to commune with the absent is another and a higher appetite. Nature suggests recourse to art, the inventive faculty is excited and meets the exigence. The device seems little beyond the resources of animals, and yet it is the germ of written language. Increasing the number of marks and varying their forms and combinations naturally follow as use unfolds the principle.

Rawlinson observes that the Babylonian is unquestionably the most ancient of the great classes of cuniform writings,

that it possesses the highest and most authentic claims to antiquity, and that it is hardly extravagant to assign its invention to the *primitive* settlers on the plains of Shinar. To whom else could it be assigned?

Caution is, of course, required in dealing with alleged aboriginal writings. The Society can receive and report statements accompanying such as are submitted to it, but declines to pronounce definitely on any without conclusive evidence, and that is rarely to be expected. For myself, before admitting a thought of any relation between them and Eastern letters, instead of turning over records of extant or extinct peoples to find something like them, I would treat them as what they profess to be—native documents—and seek for a key to their meaning. All else is of little account.

The following line is genuine, and said to be as clear and full of point as the best sayings of Red Jacket:

B x B    † 

Unable to make anything out of it myself, it was submitted for solution to a friend. He found, on turning to old Greek letters, that the first and third characters were *Betas*, the second *Chi*, the fourth *Omicron* and *Eta*, and the fifth a double *Psi*, which with the rest belonged to old Northern types—that six out of the nine may be traced to Gothic exemplars, to old Welsh and other Celtic writings, and that several occur on American rocks. One letter within another, as the small **H** within the fourth figure, is observable on the Dighton Rock, an **X** being in one corner of a triangle.

The Gothic might have been derived from the Scandinavians, who are said to have made settlements as low down as Massachusetts in the beginning of the eleventh century. Those found in the Welsh Bardick lines might be held con-

firmatory of the voyage of Madoc in the twelfth, of his landing in Virginia, founding a colony, and of alleged remains of that language among Southern and Western tribes. Another fact looks favorable: Ancient Britons cut their letters on squared sticks of wood, and on the same substance and forms were those under consideration cut. As for a translation, he could only give a conjectural one, which, being of no value, he declined to furnish. Can the reader interpret the inscription? If not, we must have recourse to linguists further East, not to College professors, but to philosophers of the forests. From them we learn that when lumbermen of the Northern and Eastern States send rafts down the rivers, each owner marks his own logs. The hieroglyphical line is the mark of a *State of Maine Logger*. It may be seen in *Harper's Magazine* for May, 1860, in an article entitled "Life Among the Loggers."

I thought it might serve as a caution against an hypothesis, not more untenable than absurd; that of seeking to explain Indian characters by phonetic symbols they are fancied to resemble. Compared to this, the confusion at Babel was a trifling change in the current idiom.

According to Humboldt, neither the analogy nor the diversity of language can suffice to solve the great problem of the filiation of nations; and, in the opinion of Mr. Bancroft, an ingenious scholar may find analogies in language, customs, institutions and religions between American aborigines and any nation whatever. How indiscreet then to infer anything of the kind from the casual configuration of a few Indian signs, since, by the same rule, a relationship may be shown between U. S. Lumbermen and the Phœnicians, Greeks and Romans, Pelasgians and Etruscans; for there is not one of the nine characters on the Logger inscription but what may be found in writings of those people,

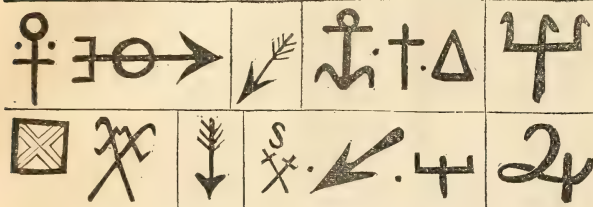
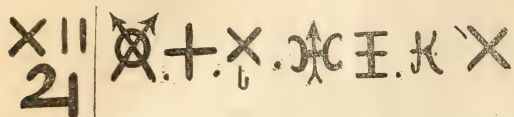
added to Runic and ancient Irish alphabets supposed of Carthaginian origin.

The arrow-headed character, as might be supposed from the expressive signification and easy application of its prototype, is among the most ancient. It occurs on American rocks, as in Phœnician and Runic alphabets, with the barbs sharply defined. In others they are curved, inverted and even suppressed.

There is a striking allusion to the origin of this character in a story by Lucian, of a painting of the Gallic Hercules. With a club in his right hand, and a bow in the left, he was represented as a decrepit old man, bald, with a beard extremely gray, a wrinkled, sunburnt and swarthy skin, drawing after him a multitude of men, tied by the ears and cheerfully following him. The fine cords by which they were led were of gold, of exquisite workmanship and linked to the tip of the god's tongue, who turns about smiling on those he leads. A philosophical Gaul, remarking Lucian's surprise, observed: "I will explain to you, O stranger, the enigma of this picture. We Gauls do not, like you, ascribe speech and eloquence to Mercury, but to Hercules, his superior in strength. Do not wonder that he is figured as an old man, for speech loves to show its vigor in old age. We believe Hercules accomplished his achievements by speech. A wise man he conquered by persuasion. His *arrows were keen reasons, penetrating the souls of men*, whence among yourselves is the expression 'winged words.'" Thus spake the Gaul. And a more beautiful exposition of a symbolic representation can hardly be found.

In the following group, arrows preponderate. Feathered and pointing in every direction, they are vivid representations of winged and flying words. Most, if not all, the characters may be found in ancient records, and some in

American hieroglyphics. Like Babylonian bricks and Assyrian tablets, they are met with impressed in terra-cotta.



It is not improbable that specimens may be dug up many centuries hence and give rise to learned debates on the epoch and people to which they belonged, for they will hardly be recognized then as what they really are, viz.: *Trade-marks and monograms of old English potters.* A collection of devices and trade-marks of Europe, including those of printers, would fill volumes. Fraudulent inscriptions based on them and *accidentally* discovered, might puzzle profound scholars. But enough of such things.

The habit of accounting for existing arts, by referring to kindred ones of ancient people, is ignoring a fundamental principle of our organization, and fosters what is most unseemly in Nature's students—pride of race. As a general rule, man is everywhere what external influences make him. Glance over the earth, and it will be seen that, as they change, so does he and his devices. The arts are developed irrespective of races, but not of climate and climatic productions. While some are of local origin and interest, the greater part are for occupants of every zone, and the principles of all of enduring application. Had our early progenitors, and the first settlers between the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, exchanged places, we had been Arabs and they what we are.

Their habits and customs would have been ours; our arts and manners theirs.

Indications that American Indians were an original and, to a certain extent, an isolated race are to be found in mechanical devices which they had, as in others which they had not; absence in one case and their presence in the other being hardly reconcilable with foreign intercourse. Tribes that became the most advanced, as in Mexico, Peru, and intervening central States, carried out the thread-making idea without the *distaff* and *pendant*

*spindle*; they had not the *bellows* nor *scissors*, nor is it certain that either the *domestic lamp* or *candle* was known. The Maya MS. Dictionary is said to mention a "hanging star"—supposed to refer to a suspended light—perhaps in the temples. Then there is no indication of the *potter's wheel* in their crockery ware. Now, could any people from Europe or Asia have made anything like a settlement on any part of the continent and not have introduced one or more of these? and, if introduced, could they have vanished without leaving a trace of one of them, north or south, east or west? We learn from Garcilasso La Vega how delighted his countrymen, the Peruvians, were with scissors; a young Inca told one of his schoolfellows that the Spaniards deserved all the gold and silver in the country for introducing them and looking-glasses. The native mode of cutting the hair with flint and obsidian knives was tedious and painful. But there are devices peculiar to Americans, which speak to the same effect. Early colonists on the Atlantic or Pacific coast, or inland, would be alive, as new colonists ever are, to native devices, and ready to adopt such as had advantages over their own; and such they would naturally send or take to their own people. Now, among others, there is one that could not have escaped the observation of even transient visitors

or settlers, and one so novel, simple, and effective that if the knowledge of it ever reached Europe or Asia it would certainly have been preserved there to this day. I refer to the *Tepiti*, or cassava press, as interesting an example of primeval ingenuity as sacred or profane writers have ascribed to Oriental inventors.

According to Dr. Morton, the American Indian, from the southern extremity of the continent to the northern limit of his range, is the same exterior man. With variable statue and complexion, his distinctive features, though variously modified, are never effaced. He stands isolated from the rest of mankind. Whether this be so or not, Indians have customs and devices which, so far as is known, cannot be ascribed to other people: though it may with some force be said, that such things arise from peculiarities of soil, climate, external influences and circumstances, and are more or less characteristic of every people. That is true; but—aside of the question, whence and how they could have come—were they the first inhabitants of the country? As yet nothing has been discovered on the surface or beneath it from which to infer a previous occupation, nor is there aught in their mechanical devices to conflict with the theory that recognizes them as aborigines. The *Tepiti* and its accompanying rasp may safely be ascribed to the first converters of the cassava-root into bread. If it can be shown that they were not Indians, instead of an original, the red race will have to be considered an intermediate or derivative one.

If indebtedness to foreign sources must be charged, why not extend the principle and inquire how the natives came by the circle, ellipse, cone, square, the sphere, and other geometrical figures? What led them to the reduction of ores, to artificial alloys, solders, casting and embossing, &c., in Mexico and Peru?

What, indeed, but that instinct of mechanical resource common to man, and excited in him, as in the lower tribes, by surrounding influences and natural and social wants? Were the arts lost by a second deluge, they would by it be recovered and expand as heretofore.

We have Indian thoughts inscribed on the blade-bones of the buffalo. To infer that the practise was derived from Athens, where indigent students, like Cleanthes, made a similar use of them, or from ancient Arabs who carved events on the shoulder-bones of sheep, would elicit a smile bordering on derision; but would it be more absurd than deriving Indian signs from European and Asiatic writings? We repeat, symbolic and arbitrary signs of barbarous people must be the deductions of their own minds. Isolated in every age, how else could they get them, how else appreciate and be led to adopt them? To incorporate foreign ones at first with their own, supposing them at hand, there could have been no inducement, and to introduce them afterwards would, if possible, have been attended with general confusion. But what need, since they had the means of diversifying their own and to any extent at their finger-ends? They did vary them and unwittingly included forms alleged to have been borrowed. As it is next to an impossibility to keep varying the combination of the elements without hitting on forms already in use, they might almost as well be charged with obtaining them from people of another planet.

It need hardly be observed that phonetic signs would have increased almost indefinitely the labor of inscription, on account of the great number of syllables in Indian words: thus, in place of a waving line for a river, a cusped figure for the moon, and equally simple signs for a pipe, a club and a paddle, from twelve to twenty or more signs would be wanted for each:

*River in Mohawk is Ka-ih-ogh-ha.*

*Moon is Na-tos-cou-cou-i* (Blackfeet Vocabulary).

*Pipe " Ta-cou-e-ni-man " "*

*Club " Ma-ni-gua-pi-cac-sa-gue " "*

*Paddle " Oj-quit-oj-sacs-mio-tis " "*

Of inscriptions seen by early travelers, one of decided interest is mentioned by Professor Kalm, who made a tour in Canada in 1748-1750, under the patronage of the king and university of Sweden. After speaking of the entire absence of ruins or evidences of ancient habitations, he says: "There have, however, been found 'a few marks of antiquity, from which it 'may be inferred that North America 'was formerly inhabited by a nation 'more versed in science and more civiliz- 'ed than that which the Europeans found 'here on their arrival; or that a great 'military expedition was undertaken to 'this continent from those known parts 'of the world.'" He then states that, some years before he came into Canada, the Governor sent a party across the continent to the South Sea. On their way, they came to a place in the woods about nine hundred French miles west of Montreal, where were large pillars of stone leaning upon each other; so large that the Frenchmen could not suppose they had been erected by human hands. They also met with a large stone or pillar in which a smaller stone was fixed and covered on both sides with unknown characters. It was about a French foot in length and between four and five inches broad. It was taken to Canada and sent thence to France. Jesuits who saw the stone pronounced the characters Tartarian.

Inscriptions occur in most parts of Europe as undecipherable as any met with here, not only in caves, and on large and fixed masses of stone, but on ordinary-sized pebbles. Logan, in the *Scottish Gael*, observed that in different parts of Scotland, particularly in Galloway, are found numbers of stones, many of inconsiderable size, marked with various figures. Several were submitted to the Society of Antiquaries, but their import

has never been discovered. With others found in Ireland, they were referred to a remote and unknown period.

We learn, however, from late journals, that inscribed rocks and stones, in different parts of the island, have excited more than usual interest. In January last, the Royal Society of Edinburgh received a report from Professor Simpson of his visit to the caves of Fife, and of the sculptures found rather abundant on the walls. These caves were called in ancient Gaelic, *Weems*, and were well known in mediæval times. Some are from eighty to one hundred feet in length, with proportionate height and width.

Objection to the genuineness of inscribed stones small as the axe and the Grave Creek pebble is not well taken, since amulets as large as the former were kept in Eastern dwellings, and others like the latter worn on the person—household and individual talismans. Rawlinson mentions one discovered *in situ*, which he thinks was preserved in Nineveh as an amulet or sacred curiosity. Two egg-shaped ones are mentioned by Bonomi. Inscribed small round stones occur in Egypt. Van Sleb, who collected MSS. and antiquities for Louis XIV., of France, mentions them. One, a nearly round pebble, he picked up near Thebes.

The Hebrew inscribed stones brought forward of late years were not unlike Oriental amulets. Supposing them genuine relics, they can have no value as historical documents unless found associated with unquestionable evidences of civilized settlements. Occurring among ordinary Indian remains, they can only be considered as foreign rarities. However they got here, equally strange waifs have been found in the southern section of the continent. I know no reason why they may not be classed with things anciently comprised in the laws of jetsam and flotsam. Let it be remembered that this section of the planet is washed by the four great oceans, with currents set-

ting to it and from it, and that in prehistoric as in recent times, wrecked seavanderers were certainly driven on if not directed to its shores. American canoes and carved sticks drifted to Africa and Europe ages before the voyage of Columbus. Time may bring to light a variety of estrays which, in the unknown past, have floated hither and thither, with none to bring actions of trover for them.

Every one knows that a great oceanic current sweeps past these shores in the direction of Newfoundland, and thence in two streams across the Atlantic—one toward the British Isles, Norway and Iceland, the other to the Azores and Morocco. In 1819, I cast a bottle, containing a letter to a friend in London, into the Gulf Stream, near the Banks, and precisely eleven months from that day it was delivered by the postman. The fragile vessel floated ashore near Sligo, its little pennon caught the eye of a peasant, who took it to his priest, and that gentleman mailed the letter, and with it another detailing the particulars of its discovery.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

## VI.—DIARY OF A CAMPAIGN IN FLORIDA, IN 1837-8.

BY CAPTAIN ELECTUS BACKUS, U. S. A.\*

Left Detroit on the fourteenth day of November, 1837; arrived at New York on the twenty-first.

Sailed from New York on the ninth of December, 1837, in command of a detachment of Recruits, (a hundred and ninety-four,) for Savannah. Arrived there on the fifteenth. Sailed for Black Creek, on the eighteenth, in the steamer *Florida*. Arrived on the twenty-second.

\* In copying this from the rough original, the abbreviations have been extended, and the entries of the several days have been separated into distinct paragraphs, without making any other alteration.—ED. HIST. MAG.

Marched for Tampa Bay, on the thirty-first day of December; arrived on the 11th January, 1838. News of Colonel Taylor's battle\* met us at Fort Affer. No Indians seen on the road. Remained at Tampa Bay until the thirteenth, (Saturday.) Marched for the First Infantry's Head-quarters, (Fort Basinger,) on that day; with Captain Noel in command, Sixth Infantry. Arrived at Pease Creek, thirty-eight miles, on the fifteenth. Colonel Foster in command, Fourth Infantry. Left Sixth Infantry at Pease Creek. Took charge of Baggage train and marched for Fort Gardner, on the sixteenth. Twenty-eight miles. Arrived on the seventeenth. First Infantry had marched, excepting Captain Abercrombie, with his company, who are to descend the river by water. Colonel Z. Taylor was at Fort Gardner. No news from General Jesup. Colonel Smith at Fort Basinger. Fort Gardner on the Kissimmee†—a pretty place.

*Jany. 18th.* Orders to march for Fort Basinger, this evening. Marched at one P. M., just after the arrival of the Fourth and Sixth Infantry, at Fort Gardner. Encamped at a Lake or Pond, six miles South—Gentry's Encampment.

*19th.* Two men deserted. Marched at dawn of day. Passed a beautiful prairie at four miles. Lake Kissimmee in sight on our left; and a fleet of Boats, under Captain Abercrombie, descending. Day warm. Marched about twenty-two miles, and found water but once. Men nearly exhausted. Encamped at Otter Creek. Lieutenant McCrabb joined at about sun-set. Prairies on fire at Southeast. This day's march through prairie principally. Low and wet usually; dry at present.

*20th.* Marched at dawn, through a prairie country. Passed the Istapoga at

\* THE BATTLE OF O-KEE-CHO-BEE was fought on Christmas-day, 1837.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† THE KISSIMMEE RIVER flows South, emptying into the O-kee-cho-bee Lake, near its northernmost extremity.—ED. HIST. MAG.

fifteen miles. Met Major Larned at three P. M., on his way to Tampa Bay. He had just returned from General Jesup's Camp. General J. was about thirty miles South-east from Fort Basinger; and marched in pursuit of the Indians on the eighteenth. Major Larned returned with me to Fort Basinger. Arrived at four P. M.\*

21st. Turned over the Recruits to the Regiment. Colonel Davenport in command. Major Loomis present. All well and in pretty good order. Captain Monroe's company of Artillery is located at this post.

22nd. Doctor Satterlee and Captain Taylor arrived, eight A. M. The Sixth Infantry arrived at nine, A. M.

23rd. Fourth Infantry arrived under Colonel Foster. Major Riley present. Captain Backus detailed to command an exploring expedition to O-kee-cho-bee Lake.

24th. Sailed in four boats. Lieutenants Wood and Hooper and forty-seven men. Descended the river about thirty miles. Very crooked and narrow.

25th. Arrived at O-kee-cho-bee Lake at eight A. M. Found Delaware Indians at the mouth. Surveyed the harbor, and commenced return march at ten A. M. Encamped at twenty miles below Fort Basinger.

26th. Reached Fort Basinger at twelve o'clock, precisely.

News from Fort Gardner that one hundred Indians are coming in tomorrow.

Delaware Indians brought in the news that the graves of those who fell at O-kee-cho-bee had been violated.

27th. Devoted to making out papers. Ponton bridge (of India rubber) nearly ready for use. Letter from General B.\* All well.

28th. Lieutenants McCrabb and Scott returned from Fort Desnaud, with train, boats, &c. Orders for the army to move as soon as practicable.

Monday, January 29th. Marched at eight A. M., through a dry, prairie country, about twelve miles, East by South, and encamped at three o'clock, near a cypress hammock. Thermometer at about 85 or 86. Fourth and Sixth regiments behind. An express and a letter from General B.† Post-script from M.

30th. Opened a road through hammock, and marched at eight A. M. At eleven, arrived at second hammock, and passed it and encamped.

Rode to the battle-ground,‡ one and a half miles, with Captains Baker and Miller. The graves had been opened. Colonel T's|| vest, Colonel G.'s§ shirt, and Captain V.'s¶ stock recognized. Saw five or six dead Indians, nearly eaten up by dogs and buzzards. No Indians or fresh signs, at or near the lake.

The Indians had selected a strong position. On the north shore of Lake O-kee-cho-bee is a cypress hammock about three hundred yards in width. On the north of the hammock is a wet prairie; grass five to six feet high. The prairie is about half a mile wide, from North to South. Then comes an open hard country, pine-wood, &c. The Indians were in the hammock, at the point where the trail on which the troops were marching, entered it. They had cut

\* FORT BASINGER, built by Colonel Zachary Taylor, about the twentieth of December, 1837, is on the Kissimmee River; about a hundred and twenty miles South-east from Tampa Bay; twenty miles from the Battle-ground; and sixty from Fort Desnaud, on the Caloosa Hatchie.

From this point Colonel Taylor moved with his Brigade, on the twenty-second of December; fought the Battle of O-kee-cho-bee on the twenty fifth; and fell back to this place on the twenty-eighth. The army marched again, on the twenty-ninth of January, to the foot of O-kee-cho-bee; and returned on the eighth of February. The First Infantry marched from Fort Basinger, on the fifth of March.—E. B.

\* GENERAL HUGH BRADY, U. S. A., was Captain Backus's father-in-law. He resided at Detroit, where also was the Captain's home.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† General Hugh Brady.—ED. HIST. MAG.

‡ Of O-kee-cho-bee.—ED. HIST. MAG.

|| COLONEL THOMPSON, of the Sixth Infantry, who had fallen in the battle.—ED. HIST. MAG.

§ COLONEL GENTRY, of the Missouri Volunteers, who had, also, fallen on that occasion.—ED. HIST. MAG.

¶ CAPTAIN VAN SWEARINGEN, of the Sixth Infantry, one of the killed, in the same battle.—ED. HIST. MAG.

down all the small bushes and the grass, wide enough for a company to enter in line. The two companies which entered at this point were nearly annihilated.\*

Marched but six miles to-day.

31st. Marched at sunrise, an Easterly course. At nine A. M. struck General Jesup's trail. Good ground for roads or marching. Marched, South-east, about eighteen miles, and encamped at a Pond. Met eight volunteers, lost. An express from General Jesup informs us he has had a slight skirmish with Indians—one killed. Fine weather since the twenty-fifth of December, continually. General Jesup's loss, on the twenty-fourth of January, was nine killed and thirty-one wounded, *principally volunteers*. General Jesup wounded in the face. Number of Indians engaged, about seventy or eighty.† Captain Monroe, eight miles South-west from us, on O-kee-cho-bee Lake. No Indians seen.

On guard this day.

February 1st. Marched at sunrise, in South-east direction, ten miles and encamped. Good roads and good weather. Men all healthy.

Three Delaware Indians, sent to communicate with Captain Monroe, returned in much haste, having been fired on by Seminoles, (thirty.) We were now about twenty-five miles from General Jesup's camp. Colonel Taylor had sent two expresses to General J. No return.

2nd. Marched at sunrise, five miles on our back track, and then turned off toward O-kee-cho-bee Lake. Advance guard chased three Indians into a hammock. Encamped at twelve o'clock, near a hammock and probably four or five miles from O-kee-cho-bee Lake, having made fourteen miles or thereabouts.

No express from General Jesup or from Captain Monroe.

3rd. Marched at seven, towards the Lake. Mud and water knee deep. Took five ponies. No Indians. Returned at twelve. Express from General Jesup. Delaware Indians had killed one Seminole. Orders to march with light baggage.

4th. Marched at eight A. M. with three days provisions. Two mules (packs) per Company. Left camp standing, with a guard. Course, South-east. At eight miles, passed a large encampment about ten days old. Indians seem to subsist on Cabbage tree and Palmetto. At two P. M. captured forty ponies: poor. At three, trail diminished and dispersed. Encamped at four. Marched about fifteen miles during the day. Heavy smoke, South-west, about twelve or fifteen miles.

5th. Marched at sunrise, on back track; and returned to Camp at one P. M. Found two Companies, Second Dragoons, had arrived under Captain Beall. Lieutenant Grandon also arrived with Guides, from General Jesup. No news from Captain Monroe. Took thirteen ponies in the afternoon. Indian shot a Turkey. Deer and Turkeys, plenty.

6th. Marched early, and arrived at Jesup's Bridge at three, and encamped. On Guard to day. Made about twenty miles. Cool nights and warm days.

7th. Marched early. Horses at large, and one team detained, which kept me back an hour or more. Arrived at the Battle-ground of O-kee-cho-bee, at nine A. M. Crossed a small hammock and arrived at the twelve mile hammock at twelve o'clock and encamped.

#### THE EVERGLADES.

Little is known of the Everglades. Even the Indians and Negros seem to be ignorant of the topography of the country, below the Great Lake. A

An interesting letter from Colonel Davenport, description of this severe action, may be found in Niles' *National Register*, liii, 323. Colonel Taylor's report to General Jesup may be found on page 337, and that to the Adjutant-general of the army, on pages 367-371 of the same volume.—ED. HIST.

The Battle of the Locha Hatchee, fought on the twenty-fifth of the same month.—ED. HIST. MAG.

second lake, called *Grass Lake*, is said to be on the south of O-kee-cho-bee; and this is confirmed by the character of the country South-east from that Lake, where the wet prairie seems to be unlimited, extending off Southward beyond the reach of vision. This wet prairie is probably *Grass Lake*, as the Indians term it. As they could not take their ponies across it, they left them at its margin, where we took about seventy in all. O-kee-cho-bee is skirted by a narrow hammock; and outside the hammock is uniformly a wet prairie, which increases in width from the Battleground, where it is one half of a mile, to the foot of the Lake, where the country becomes one vast and boundless wet prairie, or Lake. This is the commencement of the Everglades.

8th. Marched early, and arrived at Fort Basinger at twelve M.\* Received letter from M'y and one from Mr. Nexsen relative to Colonel Thompson.

9th. Waggon train started for Fort Desnaud. Train arrived from Fort Gardner.

10th. Captains Monroe and Abercrombie arrived from O-kee-cho-bee. All well. Saw some Indians. Captured a canoe. Made no important discovery.

11th. Captain Taylor arrived from Tampa, with guides, who say, "The Seminoles will come in soon." Received this day, news of insurrection at Malden, &c., copy of Army Bill, (Benton's.)

12th. Captain Beall captured seven cattle. Chased two Indians.

13th. Nothing remarkable, except that Captain Beall's cattle got away.

14th. Captain B. caught his cattle, and an express [arrived] from General Jesup. Armed neutrality with the Seminoles. Letter from General Brady. Canada news. Army Bill passed the Senate.

15th. Train from Fort Desnaud, with some provisions, brandy, &c.

16th. Nothing new.

17th. Express from Tampa. Letters, papers, &c.

18th. Captain Abercrombie and Lieutenant Griffin started for Tampa.

19th and 20th. Dull, &c. (a little rain.)

21st. Letter from S. P. Brady. Shot quails, 2.

22nd. Shot quails, 5.

23rd. Express from General Jesup. Indians refuse to come in. *Gulled again.* Colonel Taylor ordered to join General Jesup.

24th. Colonel Taylor started with an escort to join General Jesup, at nine A. M. Doctor S., Captain Barker, Lieutenant Hill, and escort. Good dry weather.

25th. —

26th. Express from General Jesup. Indians coming in. Letter from General Brady.

27th. Captain Bryant arrived with train. Indians seen, ten miles above this place. Letter from Major Brant Oysters, &c. Lieutenant Cross arrived on the evening of the twenty-fifth.

28th. Muster. Lieutenant Grandon sent to examine Indian trail, with six men. Returned at eight. No Indian trail. Major Riley returned from Fort McRee about the twenty-sixth of February.

March 1st. Good weather.

2nd. Express from Tampa. Three letters. Colonel Taylor returned at seven, P. M. Indians and negros coming in.

3rd. First Regiment ordered to return to O-kee-cho-bee, and build bridge, road, &c. to Fort McRee.

\* Fort McRee, a depot, built by Major Riley, Fourth Infantry, between the eighteenth and twenty-fourth of February 1838; and named after the late Colonel McRee, of the Engineers.

It is situated on the East bank of O-kee-cho-bee, about halfway down the Lake; is probably eighteen miles, about South or South by West, from Fort Van Swearingen. Garrisoned by Captain McRee's company, First Infantry.

\* A letter, from an officer, descriptive of this movement of Colonel Taylor's command, may be found in Niles' *National Register*, liv, 1.

Major L.\* to march in Boats, with three Companies. Captain B. indisposed. Pleurisy.

4th. Major Loomis embarked at ten A. M. Captain Barker arrived with *Satrap*† 140, from General Jesup's camp. Major Brant and Captain Abercrombie arrived. Captain B. was bled—no better.

5th. Marched at seven A. M.; health improving. Encamped at the Battle ground. Rained a little.

6th. Better. Rained some, during the night and part of the day. Passed Fort Van Swearingen‡ at eleven A. M. Encamped at four P. M. eight miles from Fort Van Swearingen.

7th. Killed a large rattle-snake and a moccasin. Saw a turkey, deer, &c. Passed Camp Turn-about, at two P. M. Cut a road through hammock. A little rain. Encamped, three miles South of Camp Turn-about, at a dirty pond. Grass is now growing finely: horses can fill themselves. A variety of flowers in bloom. At nine, P. M., commenced raining, and continued with but little interruption, all night. Camp nearly drowned out.

8th. Marched at eight, A. M.; and at nine, arrived opposite and in sight of Fort McRee, distant about one and a half miles. Encamped on low, wet ground; and commenced building the road. Captain Miller in charge. Major

Loomis had arrived on the seventh; and sailed on the eighth, for the outlet. Express arrived about twelve, M., from Fort Brooke. Letter from Mr. Nexsen. Two Indians seen and chased by Captain McRee's men, on the seventh. Received *Army Register*, this day.

9th. A fine cool morning. Road continued, slowly—Captain Barker. Brush will not answer for the foundation—to be made over again. Twenty men hunting—killed nothing. Saw two Indians.

10th. Good weather. Went hunting with Lieutenant Pegram. Saw two deer. No shot. Returned at twelve. Road goes on very slowly—Captain Gwynn.

11th. Captain Backus on the road. Crossed to Fort McRee. Made a quarter of a mile.

12th. Made balance of road—rough walking, but dry. Distance, in all, one mile and a half. Express from General Jesup. Indians are five or six miles below us; and we are ordered to go and require them to go in to Fort Basinger.

13th. Went hunting. Saw two deers, at a distance. Orders for four Companies to move down to the Indian camp, to-morrow.

14th. Marched at six A. M.; and arrived at the Mounds\* at eleven, A. M. Found three Indians and families there. Twenty families, a few miles below. Sent to them; and they sent in, four men, who returned with us to Camp *Portage*. The command was allowed to *disperse* and hunt back to camp. Some did not arrive until long after dark; and it became necessary to fire guns and blow the

Length of road	.	.	.	1954 yards
viz. McRee	.	.	.	990
Gwynne	.	.	.	354
Backus	.	.	.	610

1954  
One mile, one hundred and ninety-four yards.—E. B.  
It is separated from the high ground by a wet prairie of a mile and one-half in width, and from three to six feet depth of mud and water; and is approached by a raised foot-path, or causeway, across the swamp.—E. B.

\* Major Loomis.—ED. HIST. MAG.  
† Probably Indian prisoners.—ED. HIST. MAG.  
‡ FORT VAN SWEARINGEN was built by Captain B. Beall, and Dragons, in February, 1838.  
It is about eight miles East of Colonel Taylor's Battle-pond; and, probably, five or six miles North-east of Lake O-kee-cho-bee.  
Colonel Taylor, with his Brigade, passed over the same pond, on the thirty-first of January, 1838; and, the First Infantry passed again, the third time, on the sixth of March the same year.—E. B.

\* ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS, or FLORIDA MOUNDS, about five or six miles from the South-east point of Lake O-kee-cho-bee; apparently the work of art. Very old. Trees of two feet diameter, growing on them. Length, about a hundred and forty yards; nearly East and West. Breadth about thirty yards. Highest at East end, about eighteen or twenty feet. The lateral embankments, about five feet high. Cypress hammock, on the North; prairies, wet, South and East; pine-barren, ridge, West.  
Another mound, two hundred yards West.  
First Infantry captured a party of Indians at this point, March 14th, 1838.—E. B.

Bugle, to indicate the direction. Saw deer and turkeys.

15th. Captain Miller marched with three wagons and provisions, to bring in the Indian families. Fifteen men. Distance from Camp Portage to the Mounds, about twelve miles. Express arrived at twelve. Letter from Detroit and Tampa. Army Bill, and other news, papers, &c. Colonel T.'s remains taken up.\*

16th. Captain Miller returned at twelve, M. The Indians deserted him during the night. General Jesup's *passes* have lulled every body into apathy. Much evil may, and in all probability will, result from the course pursued by General Jesup.† At eight P. M., a cold North-west wind.

17th. High wind and cold. Went over to Fort McRee, and collected shells on the beach.

18th. High wind and cold. A man, hunting, heard children crying. Captain Barker went out with his Company, and saw no Indians.

19th. Cool and windy, in the morning. Went over to Fort McRee. Saw smoke, supposed to be Major Loomis's fires South. Colonel Davenport sick. Some men sick, mostly from eating *cabbage*. Major Loomis arrived with boats, at six, P. M., having been detained three days with high winds. He had penetrated as far as Fish Creek; and ascertained that the Lake has no distinct outlet, at low water. Captured two squaws and one child, sick, and fifteen canoes. The Indians will all come in, when they receive a white flag. They are *very destitute* and much scattered.

20th. A beautiful, cool morning. Major Loomis ordered to return to Fish Creek for provisions, to supply this command.

Captain Backus sent to carry despatches for Colonel Taylor, as far as Fort Van Swearingen, and to find a nearer route to the Kissimany than by Jesup's trail. Mounted, alone, at eleven A. M., and arrived at Fort Van Swearingen at five P. M. Saw deer, turkeys, and wigwams. Bad ground for route.

21st. Started at eight, and moved West, and then to O-kee-cho-bee. Turned East and struck Jesup's trail, four miles East of Van Swearingen. Shot three white cranes, one snake, four quails. Saw deer and turkeys.

22d. Returned. Followed Riley's trail, nearly South, to Camp Turn-about. At Camp Portage, found a note, saying the First Infantry had moved South, to the Mounds. Arrived at the Mounds at dark. The First Infantry moved on the twenty-first. Letter from L. Lyon. Four Companies out, scouting, with four days' provisions. Colonel Davenport sick. Company G, in camp, with the sick, Doctor, and Adjutant.

23d. Revisited the Mounds. No changes.

24th. Went hunting. A soldier shot a turkey with one wing. Captain Barker, with four Companies, returned at one, P. M. Had marched about twenty miles, South-east. Captured one old Indian and two squaws. No fresh signs of large numbers of Indians.

25th. Wounded a deer, but lost it.

26th. Marched at sunrise, for Fort McRee. Arrived at twelve, M. Met express. General Jesup had seized the Indians, about the twenty-first.\* "Grab game," and put a finishing stroke to his ——— Major Loomis returned from Fish Creek with provisions, and had proceeded to Fort Basinger where we

\* Probably Lieutenant-colonel Thompson's, of the Sixth Infantry, who fell in the Battle of O-kee-cho-bee, on the preceding Christmas-day.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

† General Jesup's policy was set forth, fully, in his despatch to the Secretary of War, dated the eleventh of February, 1838, and published in Niles' *National Register*, liv. 51, 52.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

\* Referring to the seizure of the Indians encamped near Fort Jupiter, on the morning of the twenty-first of March, Niles' *National Register*, liv. 113.

The term "Grab-game," employed by Captain Backus in the text, seems to have been a phrase then commonly used in the army; as it occurs in other descriptions of this transaction.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

arrived at McRee. My box, with clothing, provisions, shot, &c., wanting.

27th. Captain Backus marched with his Company, to the point at which "Powell" was fired on by Indians, (five miles, North-east,) and scoured hammocks and swamps. Found horse "Powell" shot. No fresh signs of Indians. Returned to camp. Lieutenant-colonel Davenport being still sick, resigned command and started this morning with a wagon and two men for Fort Basinger. Captain Barker in command.

28th. Marched at eight, A. M., for Cabbage Hammock, four miles North, on account of the water, which is very rackish at Fort McRee, and produces an injurious effect on the bowels. We pitched our camp at eleven, A. M. At two, went hunting. Saw two deers. No shot. The weather is still dry and cool. This is, probably, the most remarkable season that ever occurred in this country—but two good showers have fallen since early in December, 1837.

29th. Smoky weather. Trouble with the Cook. Captain Gwynn shot a turkey and found a horse marked "U. S."

30th. Major Loomis and command arrived. Assumed command. An express at twelve. But few letters and no papers. Major Loomis and three Companies came from Fort Basinger by water. Brought a cask of boots, and some sugar and tobacco, for this command. Report that Fort Van Swearingen is to be immediately evacuated. Colonel Bankhead is at New River, in correspondence with Alligator and party. Strong hopes seem to be entertained that they will soon surrender. Horse flies are becoming troublesome, and mosquitoes, and snakes, and other insects "too numerous to mention." A trifled cabbage-tree found near Fort McRee. Barracks for six companies are to be building at Tampa Bay; and

troops are to occupy Fort King, during the summer.

31st. Fair weather. Smoke, &c., but nothing new, except a few cases of scurvey.

April 1st. Eight cases of scurvey, this morning. A Special Report made by the Doctor. An express at twelve M. Orders for the First [regiment] to scour the islands in El Pat-i-oka, for Co-a-co-ochee [Wild Cat] and his party. Captain Gwynn ordered to move, by water, to Fish Creek, for provisions, on the fourth. Sick left at Fort McRee. To move seven companies at twelve, to-morrow, with five days' provisions. Fourth Infantry gone to Warm Springs. Captain Hoffman gone to New Orleans with his company, as a guard to Indians taken at *Bunero*. The First not wanted at Jupiter,\* as the Indians were not as numerous as was supposed. Colonel Bankhead at New River, trying to induce Alligator to come in and surrender. Two soldiers were shot by Indians, pending Jesup's Treaty—a good excuse for violating it on his part.

## VII.—COUNT PULASKI'S REMAINS.†

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 7, 1854.

To the Editor of *The Herald*.

Sir—In your daily paper of the first of January, I observed a paragraph, copied from the *Savannah News*, giving information of the discovery of the skeleton of this heroic Polander. This being a subject exceedingly interesting in the history of the American Revolution, it is important that its accuracy should be well established, and every doubt concerning it removed within the reach of fair and honest investigation.

\* Where General Jesup was.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† This letter, from the columns of *The New York Herald*, is copied in order that it may be preserved from the fate of the greater number of "newspaper articles."—ED. HIST. MAG.

For this purpose only, and from no desire to gratify an idle vanity, I now place before your readers what is within my knowledge, as received from others.

My grandfather, Dr. James Lynch, of Charleston, S. C., who lived to a very advanced age, has frequently told me that he extracted the bullet that gave Pulaski his death wound. He performed the operation on the field, in view of the lines of Savannah, assisted by my father, who, as a youth, was acting with him as Surgeon's-mate, and a faithful negro, named Guy. The ball is an iron grape shot, (now in my possession,) and was supposed to have come from the fire of the English galleys which assisted in the defence of the town. The ball entered the groin, and was removed with great difficulty, Pulaski bearing the operation with inconceivable fortitude.

Although a desperate wound, my grandfather thought the Count could have recovered from it, had he consented to remain under his care and follow the American army on a litter. Count Pulaski, however, resisted this proposal, because he feared a sortie and pursuit by the British army, and his consequent capture, in which event he believed that the British government would have sent him to Russia, a Power with whom he was in deadly hostility, and whose persecutions had driven him from Poland, an exile and a martyr. Rather than this, he said he should prefer death, and take the chance of a cure in the French fleet, commanded by D'Estaing. Accordingly, he was carried on shipboard, died on the passage round to Charleston, and his body buried in the sea.

In support of this narrative, I have now lying before me the commission of Dr. James Lynch, signed by that eminent and accomplished Governor of South Carolina, John Rutledge, appointing him "to be Chief Surgeon in Colonel Daniel Horry's Regiment of Light Dragoons," dated April 22, 1779. This regiment

was at the siege of Savannah. I have, also, a very curiously folded note, bearing date June 26, 1779, written by an aide-de-camp of Count Pulaski, addressed to Dr. James Lynch, thanking him by the Count's command, for some little act of attention. Thus, the commission proves that my grandfather was a surgeon in the army, and the note of the aide-de-camp fixes the fact that he was at Savannah with his regiment, and, lastly, that he and Count Pulaski were friends and brother soldiers.

The grapeshot, together with these papers, have descended to me as the oldest lineal born, and I have preserved them as memorials of a most interesting event, but have rarely exhibited or spoken of them to any one, because relics of this character are not always honored as they deserve. The paragraph above alluded to, in the *Savannah News*, rekindled my somewhat dormant remembrance, and, after much hesitation, I determined to place my little narrative, for whatever it might be worth, before the public, provided I could find any good authority in print already to sustain it. The civility of a friend in this city (Philadelphia) introduced me into a valuable library where I was lucky enough to detect a little book, entitled *Pulaski vindicated from an unsupported charge introduced in Judge Johnson's Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Major General Nathaniel Greene*. This book was edited in the city of Baltimore, in the year 1824, and is from the pen of one of Pulaski's captains, a cavalry officer of the Legion, an ocular witness of what he narrates, a noble and venerable soldier, who long survived his old commander, but who never forgot him. The following extract from page 29 of this little volume, corroborating the chief points in the story of my grandfather, has imparted renewed confidence in the veracity of my venerable relative:

"The assault on Savannah was to be

"made on the right of the British lines. "Two columns, one French and the other "American, were to attack, at the same "time, each a particular redoubt. In the "rear of the columns the whole cavalry, "American and French, was to be stationed under the command of Count "Pulaski. Should, as was confidently "expected, the redoubts be carried, and "the way opened, that intrepid leader "was with these united troops of horse, "to enter the place, sword in hand and "to carry confusion and dismay among "the garrison. D'Estaing led, in person, "the French corps of attack. Wishing "to avoid a circuitous advance round a "swamp, and supposing the ground at "the bottom to be sufficiently firm, he "marched directly through it. The "enemy had been informed of his plan "by spies. They knew the intended "point of attack, and the direction in "which the approach of the assailants "would be made. Accordingly, they "collected all their force where it would "be required, and, at the first alarm, "opened a tremendous and deadly fire. "Pulaski, impatient to know where he "was to act, determined, after securing "his cavalry under cover as well as the "ground would admit, to go forward "himself, and called to accompany him "one of the Captains of his Legion, who "is yet living, but far advanced in years. "They had proceeded only to a small "distance when they heard of the havoc "produced in the swamps by the hostile "batteries. D'Estaing himself was grievously wounded. Aware of the fatal "effects which such a disaster was likely "to produce on the spirits of the French "soldiers, and hoping that his presence "would reanimate them, Pulaski rushed "on to the scene of disorder and bloodshed. In his attempt to penetrate to "the murderous spot, he received a "swivel shot in the upper part of his "right thigh, and the officer who accompanied him was, while on his way back,

"wounded by a musket ball. The enterprise upon Savannah was abandoned by "the allied army. The Americans and "French having witnessed each other's "zeal and courage, and acquitting each "other of any intentional share in this "disastrous result, separated in perfect "harmony. Count D'Estaing re-embarked "his troops and artillery; and Pulaski, "with his wounded officer, was conveyed "on board the United States brig, the "*Wasp*, to go round to Charleston. They "remained some days in the Savannah "river, and during that time the most "skilful surgeons in the French fleet "attended on Count Pulaski. It was "found impossible to establish suppuration, and gangrene was the consequence. "Just as the *Wasp*, got out of the river, "Pulaski breathed his last, and the corpse "immediately became so offensive that "his officer was compelled, though reluctantly, to consign to a watery grave all "that was left upon earth of his beloved "and honored commander."

The narrative goes on to describe the funeral honors that were paid to Pulaski by the corporation and military of Charleston; the procession, in which "the beautiful horse that Pulaski rode "when he received his mortal wound was "led with all his accoutrements, armor, "and dress which he then wore," the whole concluding "at the church, where "an eloquent and impressive discourse "was delivered by the chaplain of the "army."

It should be borne in mind that all of this is from the pen of an honorable old soldier—an ocular witness throughout of the sad story from beginning to end—and higher testimony could scarcely be required.

Sir, I earnestly hope my motive for writing this statement, if not appreciated, will at least escape misconstruction. The aim of every inquiry, whether in science or history, should be truth; and every citizen ought to consider it incumbent

on him to aid and promulgate it when it concerns the history of his country, that portion of it more especially embraced by the war of the Revolution. I commend most heartily the efforts of the patriotic Georgian who has been so zealously striving to identify the remains of the renowned Pulaski—a name that excites as warm a glow among our Southern people as any other that is ever uttered. He, and William Washington, who humbled the pride of Tarleton, at the battle of the Cowpens, were our great cavalry officers, and Southern men delight in horsemanship.

By all the traditions that have descended to us from those who saw Pulaski in those days, both white and black, he was the very embodiment of power, energy, and grace, when seated in his saddle. Like the Paladins of old, his romantic valor seemed to border on the fabulous and dazzle the beholder; while his sufferings for Poland, his beloved country—literally the mistress of his soul—the loss of his fortune, his exile, and the manner of his death, all combine to deepen the shade of melancholy thought that follows the remembrance of him. His name is as a household word among the citizens of Savannah, and their's is the rare merit of manifesting their perpetuity. All honor to them whose generous souls thus honor the brave who died in the cause of constitutional liberty.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
JAMES LYNCH, of South Carolina.

#### VIII.—LORD'S PRAYER IN MIKASUKE.

In the last number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE was published some vocabularies of the Indian languages, to which is now added the Lord's Prayer, given by one of the chiefs. As he did not speak English, and as the letters did not appear to be the same as ours, and perhaps,

if identical, not sounded the same, it was sent to Washington to be verified, and is now printed as it comes, rewritten by the competent ability of GEORGE GIBBS, Esq., who says, beyond this: "I tried to get something approaching a literal translation, but it was beyond either the comprehension of Indian, negro, or white-man."

B. S.

Má-minn a-ká-minn mi-ko-sá-pits  
And now pray

pokhlki a-bun-ti tcho-kó-lits ka-kat  
our father high sits there

tché-ho-tchif-kôt hol-lat-tish.

thy name [be praised] great

Má-minn tche-hai-at-lektchót e lá-tish  
And thy glory be it

món-ti a-búnti na-ki á-ke-lets-ka-ká  
heaven as thou wishest

ó-me-kat má-mi-tchá-lot yá-lé'h yak-a-  
like

nún' o-makh-me-tish.

Nikh-tak-a-lamp'-un pa-las'h-té et-lé-  
ché-ka-ka ó-men hé-man-é-tak'-e po-  
me gis.

Ma-mik'h ná-ki po-má-ta-kun pun-ka-  
pa-ye-cha-chish na-ki pó-má-tukh e-  
lengh-káp pa-yé-chan-chi-ka-ka o-me-  
cha lún.

Shát-o-pakh-ki-kun pó-ba nah sho-  
ná-ba-kun shi-po ná-litsh kish ma-mish-  
ka hám-pa-kun po-tla-nas-chish me-kí-  
kót tche-ná-kósh wan'-té-e-kot tche-ná-  
kósh má-minn tchobe-é kót tche-ná-ke  
e-mong kot óm-mish.

#### IX.—JOHN DICKINSON, IN 1774.\*

Cambridge, April 16, 1856.

Dear Sir,

I enclose a copy of two very interesting letters from John Dickinson. The originals are in the Library of Har-

\* The following letter from the late Dr. Jared Sparks to a friend in Philadelphia, transmitting copies of two letters to Arthur Lee, supposed to have been written by John Dickinson, will interest our readers.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

vard College, among the papers of Arthur Lee, presented to the College by Mr. R. H. Lee, author of the *Life of Arthur Lee*. The letters are anonymous, but there is no question about the handwriting. They may serve as notes to the Langdon Papers, as they relate to the same period. A. Lee was then in London, and the contents of the letters sufficiently indicate why Dickinson did not choose to put his name to them. \* \* \* Deane had his faults, but he was ill-used. Arthur Lee was a bitter enemy to him, and his influence through his brothers in Congress operated very unjustly upon Deane.

Very truly yours,

JARED SPARKS.

August 20, 1774.

Dear Sir,

A general Congress meets in Philadelphia the beginning of next month. These colonies have appointed deputies; Massachusetts Bay—New Hampshire—Rhode Island—Connecticut—New York—New Jersey—Pennsylvania—The government on Delaware—Maryland—Virginia—South Carolina. North Carolina, it is said, is to appoint on this day. Georgia will also appoint, as we are assured.

The insanity of Parliament has operated like inspiration in America. They are mad, to be sure, but in their phrenzy, they have discovered invaluable truths.

The Colonists now know what is designed against them. All classes of people are surprisingly united in sentiment. The first step, in all probability, will be a general non-importation from Great Britain. The next, if grievances are not redrest, a general non-exportation to that kingdom. If their severities increase, events will immediately take place, which a man so connected with this continent as you are, must view with inexpressible pain of mind.

The people in general through the country look forward to extremes with

resolution. Of these, the brave Germans, many of whom have seen service, are in every sense truly respectable. Is it possible that the people of our mother country, so beloved and revered by us, can seriously think of sheathing their swords in bosoms so affectionate to them? Of engaging in a war that instantly must produce such deficiencies in her revenues? Expose her to natural enemies? And if she conquers, must in its consequences drag her down into destruction? And if she fails of success, as if the Colonists have common sense, she certainly must, will involve her in immediate ruin.

Surely, Sir, you may render your native country eminent services, by publishing your sentiments on the present mournful prospect of affairs. That you may undertake the employment, is the hearty wish of, Dear Sir

Your affectionate friend

and most obedient servant.

I have just heard that Georgia has appointed Deputies to attend the Congress.

Philadelphia, October 27, 1774.

Dear Sir,

Yesterday the Congress broke up. You will immediately know their proceedings from publications.

Colonists have now taken such ground that great Britain must relax, or immediately involve herself in a civil war, likely in all human probability to overwhelm her with a weight of calamities, in comparison of which "*plus quam civilis bella*," the contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster, of the distractions of the last century were gentle misfortunes.

A determined and unanimous resolution animates this Continent, firmly and faithfully to support the common cause, to the utmost extremity, in this great struggle for the blessing of liberty, that alone can render life worth holding.

I grieve for the fate of a brave and

generous nation plung'd by a few profligate men, into such scenes of unmerited and inglorious distress. Let her rouse her natural, noble spirit—be true to herself, and of course, be true to us. Let her not so far adopt the base yet visionary schemes of fools and knaves, that she may think her dignity concern'd to maintain the projects of those whom her justice commands her to punish.

Give up the Butes, Mansfields, Norths, Bernards, and Hutchinsons, &c. whose falsehoods and misrepresentations have inflamed the people—Call not their cause the cause of Great Britain—Throw all errors and occasions of dissatisfaction on their guilty heads. A new ministry of such a character, that England and America both can trust, may do great things; especially if a considerable change be made at the next general election. Why should nations meet with hostile eyes, because villains and ideots have acted like villains and ideots?

I wish for peace ardently; but must say, delightful as it is, it will come more grateful by being unexpected. The first act of violence on the part of administration in America, or the attempt to reinforce General Gage this winter or next year, will put the whole continent in arms from Nova Scotia to Georgia.

May God of his infinite mercy grant a happy event to these afflicting agitations.

It is suspected here, that a design is regularly prosecuted by the ministry to make his Majesty dethrone himself by the calamities and convulsions his reign is likely to bring on his whole people. Please to inform me what is thought on this point in England.

#### X.—QUERIES.

SKIDMORE FAMILY.—Can any of your readers furnish me with the names of the mother, grand-parents, and great-

grand-parents (on *both sides*) of Phoebe Skidmore, daughter of Samuel Skidmore, and wife of Hendrick Suydam? See RIKER's *Annals of Newtown*, p. 326. Who were the mother, the grandmother, and the maternal grandfather of the said Hendrick? P.

WHO WERE THE LOUDONS?—There were in New York, immediately after the Revolutionary war, persons of the name of Loudon, engaged in the printing, publishing, and book-selling business. Dr. Thomas seems to have known *Samuel Loudon*, of New York, and tells us something about him, but mentions no other of the name. Perhaps some of the readers of the Magazine can extend Dr. Thomas's article, and give us something of others bearing the name.

Dr. Thomas does not tell us that Samuel Loudon published one of the best periodicals of the time—*The American Magazine*. It was commenced in the year 1787, but how many years it was continued we have not ascertained. In the first volume, now before us, are communications from many of the best writers of that day. Among them were Dr. Stiles, Dr. Dwight, Noah Webster, Dr. Mitchell, &c., &c. The volume included a year, and contains 882 pages. The imprint to the first three numbers reads—"New York, printed by Samuel Loudon, and sold by the Printer, by Messieurs Berry & Rogers, Mr. R. Hodge, Mr. S. Campbel, Mr. T. Allen, and Mr. T. Greenleaf."

To the remaining nine numbers the imprint reads—"New York, printed by 'S. and J. Loudon,'" with a large addition of booksellers' names, in all the principal towns, besides those before named. It may be well to remark, however, that there is no bookseller named south of Philadelphia, with the single exception of "A. Timothy, at Charles-ton."

The "Introduction" to the Magazine

is a neat and well-written article. Dr. Thomas says nothing of the work, nor of J. Loudon. When he wrote his work on Printing, he says Mr. S. Loudon was then living, in retirement, quite aged.

Of the same family, it is supposed, was Archibald Loudon, sometime a printer in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. How early he went, or how long he lived there, we have not the means of stating; but the earliest production of his press, in our hands, is entitled, "*POEMS, on various Subjects*." By ISABELLA OLIVER, "*of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania*." . . . . Carlisle: From the Press of A. Loudon, (Whitehall.) 1805."

This is a small duodecimo volume of 220 pages, including a very long list of subscribers' names. Among these are the names of the printer, (Archibald Loudon,) for twenty-four copies, Christian, Mary, and Catherine Loudon, for one copy each. These were probably the family of the printer.

It may be of some interest to state that Miss Oliver wrote on a great variety of topics, and that among them are Lines "on the Death of Gen. Washington,"—"Sacred to the Memory of the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon,"—"In Memory of the late Gen. Alexander Hamilton, who fell in a Duel with Aaron Burr," &c., &c.

A little later, Mr. Loudon published a volume of *Miscellanies*, in magazine style, in octavo, but a copy not being at hand, we are unable to describe it. The printer was editor and publisher, if we rightly remember.

The last and most important work of Mr. Loudon, known to us, is that entitled, "*A Selection of some of the Most interesting Narratives, of Outrages, committed by the Indians, in their Wars, with the White People*." . . . Many of the "Articles have never before appeared in print. . . . Vol. I. Carlisle: From the Press of A. Loudon, (Whitehall.) 1808." 12mo, pages 356. Vol. II. Carlisle: 1811 12mo, pages 369.

Of these volumes Mr. Loudon was editor and publisher, as well as printer. They have long been of excessive rarity, and few of the libraries in the country can "boast," as Dibdin would say, of possessing a copy. And to the historian of border warfare these volumes are indispensable, their value not being easily calculated. In the forty years and over, that we have been interested in these matters, but two copies have come to our knowledge, for sale.

Mr. Loudon acknowledges his indebtedness to H. H. Brackenridge, Esq., a gentleman well known to the literary world of that period. An introductory letter of his is inserted in the first volume.

Nothing further is known to us of Samuel Loudon or his publications. This communication has been made with the hope that some of your correspondents may be able, and think it worth their while, to make further research respecting an early frontier printer, and of the Loudons generally.

G.

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MILLS FAMILY OF L. I.—Who were the parents and grand-parents of Elizabeth Mills, of Smithtown, Long Island, who married George Phillips about 1726, and died 11th April, 1768? See BOND'S *Watertown*, p. 877.

P.

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SEVERAL INQUIRIES.—Not having had an opportunity to refer to the recently-issued "privately-printed" works which throw great light on the many obscure points of our early history, it would gratify me to receive, through the columns of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, answers to the following inquiries:

What is known of Major Harry Rooke, who was one of the aid-de-camps to Gen. Gage, while at Boston, during the time of the battle of Bunker's Hill?

Immediately after the battle of Bunker's Hill, several citizens of Boston were

taken prisoners by the British. Where were they confined?

What was the building, in Boston, known as "Concert Hall," where the above prisoners were tried, and where was it located?

Who can give me information concerning Walter Cruise, a corporal among the riflemen, who was taken a prisoner by the British at night, while endeavoring to take a sentinel of the advance guard at Bunker's Hill?

What part of Boston was that which, in 1775, went by the name of "New Boston?"

Where was Winnisimmet Ferry, so called, near Boston, in the time of the Revolution?

Who was commander of the British frigate ("*Cerberus*," I believe) which sailed from Boston after the battle of Bunker's Hill, to carry the news to England?

Who can give me information in regard to Mr. Morrison, a preacher at Peterboro', Mass., before the Revolution, who was compelled to leave that place, and afterwards joined the American army, was engaged at the battle of Bunker's Hill, but deserted to the English soon after?

S. L. B.

*Augusta, Me.*

HAMILTON.—When was a monument erected to the memory of the elder Hamilton, where he fell; and how long did it remain there?

What were the circumstances of the younger Hamilton's death in a duel; who was his second; where did he die; what was his age; and where was he buried?

J. R. S.

*Fort Plain, N. Y.*

GEORGE EACKER.—The Oration by Mr. Eacker, which led to his duel with young Hamilton, was printed, I believe. Who has a copy of it?

J. R. S.

*Fort Plain, N. Y.*

INDIAN CONICAL STONE HEAPS.—In an unpublished history of Kennebunk, Me., by the Hon. E. E. Bourne, mention is made of a body of Indians, in the earlier part of the last century, who lived on terms of friendship with the neighboring whites. At times, however, without any expressed reason, they would become sullen, sharpen their knives, make other indications of war, and suddenly disappear. In the time of peace, they kept a conical pile of stones, about three feet high, erected as a token of their pacific intentions. But before leaving their wild dwellings, they always gave notice of their hostile expeditions by throwing them down. After an absence of a few weeks, they would suddenly re-appear, with new demonstrations of friendship and pleasure that their fights were over, and rebuild the heaps, as a signal that they had left the war-path. These erections were continued until a new sullenness arose, and similar preparations were made for absence, which might have been several times in a year. But no acts of enmity were shown to their neighbors, who knew not where or for what they thus mysteriously left their homes. The period was during the war with the French.

A conical heap of stones, on the western side of "Monument Mountain," in Stockbridge, Mass., has given a name to this picturesque addition to the beauties of the vale of the Housatonic. In a sweet poem, Mr. Bryant has given a poetical solution of the mystery of its origin, in the tragic fate of an Indian maiden, who, for love, leaped from the precipice, and died at its base. The mound, however, is at a long distance from the imagined scene of the sad event.

May not the Kennebunk mounds throw historical light on this mound; and its long, undisturbed continuance show the long, unbroken peace of the tribe, where Konkapot was its last chief,

and has left his name imperishably connected with the winding brook that adorns the valley till it is lost in the larger stream?

BRUNOVICUS.

*Brunswick, Me.*

FORMER WEALTH OF LIMA.—In MORSE'S *Geography*, Edit. 1796, p. 276, in speaking of the immense wealth of Lima and Peru generally, in former times, the author says: "One remarkable fact is sufficient to demonstrate the wealth of the city. When the Viceroy, the Duke de la Palada, made his entry into Lima, in 1682, the inhabitants, to do him honor, caused the streets to be paved with ingots of silver, amounting to seventeen million pounds sterling." Where is the authority for this statement to be found? It strikes me as rather fabulous, and that it ought to be placed amongst the "Current Fictions" of history.

R.

*Washington, D. C.*

AARON BURR'S GRAVE.—I have heard it said that the head-stone at Burr's grave was erected by a stranger, and that it has been sadly mutilated. What is the truth of the matter?

D.

## XI.—PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

### 1.—THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*Brunswick, Me., Aug. 2d.*—The annual meeting of this Institution was held at the Rooms of the Society, this morning. A large number of the members was in attendance, and after being called to order by the President, the Hon. Edward E. Bourne, of Kennebunk, they proceeded to attend to the business of their assembling.

The reports of the Treasurer and Librarian were presented, and showed these departments to be in a prosperous condition. We insert the report of the latter officer:

"The Librarian of the Maine Historical Society reports that during the year ending August 2d,

"1866, there have been added to the Library and "Cabinet ninety-four volumes and one hundred "and sixty-six pamphlets. Of these there have "been purchased, principally by exchange, thirty-one volumes and two pamphlets.

"There have also been given maps and charts of "great value, and a fragment of Roman pavement "from Catobriga, near Lisbon, Portugal, taken "from a bath, buried in the sand. This was given "by Commander George H. Preble, U. S. N. Also "Indian implements, coins, newspapers and documents from the Rebel States. The Librarian is "waiting for a reduction of prices to have a large "number of pamphlets bound.

"The Society will soon need larger accommodations for its increasing Library. It now needs to "adopt some method of exhibiting what it has, "in the way of Indian and other relics, which "are kept in the lumber-room.

"ALPHEUS S. PACKARD.

*"Brunswick, August 2d, 1866."*

The Committee appointed last year to attend the celebration at Fort Popham, in the absence of the Chairman, reported, through Rev. Dr. Ballard, that the celebration was held last year at the mouth of the Kennebec, near the present Fort, at a short distance from the place originally occupied by the Popham Colony. There was a large assemblage of citizens from Maine, who listened to an interesting, elegant and patriotic address from the Hon. J. W. Patterson, of Dartmouth College, which was afterwards published.

A Committee, consisting of Hon. Messrs. Gilman, Dummer, Eastman, Bourne, and Rev. Dr. Ballard, was appointed to attend the commemoration services at Fort Popham, Aug. 29th. The programme has not yet been arranged.

The following communication was received from Hon. John A. Poor, and read:

"WILLARD'S HOTEL,

"WASHINGTON, July 25, 1866.

"MY DEAR SIR:—It gives me joy to say that "most important testimony has of late come to "light touching the early settlement at Sabino, "at the mouth of Sagadahoc, which strengthens "and confirms all our positions and notions as "to the political value and importance of that "enterprise. It also sufficiently establishes to "my own mind, the location of the English Fort "St. George, and, what is most remarkable, gives "a new and circumstantial account of the destruction of the colony by the natives.

"In the *Relations of the Jesuit Fathers Biard and Massé*, Vol. I., page 36, they briefly refer "to their visit to the Kinebequi (Kennebec) and "to the fact of the English being there in 1608 "and 1609. These *Jesuit Relations* were addressed to the religious head of their order at

"Paris. Their recent publication led to the discovery that they made military communications in the nature of reports to their generals. The order of Jesus was a military organization, and the Jesuit priests made their military reports in the Latin language to the generals of their order at Rome.

"These military reports have recently been translated from the Latin into French, and published at Paris in 1864 by L'Ecureau, Rue des Grands Augustins, and edited by Father Auguste Carayon, of the Company of Jesus.

"REPORTS. No. 1 is a letter from Father Biard to the Very Reverend Father Claude Aquaviva, General of the Company of Jesus at Rome, dated at Dieppe, Jan. 21, 1611, just at the moment of their sailing for Port Royal (N. S.), relating their difficulties with the merchants, with which we are familiar.

"No. 2 is a letter from Father Biard to the Rev. Father Balthazar, Provincial of France, at Paris, dated at Port Royal, June 11, 1611, relating the delay at Dieppe, describing their voyage, their arrival, and the character of the natives.

"Nos. 3 and 4 contain nothing new.

"No. 5, from Father Peter Biard to the Very Rev. Provincial, is dated Jan. 31, 1612, and describes their visit to the Kinebequi, of one month and a half's duration. They coasted along the whole coast from Port Royal, entering the great rivers, the St. John, St. Croix, the Pentagoet (Penobscot), the Kinebequi. It was under command of M. de Biencourt (son of Poutrincourt), an officer of the Crown, and his father's Lieutenant.

"The Malouins, he says, wintered at the St. John that year (1611-12), and Captain Plastrier at the St. Croix. Captain Plastrier, 'at tempting to go to the Kinebequi, was taken prisoner by two English ships, which were at an island called Emmetenic (Matinic), eight leagues from Kinebequi.' His release was obtained by means of some presents, and upon the promise he made to yield to their prohibitions made him from doing business all along the coast. For the English wish to call themselves masters of it; and thereupon they produced some letters of their King—'which we believe to be false,' &c.

"On the 28th of October, 1611, they landed at Kinebequi, being very desirous of seeing the English fort (then unoccupied). At first they began to praise and extol the undertaking of the English, and recount the conveniences of the place. Some days after this they greatly changed their opinion, for 'we saw there was an excellent opportunity to make a counter fort, which would have imprisoned them and shut them off from the sea and from the river.'

"The English fort, therefore, must have been, as we have supposed, over on the point across the cove from the present fort, and by occupying the present site of Fort Popham the French could have imprisoned them and shut them off from the river and the sea.

"But the most interesting point is the statement of the destruction of the Colony. Father Biard, after speaking of the peculiarities of the place, relates how the English settlement was destroyed:

"'They' [*the English*] 'had first for their leader a very good man, and they behaved very well toward the natives of the country. It is said, however, that the Armouchiquois feared such neighbors, and on this account caused the death of the Captain, whom I have mentioned. These people have a custom of killing by magic. Now the same year, 1609, the English under another leader changed their ways; they repulsed the savages without any politeness, abused and ill-treated them. On the other hand, these poor misguided ones, impatient at the present, and arguing still worse for the future, took the resolution, as the proverb says, to kill the cub before its teeth and claws were any larger. Their opportunity came one day when three shallops had gone out of the bay, fishing. The conspirators followed them secretly, and approaching with a fine semblance of friendship (for thus they make the most caresses when there is the most treachery), entered among them, and at a given signal every one chose his man and killed him with a knife. Thus were despatched eleven English. The others, intimidated, abandoned their enterprise the same year, and have not pursued it since, contenting themselves with coming fishing in the summer to the island of Emmetenic, &c., &c.'

"I will not follow this interesting narrative further. The statements above are new to me, but confirm the opinions heretofore expressed, that it was Vines who was the leader at Sagadahoc in 1608 and 1609, and who finally retired to Saco. Gorges says he sent men there every year 'to do business in the accustomed places.'

"Emetenic or Emmetenic is doubtless *Matinic* of our time.

"Mr. Spofford, librarian of Congress, is greatly interested in these matters of our early history, and procured this book of Carayon's from Paris, for the library of Congress. He is hunting further, in like spirit, in all directions.

"I called the attention of Senator Howard, of Michigan, to the book, after the translations by my daughter had been made. He is delighted with it. He sympathizes very fully in our labors, and is thoroughly versed in French-

"American history. He will give us the Popham oration next year, if invited.

"Very truly yours,

"JOHN A. POOR.

"Rev. Edw. Ballard, D.D., Sec. Me.

"Hist. Soc., Brunswick."

Resolutions of respect to the memory of Bishop Burgess, late Vice-president of the Society, stating his exalted worth and interest in historical pursuits, were adopted.

The following officers of the Society were re-elected:

Hon. E. E. Bourne, of Kennebunk, *President*; Hon. J. W. Bradbury, of Augusta, *Vice-president*; Rev. Samuel F. Dyke, of Bath, *Corresponding Secretary*; Rev. Edward Ballard, D.D., of Brunswick, *Recording Secretary*; Augustus C. Robbins, Esq., of Brunswick, *Treasurer*; Rev. Alpheus S. Packard, D.D., of Brunswick, *Librarian and Cabinet-keeper*.

The following persons were chosen Resident Members of the Society:

Hon. John A. Peters, of Bangor; Rev. Benj. Tappan, of Norridgewock; Dr. Jonathan Donnell, of Houlton; Hon. Bernard C. Bailey, of Bath; Hon. Woodbury Davis, of Portland; Dr. M. R. Ludwig, of Thomaston; Dr. Charles E. Swan, of Calais; George E. B. Jackson, Esq., of Portland.

The Maine Historical Society was organized Feb. 5th, 1822; its objects being, in the words of the Constitution, "to collect and preserve, as far as the state of their funds will admit, what ever in their opinion may tend to explain and illustrate any department of civil, ecclesiastical and natural history, especially of this State and of the United States." Its library embraces several thousand volumes, relating to historical topics, and an invaluable collection of pamphlets and manuscripts, the latter including the Pejepscot, Kennebec, Knox, King and other papers. These papers are of rare and curious interest, and reveal many interesting facts relative to the early history of Maine. A portion of these documents, which are very extensive, have been arranged by that indefatigable laborer in the historical field of Maine—Rev. Dr. Ballard, of Brunswick. They are now simply of historical value, although some faith-endowed lawyers sometimes delve among them in search of testimony to substantiate claims to lands.

The number of the Society is limited to one hundred. There are now about eighty members. The members are chosen from those citizens of the State especially interested in collecting and perpetuating local historical facts and curiosities. The Society has published six volumes of historical collections, now frequently consulted as valuable contributions to the History of the State. The first volume has just been reprinted,

with additions, under the editorship of Hon. Wm. Willis, the veteran Historian of the State.

Materials are now in readiness for the issue of a new volume. Many of the reprinted volumes, and of the Memorial Volumes of the Popham Celebration, were lost in the late conflagration at Portland.

## 2.—THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

This Society held its May meeting at the house of Hon. E. G. Squier, the Chair being occupied by the First Vice-president, Hon. Thos. Ewbanks, Esq. The Hon. George Bancroft, one of the oldest members, was present, as also several invited guests.

A letter from Monsieur M. Carlier, a member of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, invited correspondence and interchange of publications, and requested information, especially concerning the Iroquois, alluding to the peculiar advantages which this Society enjoys for enlightening European ethnologists on the aboriginal race of the Western Continent. He mentioned that his Society has recently had under discussion the question: "Are the American Indians Monotheists or Polytheists?" without being able to agree on a decision; and on this point he particularly asked for information.

A brief but interesting discussion ensued between Professor Rau, Mr. Dwight, Señor Navarro, the Consul-General of the Mexican Republic, and others, upon this point.

A letter was then read from David Van Cott, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y., giving a detailed statement of "The Indian Dam," a curious ancient embankment, topped and faced on the outer side with stone, situated on the Plattskill, a stream in Ulster Co., N. Y. The letter was accompanied by a very carefully-drawn map of the dam and its surroundings, and accompanying measurements. Its location is in a swamp, on the farm belonging to the heirs of Levi Bodine, two and a half miles from Modena, and the map shows that the dam was well planned, and formed to create a pond of one hundred acres, which would doubtless soon be made again, simply by stopping the opening, through which the water is now drained off. Inquiry was made of the members, but no one had ever heard of an aboriginal work of this nature in America. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Van Cott.

Mr. Dwight gave an interesting notice of a work lately published in Sweden, on "Runic Remains" in that country.

On nomination by the Nominating Committee, Captain Nicholas Pike, of Brooklyn, N. Y., Consul to Mauritius, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. Drowne, the Librarian, exhibited an an-

cient and curious manuscript, on parchment, and of triangular shape, handsomely engrossed in unknown characters, and inclosed in a box of sheet-iron, lacquered, gilt, and inscribed "EX "DONO SAPIENTISSIMI COMITIS ST. GERMAIN "QUI ORBEM TERRARUM PERCUCURRIT."

After the discussion of various other interesting topics, suggested by various members, Mr. Squier favored the meeting with the following exceedingly-interesting remarks on "Peruvian "Antiquities," which were copiously illustrated by the numerous specimens, maps, drawings, and photographs brought home from that country by Mr. Squier.

Mr. Squier, late Commissioner of the United States in Peru, exhibited several articles of ancient Peruvian origin, of great interest, including an elaborate group, cast in silver, probably allusive to Phallic worship, and also some vases, in form and in the paintings on them of similar significance. He also exhibited views, plans, and sections of several varieties of "*Chulpas*" or ancient burial-towers of Southern Peru and Bolivia. Some are square, others round; some of cut-stone, others of rough stones, or stones faced with stucco and painted, and all of symmetrical proportions, although of varying sizes. All contained chambers, sometimes arched through the primitive system of overlaying stones, and having niches in which the dead were placed, generally in a squatting or upright position. In some cases there are two tiers of niches, besides a *cist* below the surface of the ground, in which is often found a promiscuous heap of human and animal bones, or of desiccated bodies. These *Chulpas*, in their rudest forms, resemble the *dolmens* of England and Europe; but, in their perfected forms, are real architectural achievements—high and dome-capped towers, wider at the top than at the base, and made of immense stones cut and fitted on radii from the centre of the tower, with a skill and accuracy that may be equaled, but which cannot be surpassed. Some of these towers are sixty feet high, and from twelve to twenty feet in diameter at the base. A few are of two stories, or with an upper and lower chamber, with separate entrances from the outside, or connecting by an interior opening. The entrances are generally, but by no means uniformly, from the East, and only large enough to permit a man to crawl in. Some have no entrances whatever, but appear to have been built over their inmates after death. Many contain only one skeleton, but others have from three to a dozen, and were perhaps family tombs.

A few non-critical travelers have supposed that these were dwellings of the ancient inhabitants; but their object cannot fail to be apparent to the practical archæologist, on the slight-

est investigation. They are mainly found on elevated and rocky headlands or eminences, where cultivation is impracticable, and almost always in groups of from half a dozen to a hundred or more. One of the most remarkable of these is on a bluff promontory, in the lake of Umaná, department of Puno, Peru, not far from Lake Titicaca, nearly fourteen thousand feet above the sea, and called Sillustani. The *Chulpas* here are of large size and of admirable workmanship, as was apparent from the plans and photographs exhibited by Mr. Squier. Tradition fixes this as the cemetery of the chiefs or kings of the Collao, conquered by the third Inca. The Collaos were undoubtedly Aymaras, and the progenitors of the present Indian inhabitants.

Mr. Squier also exhibited a desiccated body, or what is loosely called "a Peruvian Mummy;" not, however, taken from the sands of the arid coast, but from the distant interior, on the upper waters of the Amazon. It is from a vast cemetery, on the cliffs opposite the great Inca fortress of Pisac, dominating the passage from the valley of the Vilcamayo River to that of Paucortambo. Between the different layers of rock composing the cliff, the ancients had hollowed out a vast number of chambers, in which they placed their dead, and which were then closed up with masonry. Some of the cavern tombs are large and faced with finely-cut stones. It is called *Huacacahuayccu*—Place of Lamentations. The "mummy" is dried in the squatting posture in which it was placed, with its head resting on its hands, and was enveloped in a wrapper of cotton-cloth and an outer net-work of braided grass and rushes. The cranium is well proportioned, and without the evidences of artificial deformation which characterize the crania of the coast.

Among the most interesting objects exhibited by Mr. Squier were an elaborate map of the Inca capitol, in which all the existing Inca remains are accurately laid down, and a large perspective view of the city. The streets of the central parts of the town, which were occupied by the Inca monarchs, coincide generally with those of the ancients, and are still defined by the massive walls of the Inca temples, palaces and public buildings. Photographs of these, and especially of the walls of the Temple of the Sun and of the Convent of the Virgins of the Sun, fully justified the observation of Mr. Squier, that "in the "art of stone-cutting, the Peruvians were not "surpassed by any people of ancient or modern "times." The site of the Temple of the Sun is now occupied by the Church and Convent of Santo Domingo. By favor of the friars, Mr. Squier was enabled to carefully study the remains of the ancient structure, of which these are enough to clearly indicate its plan.

# SUPPLEMENT. No. III.

## I. TRIAL OF JOSHUA HETT SMITH, FOR COMPLICITY IN THE CONSPIRACY OF BENEDICT ARNOLD AND MAJOR ANDRE.—CONTINUED.

FOURTH DAY, Oct. 3d.

The Court met according to adjournment, and resumed the trial of Mr. Smith.

CORNELIUS LAMBERT was produced on the part of the Prosecution and sworn.

Q. TO CORNELIUS LAMBERT. Did the prisoner, Mr. Smith, pass King's Ferry, in the evening or in the night of Friday, the twenty-second day of September last, in company with a person under the name of John Anderson?

A. Mr. Smith crossed with another gentleman and a negro\* with him; the negro I took to be Mr. Smith's waiter, at King's Ferry betwixt daylight and dark, but the day of the week or the day of the month, I can't recollect; it was last month, and, as near as I can tell, it was the week before last, and was near about the time of the firing at one of the enemy's vessels, in the North River, but whether before or after, I can't tell; Mr. Smith seemed to hurry us a good deal, and told us he would give us something to revive our spirits; this was upon the water, as we were going over; I do not recollect the person's name who crossed with Mr. Smith; it was between daylight and dark, and as near as I can tell, he had on a large coat, dark colored, either brown, blue, or black, and had on a round hat and boots; Mr. Smith and this person crossed from Stoney Point to Verplanck's Point.

Q. BY COURT. Have you seen the person since that evening when he crossed the ferry with Mr. Smith?

A. Not to know him.

Q. BY COURT. Did you hear any conversation between Mr. Smith and this person, while in the boat, crossing?

A. Mr. Smith got in the bow of the boat, and his man on the side of the boat; and as we

were crossing, Mr. Smith walked up to the man and whispered a word or two to him, which I did not hear.

Q. BY DO. Did Mr. Smith when he told you he would give you something to revive yourself, when you were crossing, tell you how far he had to ride that night, or the way he was going, or did he give you anything when you landed?

A. I did not hear him say which way he was going, or how far he was to ride; when we landed, he called the cockswain of the boat into the house.

HENRY LAMBERT was next produced on the part of the Prosecution, and was sworn. Question to this person the same as the first to Cornelius Lambert.

A. Mr. Smith crossed King's Ferry, the week before last, in company with another gentleman; it was in the dusk of the evening; I do not recollect the day of the week or day of the month, he crossed; it was after the firing on the enemy's ship in the North River, but I do not know how long; I do not know the person's name, neither do I recollect his dress; I steered the boat; they had horses with them; Mr. Smith seemed to be in a hurry to cross, and on the water, as we were crossing, told us he would give us something to revive our spirits, if we would row across soon; Mr. Smith had also a negro man along; I did not take notice of the horse the gentleman rode who was with Mr. Smith; Mr. Smith and the person crossed from Stoney Point to Verplanck's Point.

Q. BY COURT. Have you seen the person since, who crossed the Ferry with Mr. Smith.

A. If I have seen him I have not known him.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith give you anything after you had crossed the Ferry?

A. Yes; after we crossed the ferry, Mr. Smith called for the cockswain of the boat, and went into one, Welsh's, hut, upon which I went, and he gave me an *Eight Dollar Bill*.

Q. BY COURT. Where was the other gentleman at this time?

A. I don't know.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith tell you the reason of his hurrying you was, he wanted to gain some distant place that night?

\* It will be noticed that this negro, who accompanied his master and Major Andre on their eventful journey, was not named on the stand; nor was his testimony appealed to, by either the Prosecution or the Defence.—ED. HIST. MAG.

A. He did not; neither did he mention what his business was.

Q. BY COURT. Did you hear any conversation between the person and Mr. Smith in the boat?

A. I did not; but when Mr. Smith was coming down to the Ferry, he called out to Captain Cooley, and told him, in three weeks' time we would be in New York. Captain Cooley answered, "I don't know." Mr. Smith then said, "Well, let it be three months;" Mr. Smith seemed to be very lively, and in a joking humor when he said it; Mr. Smith and the person who crossed with him, were both on horseback at the time; the other person said nothing. When Mr. Smith said the words aforementioned to Captain Cooley, he called for some liquor, drank it, and pushed down to the ferry and asked for the ferry men.

LAMBERT LAMBERT was next produced on the part of the Prosecution, and sworn.

Question to him the same as the first to Cornelius Lambert.

A. Mr. Smith crossed King's Ferry in company with another person in the evening, but the day of the week or day of the month I do not recollect. I cannot tell how long it was ago; I know not the person's name who crossed with him; neither have I seen the person since, to know him; I don't recollect any conversation between Mr. Smith and the man in the boat, but Mr. Smith was a good deal joking with the ferry man as he crossed. Mr. Smith did not mention where he was going to, or what his business was; it was the week before last Mr. Smith and the person crossed from Stoney Point to Verplanck's Point.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith cross the Ferry in your boat at any time within a week before he crossed the evening you have mentioned?

A. I don't remember that he did.

Mr. SMITH admits that he crossed King's Ferry, on Friday evening, the twenty-second day of September last, from Stoney Point to Verplanck's Point.

WILLIAM VAN VEART\* was next produced on the part of the Prosecution and sworn.

Question to him the same as the first to Cornelius Lambert.

A. Mr. Smith crossed King's Ferry from Stoney Point to Verplanck's Point in the evening of a day in the week before last, in company with another man, and a negro boy was with him; each of them had a horse; the day of the month I do not recollect; I have not seen the person since, to know him; he had a black, blue or brown great coat on, a round hat, and a pair of boots; I did not hear any conversation pass between Mr. Smith and the person in the boat;

neither did I hear Mr. Smith say which way he was going; Mr. Smith seemed to hurry us a good deal; Cornelius Lambert, Henry Lambert, and Lambert Lambert were boatmen and along with me.

BENJAMIN ACKER was next produced on the part of the Prosecution, and sworn.

Question to him the same as the first to Cornelius Lambert.

A. Mr. Smith crossed just in the dusk of the evening, King's Ferry from Stoney Point to Verplanck's Point, but I don't recollect the day of the month or the day of the week; it was after the firing upon one of the enemy's ships in the North River; but I don't know how long; there was a person with Mr. Smith, but I don't know his name; I have not seen that person since to know him; the person had a pretty big round hat on, and a great coat, which I took to be blue, and boots; they had horses with them; I did not hear any conversation pass between Mr. Smith and the person while they were in the boat.\*

WILLIAM JAMESON was next produced on the part of the Prosecution, and sworn.

Q. TO WILLIAM JAMESON. Did you see Mr. Smith, the prisoner, and a person with him under the name of John Anderson, at King's Ferry, on Friday evening, the twenty-second day of September last?

A. On Friday evening, just as it was getting dusk, the twenty-second day of last month, Mr. Smith came to my tent at King's Ferry, on Stoney Point side, after sun-down, with a gentleman in company and a waiter; the gentleman who was in company with Mr. Smith rode a little past the tent, and Mr. Smith made a halt; there were some gentlemen sitting in the tent, who handed him a bowl of liquor, which they had been drinking out of, upon which Mr. Smith dismounted his horse and handed the bowl to me, and desired I would fill it, which I did;† as I handed him the liquor again, Mr. Smith spoke to Mr. Cooley, and said, "In three weeks' time we shall all be in New York;" Mr. Cooley made answer, "Sir, I don't know;" upon which Mr. Smith said, "Let it be three months;" Mr.

\* In his *Narrative of the Death of Major Andre*, Mr. Smith said, concerning this testimony, "The next evidences were the ferrymen, who proved that I had conducted Major Andre across the posts of Stoney and Verplanck's Points, and mentioned some desultory conversation that had passed, but which, at this period, can be of no consequence; they, however, deposed that there appeared to them an intimacy between Major Andre and myself, that was of a very long standing." (Page 139.)

From the record of the testimony offered by these boatmen, it is not very apparent on what Mr. Smith rested the averment with which he closed the paragraph which we have quoted.—*ED. HIST. MAG.*

† "Between my house and the fort at Stony Point, \* \* \* we were met on the road by several officers belonging to this post, with whom we conversed very freely, and stopped at the sutler's at the Ferry to drink with them."—MR. SMITH, in his *Narrative of the Death of Major Andre*, 38.

\* This name was VAN WART. Many of the old inhabitants in Westchester County continue to call the family, "VAN VART" and "VAN VEART" to this day.—*ED. HIST. MAG.*

Smith, upon this, took his horse and went off, down to the Ferry-stairs; the person with Mr. Smith had on a flopped hat and a great coat, the color I cannot recollect; the person rode a little past when Mr. Smith halted, made a little halt, and he was on the Ferry-stairs when Mr. Smith got down; Mr. Smith, at my tent, took one drink out of the bowl, handed it about, and then went down to the Ferry-stairs; I did not know the person's name; neither have I seen him since, to know him.

Q. BY COURT. Did the gentlemen who were drinking desire Mr. Smith to call his friend, or did any of them ask Mr. Smith who it was that was with him?

A. Not that I recollect.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith appear to be in hurry, or say which way he was going?

A. He appeared to be in a hurry and hurried the Ferry-men down, some of whom were at the tent; he did not say where he was going.

Q. Did you hear Mr. Smith mention the person's name who was with him?

A. There were no names mentioned to my knowledge.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Did the conversation with Captain Cooley appear to be in a joke or in earnest?

A. You were in a joking humour when you came into the tent; and I supposed that you were joking with him.

WILLIAM COOLEY was next produced on the part of the Prosecution, and sworn.

Question to him the same as the first to Mr. Jameson.

A. Three persons, one of whom was Mr. Smith, came riding down to King's Ferry, on the Stoney Point side, on Friday, the twenty-second day of last month, about dark; there were some of Colonel Livingston's officers with me in the tent; Mr. Smith came riding along, and when he came opposite the tent, the officers hailed him and put out the bowl to him, and asked if he would not drink; he said, "Yes;" the other persons kept riding along; *there was nothing in the bowl.* Mr. Smith got off his horse and called for a nip of grog and drank; they were a-joking together, and Mr. Smith said to me, "What do you think, 'Daddy Cooley,' or 'Captain Cooley,' or something to that purpose, 'of being in New York 'in three weeks' time?'" Upon that, the gentlemen officers laughed a little. I said "not, I am 'afraid, Master Joseph," or something to that purpose. "Well," said he, "let it be three 'months, then;'" (just drank, the officers being then joking and laughing together) and he, Mr. Smith, went off. I did not see the persons who went down, to know them, nor heard their names mentioned; neither did any person ask about their names; no person, that I heard, asked Mr.

Smith where he was going, or what his business was; neither did he mention it.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. What was my political character in New York; please to inform the Court all that came to your knowledge about it?

A. I always looked upon you as a good and faithful subject to America; I have seen you strip and fight several times in New York, and once with the mate of the *Asia*, man-of-war, about America; I have seen you wrangle with many men who opposed the American cause, in New York.

Q. BY DO. Be pleased to inform the Court what you have thought of my political character since we have left New York?

A. I have always thought you a hearty man for America; and never looked upon you in any other light until this very time, and how it is now, I know not. I believe the whole neighborhood at Haverstraw, where you live, look upon you as a hearty friend to America; but we do not look upon the rest of your brothers to be anything for the cause of America.

Captain EBENEZER BOYD was next produced on the part of the Prosecution, and sworn.

QUESTION TO CAPTAIN E. BOYD. Did you see Mr. Smith, the Prisoner, at or near Crompond, the night of the twenty-second of September last, in company with a person who passed under the name of JOHN ANDERSON; if you did, please to inform the Court of it?

A. Last Friday, a week ago, I think it was the twenty-second of September last, between eight and nine o'clock, as near as I can recollect, at night, the sentry stopped Mr. Smith, the Prisoner, another person, and a negro with him. When the sentry hailed them, they answered, "Friends." The sentry ordered one to dismount; Mr. Smith readily dismounted, and spoke to the person who was with him to hold his horse, and Mr. Smith advanced till he came near the sentry; Mr. Smith asked who commanded the party; the sentry said Captain BOYD; upon that I was called for; what passed between Mr. SMITH and the sentry I heard, as I have related, being close by the sentry; Mr. SMITH came to me, upon my calling for him; I asked him who he was; he told me his name was JOSHUA SMITH, and that he had a pass from General ARNOLD to pass all guards; I asked him where he lived, or where he belonged; he told me he lived in the white house on the other side of King's Ferry; I asked him what time he crossed the ferry; he said about the dusk of the same evening; I asked him how far he was bound for, and where to? he told me he intended to go that night as far as Major STRANG'S; I told him Major STRANG was not at home, and he spoke something of going to old Colonel GIL DRAKE'S, as he was an old acquaintance of his; I told him he did not

live where he used to, but had moved to Salem; I told him about his saying he was going to Major STRANG's, that his lady might be in bed, and it would incommode her much, likewise I desired to see Mr. SMITH's pass; and went into a little house close by there, and got a light; and I found that he had a pass from General ARNOLD, to "pass all guards to the White Plains, and return, being on business of importance," I think were the words of the pass, if I recollect right; after I had read the pass, we came out, and Mr. SMITH and myself talked alone privately; then I desired him to let me know something of his business; he made answer that he had no objection to my knowing it; he told me that he was a brother of WILLIAM SMITH, in New York, though very different in principle, and that he was employed by General ARNOLD to go with that gentleman, meaning the person who was with him, to get intelligence from the enemy; that they expected to meet a gentleman at or near the White Plains, for the same purpose; if I recollect right, I think Mr. SMITH told me he was not so positive as that he should go himself, as far as the White Plains, or not; on this I advised Mr. SMITH to put up there, at one ANDREAS MILLER's, close by where we were, and so start as soon as it was light; the reasons I gave Mr. SMITH were, that the riding in the night would be dangerous when they got below Croton River, from the Cow Boys; Mr. SMITH made answer that he would speak to his partner; whereupon Mr. SMITH went to him; I was pretty close by them; and when they conversed together, they spoke low; Mr. SMITH told him he thought it would be rather best to put up, and said he thought they might be interrupted; upon that they concluded to turn back to this house, to put up; I concluded in my mind their speaking low was occasioned by what Mr. SMITH had said to me before, which was, he did not want every one to know what business they were on; Mr. SMITH then asked my opinion about the roads, which would be the safest to the White Plains, and not fall in the hands of these "Cow Boys" or Refugees; putting confidence in what they were upon, I gave him my opinion as to the safest road, that the safest road would be to go by North-Castle Church, and by Wright's Mills, by reason if they went the Tarry-Town road, they would fall into the lower party's hands—these "Cow Boys." I likewise advised him to call upon Captain DELAVAN, next morning, pretty early. Mr. SMITH asked me if I thought that Captain DELAVAN would assist them with an escort of two or three horse. I told him I did not doubt but that he might when he came to understand what his business was. They then went back towards ANDREAS MILLER's, which was the last I saw of them that night. I

was a little at a stand about Mr. SMITH's name being JOSHUA, as he was called by the name of "Jo SMITH," but his pass was in the name of JOSHUA. What made me put more confidence in what Mr. SMITH told me, was, I had heard it frequently mentioned that General HOWE used to employ Mr. SMITH in getting intelligence.

Q. Was the person's name who was with Mr. SMITH mentioned that night?

A. I think I asked Mr. SMITH what gentleman he was who was with him. Mr. SMITH said he was a gentleman that General ARNOLD had in his employ; and told me his name was JOHN ANDERSON.

Q. BY COURT. Was JOHN ANDERSON's name included in the pass Mr. SMITH showed you from General ARNOLD?

A. I think it was.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. SMITH mention any particular information they were going for?

A. Not any particular information; but, in general, Mr. SMITH said they expected to get some of the best intelligence from the British army, that had been got for some time.

Q. How was this person, called by the name of JOHN ANDERSON, dressed?

A. He had a large overcoat on. It appeared to be blue or black in the night. He did not go into the house with Mr. SMITH and myself. The person under the name of JOHN ANDERSON had a round hat on—the size I did not take particular notice of. I did not speak to the person.

Q. BY COURT. Are the "Cow Boys," or plundering parties, from New York?

A. Yes, of DE LANCEY's Corps.

Q. BY COURT. Did you inquire of Mr. SMITH where this JOHN ANDERSON belonged, or where his abode was?

A. I did not.

Q. The person whom you saw that night with Mr. SMITH, who he said was called JOHN ANDERSON, have you seen since, to know him?

A. I have not.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. SMITH appear anxious to proceed that night?

A. No. He appeared anxious to put up; more than his partner did; and Mr. SMITH seemed very ready to comply with my advice, as soon as I mentioned it to him.

Q. How far is it from the place you saw Mr. SMITH and the person he called JOHN ANDERSON, to Verplanck's Point?

A. About eight miles, and about four to Peekskill, on the east side of North River.

Q. Did Mr. SMITH appear to you to be alarmed, after he came up to you, on being stopped?

A. I did not perceive he was.

Q. BY COURT. Did you understand from Mr. SMITH, that either himself or the person he

called JOHN ANDERSON, intended to go to New York?

A. I did not.

Two permits were shown to Captain BOYD, one dated "HEAD QUARTERS, *Robinson's House*, Sept. 20, 1780," and the other dated "HEAD QUARTERS, *Robinson's House*, Sept. 22, 1780," signed "B. ARNOLD, *M. General*," neither of which, Captain BOYD says, he thinks is the pass Mr. SMITH showed him. Mr. SMITH acknowledges that the permit dated September 22d, 1780, is the one he showed Captain BOYD. It is annexed.\* The other not being proved or acknowledged, was withdrawn.

Q. BY COURT. Was the pass Mr. SMITH showed you wrote and signed in one hand writing?

A. It appeared to me it was.

Q. How far is it from the place where you saw Mr. SMITH and the person he called JOHN ANDERSON, to the White Plains?

A. I judge it to be about twenty-four miles?

Q. BY MR. SMITH. What political character does Major STRANG bear in that country?

A. He is allowed to be as good a man as any we have there, in his attachment to America.

Q. BY DO. What political character did Mr. GIL DRAKE bear, who lived formerly near Crompond?

A. His former character was that of a very warm Whig.

Q. BY DO. Did I not appear pleased with your proposal of going to Captain DELAVAN's?

A. You made no objections against going there to me, and told me you would call upon him the next morning, which I expected you would, from what you said.

Q. BY DO. Don't you recollect your mentioning to me that Captain DELAVAN was a warm friend to the country?

A. I do.

Q. BY DO. Did you not see me return the next morning?

A. I did not.

Q. BY DO. Is it not reputed, in the neighborhood about Crompond, to be dangerous to go on the south side of Pine's Bridge?

A. The friends of the country in that neighborhood think it so.

Q. BY DO. Did you not hear, that a day or two before, there was a party seen, about thirty, near Pine's Bridge?

A. There was an alarm on Wednesday, the twentieth of September last, of a party being near Sing Sing, who were coming up, it was said, by the New Bridge; and in consequence of it, I ordered my company out; it proved to be a false alarm.

Q. BY DO. Don't the inhabitants who live

near Pine's Bridge, live in great dread with respect of their cattle and themselves, from parties coming out?

A. There are not many inhabitants there that are considered to be well affected.

Q. BY DO. How far do you suppose Hunt's House to be from the parting of the two roads leading to Pine's Bridge?

A. About a mile to the northward. Hunt is one of DELAVAN's Corps of Horse, and is called well affected.

Q. TO MR. JAMESON. Do you know of any particular intimacy between BENEDICT ARNOLD, late Major General in our service, and the prisoner, Mr. Smith, a short time before his, ARNOLD's, going off to the enemy?

A. I have seen General ARNOLD come down to King's Ferry, on the Stoney Point side, and frequently go from the ferry, but where to I don't know, and have seen Mr. SMITH return to the ferry with him; the number of times I do not recollect; it was about a week or two before General ARNOLD went off to the enemy, and the week he did go off to the enemy; I can't recollect whether I saw General ARNOLD and Mr. SMITH together, the week General ARNOLD went off to the enemy, more than once or twice; I saw General ARNOLD come to King's Ferry, on the Stoney Point side, on Tuesday or Wednesday; it was, the beginning of the week; he went up the river towards Robinson's house, and returned, on Thursday, in the evening, to the ferry on Stoney Point side before dark; General ARNOLD's barge went up the river, and returned to King's Ferry, that evening, with a boat; and I saw General ARNOLD go up towards Robinson's house, on Friday morning, about nine or ten o'clock; Mr. SMITH came down to the ferry with him, and returned; and that evening Mr. SMITH came down to the ferry with a gentleman, as I have mentioned before, in my evidence. I do not recollect seeing General ARNOLD at Mr. SMITH's house.

The Court postponed further proceedings on the trial of Mr. SMITH until to-morrow; and adjourned until that time, nine o'clock, A. M.

#### FIFTH DAY, Oct. 4th.

The Court met according to adjournment, and resumed the trial of Mr. SMITH.

Major BURROUGHS was produced on the part of the Prosecution, and sworn.

Q. TO MAJOR BURROUGHS. Did you see Mr. SMITH, the Prisoner, and a person with him, who passed under the name of JOHN ANDERSON, at or near King's Ferry, on the Stoney Point side, the twenty-second day of September last? Please to relate to the Court what you know of the matter.

A. Last Friday a week ago, being the twenty-

\* Appendix, L.

second of September last, between sundown and dark, I was overtaken on the road, about three quarters of a mile from Stoney Point, by Mr. SMITH, the Prisoner, and another gentleman; Mr. SMITH's servant, a negro boy, was with him; Mr. SMITH, as he passed by, spoke, and said "How do you do, Captain LIVINGSTON?" I told him he was mistaken; on that he stopped, and said, "How do you do, Major BURROUGHS?" and turned about his horse, and talked to me for about a minute, in which time, I rode up between the gentleman, who was with Mr. SMITH, and which gentleman is the same man who has been proved since to have been the Adjutant-general of the British Army; Mr. SMITH, while he stopped, told me he was going for Mrs. SMITH and the Ladies, to West Point, and should be happy to see me at tea the next afternoon; Mr. SMITH then turned about his horse, and rode off pretty fast; I told him I thought it rather late, and he said he had business.

Q. How was the gentleman dressed?

A. He had a round hat on, and a blue coat or cloak, the cape of which was buttoned up tight round his neck, and the other part was also buttoned.

Q. Did Mr. SMITH mention to you the person's name?

A. No.

Q. After Mr. SMITH left you, did the gentleman who was with him join company and ride off?

A. The gentleman halted when Mr. SMITH did, and they rode off together.

Q. Did you see Major ANDRE, who lately suffered death as being Adjutant-general to the British Army?

A. I saw him when he crossed the North River, which was last *Wednesday*, and which was after he was taken; and I am sure he was the same man whom I saw with Mr. SMITH, as I have before mentioned.

Q. Had this person the same coat on that the gentleman had whom you saw with Mr. SMITH?

A. He had a coat or cloak of the same colour, which appeared to me to be the same, and I am sure he had the same hat on?

Q. Did you hear him converse with Mr. SMITH?

A. I did not.

Q. Did you see Major ANDRE, Adjutant-general to the British Army, since the time you have mentioned to have seen him after he was taken, and had crossed the North River?

A. I saw him last Friday, when he was going before the Board of General Officers; and I am certain he was the same person I saw with Mr. SMITH at the time I have before mentioned.

Q. BY Mr. SMITH. Do you recollect no other conversation that passed between us when I

stopped, with this person, on the road; don't you recollect something about a horse?

A. I recollect about your telling me that you had good pasture, and that I should be very welcome to the pasture for my two horses, rather than let them run about at the Point where the pasture was poor.

Q. BY DO. Did you see any appearance in me, of a desire to avoid you as I came along?

A. Not in the least.

Q. BY DO. Did your guard, at the lower end of Haverstraw, report to you of their meeting some gentleman the night before, on the road?

A. They did not.

JOHN PAWLING was next produced on the part of the Prosecution, and sworn.

Q. TO JOHN PAWLING. Did you take at Tarry Town, on the east side of the North River, on Saturday morning, the twenty-third of September last, a person who passed under the name of JOHN ANDERSON; if you did, please inform the Court of it?

A. Myself, ISAAC VAN VEART and DAVID WILLIAMS, were laying by the side of the road, about a half a mile above Tarry Town, and about fifteen miles from King's-bridge, on Saturday morning, between nine and ten o'clock, the twenty-third of September last. We had lain there about an hour and a half, as near as I can recollect, and saw several persons we were acquainted with, whom we let pass. Presently, one of the young men who were with me said, "There comes a gentleman-like looking man, 'who appears to be well dressed, and has boots 'on, who you had better step out and stop if 'you don't know him.'" On that I got up and presented my firelock at the breast of the person, and I told him to stand; and then I asked him which way he was going. Says he, "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party." I asked him, "What party;" he said, "The lower 'party.'" Upon that I told him I did. Then he said, "I am a British officer out of the country, 'on particular business, and I hope you won't detain me a minute;" and to show that he was a British officer, he pulled out his watch; upon which I told him to dismount. Upon that, he said, "My God, I must do any thing to get 'along;" seemed to make a kind of a laugh of it; and pulled out General ARNOLD's Pass, which was to JOHN ANDERSON, to pass all guards to the White Plains, and further. Upon that he dismounted, and says he, "Gentlemen you had 'best let me go, or you will bring yourselves in 'trouble, for, by your stopping of me you will 'detain the General's business;" and he said he was to go to Dobb's Ferry, to meet a person there, on the General's business. Upon that I told him I hoped he would not be offended, and I told him we did not mean to take anything from

him; and told him there were many bad people going along the road, and I did not know but perhaps he might be one; and I asked him if he had any letters about him. He made answer, "No." Upon that, myself, or one of my comrades, though I think myself, told him to pull off his clothes, which he did. We searched his clothes, but could find nothing; and I told him to pull off his boots; he rather seemed backward of pulling them off; however, he pulled off one of them, and I felt at his foot, where I felt the papers in his stocking, under his foot; then I told him to pull off the other boot, and when the other boot was off, I found other papers in his stocking, under his foot. Then I looked on the back of the papers, and I saw what the contents of them were, and I said to the young fellows who was with me, "This is a spy." One of the young fellows who were with me asked him if he would give us his horse, saddle, and bridle, and watch, and a hundred guineas, if he would let him go. He made answer, "Yes, and what ever sum of money you will mention, or quantity of dry goods." And then I made answer, "No, by God, if you would give us ten thousand guineas, you should not stir a step." One of the young fellows winked to me, who had a mind to find out a little more, and I made answer to the lads who were with me to come along, for I would have nothing more to say to him, and we asked him some questions as we were going along the road, and begged we would ask him none till he came to some officers, and then he would reveal the whole. We carried him to Colonel JAMESON, and there he took him into his custody, and I have not seen him from that time until I saw him the other day.

Q. BY COURT. Did he tell you his name was JOHN ANDERSON before he produced the pass?

A. I asked him his name and he told me it was, I think, JOHN ANDERSON.

A Pass being shown to Mr. PAWLING, signed "B. ARNOLD, Major General," and being asked whether it is the Pass that the person whom he took under the name of JOHN ANDERSON, showed him when he took him, answered he thinks from the best of his recollection, that it is. The Pass dated "HEAD QUARTERS, Robinson House, September 22d, 1780," is annexed.\*

Sundry papers, of the following import, were produced to the Court, and shown to Mr. PAWLING,† to wit, a paper containing Artillery Orders at West Point, September 5th, 1780; a paper containing an Estimate of the force at West Point

and its dependencies, September 13, 1780; a paper containing an Estimate of men to man the works at West Point, and in the vicinity, September, 1780; a paper containing a Return of Ordnance at West Point and its dependencies, September 5, 1780; a paper containing Remarks on Works at West Point, indorsed "A copy to be transmitted to His Excellency, General Washington, September, 1780;" and a paper containing a State of matters laid before a Council of war, held in Camp, Bergen County, September 6, 1780, Present, the Commander in Chief, indorsed, "Copy of a Council of War, held September 6, 1780." These papers are annexed.\*

Mr. PAWLING being asked if he found these papers on the person he took, as he has mentioned, under the name of JOHN ANDERSON.

A. To the best of my knowledge, the papers now shown me are the papers I found on that person when I took him.

Q. BY COURT. How was this person, whom you took under the name of JOHN ANDERSON, dressed?

A. He had a kind of a purple claret coloured coat on, the button holes of which were laced. He had nankeen breeches and waistcoat on, and a flannel waistcoat under his waistcoat; and he had a round hat on; he had also on a blue coloured overcoat.

Q. Was this person whom you took under the name of JOHN ANDERSON, the same person who suffered death on Monday last, as being the Adjutant-general of the British Army?

A. I think he was; to the best of my knowledge he looked as much like him as any person could.

Q. BY COURT. When he pulled out his watch, did he offer it to you as a present, or pull it out as a signal?

A. As a signal that he was a British officer, as I then thought.

Q. BY COURT. When pulling out his Pass from General ARNOLD, what was the reason you did not let him go?

A. Because he said before he was a British officer. *Had he pulled out General Arnold's Pass first I should have let him go.*

Q. BY COURT. Are the papers shown you all the papers that were found on the person whom you took under the name of JOHN ANDERSON?

A. They are all, except a small paper which I found in his pocket.

A paper being shown Mr. PAWLING containing sundry names, he says that it is the paper he found on this person under the name of JOHN ANDERSON. It is annexed.

Q. BY COURT. How long did the person under

\* Appendix, II.

† It is not evident what the object was, in introducing these papers as evidence against Mr. Smith, who had had nothing to do with them, unless, as stated by himself, (*Narrative of the Death of Major André*, 140.) it was because his name was mentioned in some of them.—ED. HIST. MAG.

\* Appendix, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII.

the name of JOHN ANDERSON, say he had been out from New York?

A. Four days; and had not been above Pine's Bridge, and that a man brought the letters and papers to him there, but he did not know him.

DAVID WILLIAMS was next produced on the part of the Prosecution and sworn.

QUESTION TO DAVID WILLIAMS—Were you with JOHN PAWLING when he took a person at Tarry Town the morning of the twenty-third of September last, under the name of JOHN ANDERSON? Please to relate what you know of that person's capture to the Court.

A. Myself, ISAAC VAN VEART, and JOHN PAWLING were laying in the bushes, in the morning, about nine or ten o'clock, on Saturday, the 23d of September last, as near as I can recollect, about a half mile, as near as I can recollect, above Tarry Town, on the east side of the North River. Several persons came along whom we knew and let pass; and presently came along a person whom we told Mr. PAWLING to stop; he was a gentlemanlike man and had boots on. Mr. PAWLING stepped out and presented his piece to his breast, and bid him stand, which he did. The person said, "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party." Mr. PAWLING made answer, "What party?" He said "The lower party," which Mr. PAWLING told him we did. The person said "I am glad to see you;" and said "I am an officer in the British service, and have now been on particular business in the country, and I hope you will not detain me; and for a token to let you know that I am a gentleman," he pulled out his watch. Mr. PAWLING told him to dismount, on which the person found out we belonged to the upper party; he said "My God, I must do any thing to get along," on which he pulled out General ARNOLD's Pass, and gave it to Mr. PAWLING who read it, on which Mr. PAWLING told him to dismount; and the person said he was to pass down as far as Dobb's Ferry, and was to meet another gentleman there, and was to get intelligence for General ARNOLD, he told us we would bring ourselves in trouble if we did not let him go. We told him there were many bad fellows travelling the road, and we did not know but he was one of them, on which we took him in the bushes and ordered him to pull off his clothes, on which he did; but on searching him narrowly we could not find any sort of writing. We told him to pull off his boots, which he seemed to be indifferent about, but we got one boot off, and searched in that boot, but could find nothing, and we found there were some papers in the bottom of his stocking, next to his foot, on which we made him pull his stocking off, and found three papers wrapped up. Mr. PAWLING looked at the contents and said he

was a spy;—upon which we made him pull off his other boot, and there we found three more papers at the bottom of his foot, within his stocking; upon which we made him dress himself, and I asked him what he would give us to let him go; he said he would give us any sum of money. I asked him whether he would give us his horse, saddle, bridle, watch, and one hundred guineas, upon which he said, "Yes;" and he told us he would direct it to any place, even if it was to that very spot, so that we could get it. I asked him whether he would not give us more; he said he would give us any quantity of dry goods or any sum of money, and bring it to any place that we might pitch upon, so that we might get it; upon which Mr. PAWLING answered "No, by God, if you would give us ten thousand guineas you shall not stir one step," on which I asked the person who had called himself JOHN ANDERSON, if he would not get away if it lay in his power; on which he answered me "Yes, I would." I told him I did not intend he should, and carrying him along we asked him a few questions, and we stopped under a shade; he begged us not to ask him any questions, and said when he came to any commander he would reveal all. We carried him on and delivered him to Colonel JAMESON; and I never saw him from that time until when he was executed here, that I remember; and I think the man, to the best of my knowledge, if I recollect right, who was executed on Monday last, as being Adjutant-general to the British army, was the very man whom the persons I have mentioned and myself took, as I have mentioned before.

Q. How do you know that his name was JOHN ANDERSON?

A. He told us his name was JOHN ANDERSON, when he pulled out his Pass to show us.

Q. How was the person you took, who called himself JOHN ANDERSON, dressed?

A. He had a blue overcoat on, and a tight body coat, that was a kind of a claret colour, though rather a deeper red than claret; the button holes were laced with gold tinsel, and the buttons drawn over with the same kind of lace; a round hat; and nankeen waistcoat and breeches; and under his waistcoat was a flannel waistcoat, and under his breeches was a pair of flannel drawers. He had a pair of boots and thread stockings on.

Q. BY COURT. Is the lower party considered as the enemy's party?

A. Yes.

The Pass shown to Mr. PAWLING was shown to Mr. WILLIAMS, and being asked whether that is the Pass the person he and the persons who were with him took, as he has mentioned, under the name of JOHN ANDERSON?

A. As near as I recollect, it is.

The papers shown to Mr. PAWLING were shown

to Mr. WILLIAMS; he says that the paper containing an estimate of men to man the works at West Point and in the vicinity, September, 1780, and the paper containing a Return of Ordnance at West Point and its dependencies, September 5, 1780, are two of the papers which he and the persons who were with him found on the person whom they took, as before mentioned, under the name of JOHN ANDERSON, as he saw Mr. PAWLING open them; the others he does not recollect to have taken notice of.

Q. How many papers were taken on the person whom you took under the name of JOHN ANDERSON?

A. There were three under each foot.

Q. BY COURT. Did this person, who called himself JOHN ANDERSON, tell you where he lodged the night before?

A. He did not; but said he had received the papers and the horse at Pine's Bridge, from a gentleman who brought them there to him, as near as I remember.

The Court postponed further proceedings on Mr. SMITH's trial until to-morrow, and adjourned until to-morrow, nine o'clock A. M.

## II. OLD NEW YORK REVIVED.—CONTINUED.

### 9.—THE FIRST CITY HALL.

The first public building of its kind was originally built for a tavern, about 1642, in the time of Gov. Kieft. That worthy Dutchman had caused it to be erected, in order to accommodate the English who daily passed with their vessels from New England to Virginia, from whom he suffered great annoyance, that they might no longer quarter on him, but lodge in the tavern. It was a fine inn, built of stone, and was for many years a conspicuous object to the traveler approaching the city.

In 1654, the *Stadt Herberg*, or State Tavern, was granted to the municipal government, and was thenceforth known as the *Stadt Huys*, or State House. Its location was in Dock (now Pearl) Street, opposite Coenties Slip. It was used for many purposes; among others, as a city prison or jail.

In the following year [1655], the City authorities made the following order:

"Whereas the Lords Patrons of this Province have been generously pleased to grant the City Hall to this City, therefore early measures must be taken to repair and line the said house with boards; and whereas it is much incumbered by a quantity of salt deposited therein by Cornelis Schut, and otherwise cannot be conveniently

"entered before it be emptied of certain goods and lodgers: Therefore their Lordships are of opinion that Cornelis Schut be seasonably notified by the Messenger, that he provide himself a store-house for his salt, and those who lodge therein with other lodgings, so that the City Hall be not wholly ruined nor occupied by others. Done the first of March, 1655, at the Assembly in the City Hall, at Amsterdam, in New Netherland."

In 1695, the building had begun to require constant repairs, to render it safe for the various uses to which it was put, and for several years there was much discussion and many resolutions concerning the building a new City Hall. In 1696, it was thought that the easiest and best way would be "to mortgage the rent of the Ferry for fifteen years, to sell the present Town Hall and ground thereunto belonging, and the ground concluded to be sold in the rear of Dock St., at 9d. per foot." The necessities of the case seemed to culminate in October of the following year, when the Mayor informed the City Council "that on Tuesday next, the Supreme Court of the Province would sit, at which several criminals would be tried, to which it is supposed great numbers of people will resort, insomuch that it is feared the City Hall will not be of sufficient strength to contain them." Upon this representation certain carpenters and bricklayers were ordered to view and report thereon, and what might be wanting to secure the building. They reported that "six studs and a plank will secure the same from any danger of falling." The same were ordered accordingly.

Two days afterwards (the 4th), and on the day before the sitting of the Court, the Judges addressed a letter to the city authorities, stating that jurors and others summoned to appear declare that in consequence of danger from the condition of the City Hall, they cannot attend on the Court; therefore, the magistrates are required, in his Majesty's name, "to appoint and prepare some other place."

In reply, the Judges were informed that measures had been taken "for making the City Hall secure from falling, and the workmen do believe the house to be of sufficient strength to contain any number of people that may be therein."

This certificate does not seem to have satisfied the Court, however, for when it met on the following day, "the Court opened, and for the insufficiency of the City Hall, it is immediately adjourned to the Dutch Church."

The Court was held in the Church on that and the following day, when it adjourned to meet on the 7th October, at the house of George Raparreck, adjoining the City Hall.

The Common Council, notwithstanding the

favorable report of their mechanics, shortly afterwards resolved, "in consequence of the ruinous condition of the City Hall," to sit at the same private house, which they appear to have hired for the year ensuing for the sum of £12.

How long this state of things might have continued, it is impossible to judge, but the Supreme Court, with a due sense of the eternal fitness of things, and a proper regard to the health and safety and comfort of all who were obliged to attend the Courts, made a decree, which we beg leave to commend to the excellent gentlemen who now wear the judicial ermine in the City and County of New York, as a righteous judgment, and a most excellent precedent.

At the end of the Term, on the 9th October, 1697, Mr. Emott, the leader of the Bar in those days, moved the Court in the name of the High Sheriff, "that the Judges do move to the City, 'the insufficiency of the City Hall and Prison.'"

The bench accordingly sent for the Mayor and Aldermen, and "did cause to be read" the following decree:

"Octr 9th, 1697.

"Whereas it appears to this Court that for divers years last past the City hall or Town house of this City has bene decayed and insufficient for the holding their, his Majesties Courts and that the Magistrates of the City have been thereof advertised by this Court and have still promised to erect and build a new one, which is not yet done and a Surveigh of severall Emment Massons and Carpenters having by order of the Chiefe Justice bene thereof had who doe certifie the Insufficiency thereof, by reason whereof His Majesties Supreme Court hath been Obligated to adjurne from Place to Place and the Sheriff of this City and County having also Complained to us of the insufficiencie of the present Goale, the Justices having maturely considered the same doe hereby order and decree that the said City for the reasons aforesaid be amerced and fined for the use of our Sovereigne Lord the King three hundred pounds unless within two years from the date hereof they do find and Provide a sufficient town house or hall wherein his Majesties Courts of Judicature may be held and kept and that in the mean time they make not the Prison sufficient they ought to be accountable for all escapes."

The Mayor and Aldermen were then dismissed, after listening further to the reading of an "Address from the Grand Jury setting forth a General Breach of the Lord's Day and urging their diligence in having the Constable go about during divine service."

Shortly after this time, the Common Council unanimously agreed "that a new City Hall is necessary," and before the expiration of the two years mentioned in the decree, they unani-

mously resolved "to build a new City Hall at the upper end of Broad street and the materials of the old City Hall be exposed to sayle, and the ground belonging to the same to be lett to farme for the term of ninety nine years." A committee was appointed to manage the same.

On the 9th August, 1699, it was ordered "the old City Hall and all belonging to it, the bell King's arms, and iron works belonging to the prison excepted, be sold at publick outcry; the purchaser to pay at three payments. That the cage, pillory and stocks standing before the same be removed within the space of twelve months, . . . . . That the City have the liberty and benefit of the jail within the said Hall for the space of one month next ensuing."

A subsequent entry states that "John Rodman, of the City of New York, merchant, hath by public outcry and vendue purchased the said City Hall with the ground and appurtenances, for the sum of £920 current money of New York." G. H. M.

#### 10.—NOTES ON ART AND ARTISTS IN NEW YORK.\*

##### I.

Among the Artists who practised their Profession in Colonial New York, was ABRAHAM DE LANOX, Junior, a native of that city.

He was the son, probably, of Abraham De Lanoy, who was celebrated in his day as a dealer in Pickled Oysters and Lobsters; but the time of his birth is not known.†

He is said to have married Rachel Marling [Marling] on the twenty-seventh of September 1763; but it is evident, from the following, that he visited Europe and received instructions from Benjamin West, before 1771.

[From *The New-York Gazette*; and the *Weekly Mercury*, 1002, Monday, January 7, 1771.]

To the PUBLICK.

## LIKENESSES

*PAINTED for a reasonable Price, by A DELANOY Jun, who has been Taught by the celebrated Mr. Benjamin West, in London. N. B. Is to be Spoken with opposite Mr. Dirck Schulyler's, at his Fathers.*

\* We are indebted for the greater part of the material used in this article, to the industry and courtesy of Mr. William Kelby, the very efficient Assistant Librarian of The New York Historical Society.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† Dunlap says he knew Mr. DE LANOX from 1780 until 1783 and that he was then "in 'the sere and yellow leaf,' both of 'life and fortune.'" It is not exactly apparent how, if he was born about 1740, as Dunlap supposes, he could be in the decline of life, forty years afterwards.—ED. HIST. MAG.

It is probable that this flourish of trumpets did not produce that effect which Mr. De Lanoy expected and desired, since less than six months afterwards he seems to have embarked in a new business, as will be seen from the following advertisement:

[From *The New-York Journal*; or, *the General Advertiser*, 1485, Thursday, June 20, 1771.]

*The following Articles, to be sold very cheap, at wholesale or retail, by*

ABRAHAM DELANOY, Jun.

*At his House in the main Street, between Burling's-Slip and the Fly Market, opposite Mr. Brevoort's Store of Tin Ware, and next Door to Dr. Bard, Jun. viz*

**OLD Madeira, Teneriff and**

sweet wines, claret, wine bitters; Jamaica spirits and Antigua rum, brandy, Geneva, molasses; vinegar, sweet oil, raisins, currants and figs, citron, fugar candy, fugar almonds and do. in the shell, prunes and prunelloes; TEAS and SPICES of all Sorts, best CHOCOLATE and COFFEE; double and single refin'd loaf fugar, best and low priced mulcovado fugar; rice, black and Cayenne pepper, Durham and New York flour mustard, fine salt and allum, soft soap, snuff, pipes; pickles in cags fit for exportation, a small quantity of quince, peach and Holland plumb sweet meats, fresh imported, Cheshire and Gloucestershire cheese; paper, quills, ink and ink powder, sealing wax and wafers; best White Chapel needles, Scotch threads, and pins, empty twelve bottle cases, &c. &c. &c. most kinds of PAINTING done as usual, at reasonable rates.

Dunlap says that, in his latter days, Mr. De Lanoy was consumptive, poor, and dependent on sign-painting for his support. Dunlap's first production in oil, was a head of Admiral Hood, from recollection, which he painted on a sign for his old gentleman.

He is said to have been awkward in his address and of unprepossessing appearance, although he was mild in his manners and, probably, retiring in his habits.

The exact date of his death is unknown; although he is supposed to have died about 1786.

He appears to have been patronized, before he visited Europe, by the Beekmans; and it is probable that among the descendants of that family, and their connections, some of the works of this early artist may yet be found.

## II.

LAWRENCE KILBURN, sometimes written KILLBRUNN, arrived here from London in the early part of May, 1754, in the brig *Maria*, Thomas Miller, Master; and he appears to have sought employment, as a Portrait Painter, very soon after.

The following, very probably, was his first introduction to the public, in this city:

[From *The New-York Gazette*: or, *The Weekly Post-Boy*, 508, Monday, July 8, 1754.]

LAWRENCE KILBURN, Limner,

*JUST arrived from London with Capt. Miller, hereby acquaints all Gentlemen and Ladies inclined to favour him in having their Pictures drawn, that he don't doubt of pleasing them in taking a true Likeness, and finishing the Drapery in a proper Manner, as also in the Choice of Attitudes, suitable to each Person's Age and Sex, and giving agreeable Satisfaction, as he has heretofore done to Gentlemen and Ladies in London. He may at present be apply'd to, at his Lodgings, at Mr. Bogart's, near the New Printing-Office in Beaver-Street.*

This advertisement was followed by others, of which the following are specimens:

[From *The New-York Mercury*, No. 112, Monday, September 30, 1754.]

LAWRENCE KILBURN, limner,

*from London, who lately advertised in the New-York Gazette, hereby acquaints all gentlemen and ladies, that are mindful to see some of his performances, that he has now several pieces taken from the life, finished in his room; as also sundry other curious pieces, scarcely to be met with at any other place in this city; he therefore hopes that gentlemen and ladies who have a taste that way, will favour him with their company and doubts not, but a view of his performances will engage them to encourage him in this branch of business, as, at present, there is no other in town who pretends thereto. Said Kilburn lodges at the house of Mr. Daniel Bogert, next Door to the late Rev. Mr. Boel's, near the New Printing-Office, in Beaver-Street.*

[From *The New-York Mercury*, No. 268, Monday, October 3, 1757.]

LAWRENCE KILBRUNN,

LIMNER from LONDON,

*CONTINUES, as usual, to draw to the life. Ladies and gentlemen that have not as yet seen many of his performances, may now have an opportunity of viewing sundry pieces together, which he has drawn to the entire satisfaction of the persons for whom they were designed. He may be applied to at his lodgings, at the house of Mr. Peter Rosevelt, in Bayard's-street. He draws also in miniature.*

MR. KILBURN was licensed to be married to Judith Eyraud, of the city of New-York, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1761; and he continued to paint portraits, in that city, as opportunity was afforded; indeed, it is said that the Beekman family possesses two half-lengths, size of life, which were painted by him in that year. The following, published in the following year, indicates his occupation at that time:

[From *The New-York Mercury*, No. 511, Monday, May 17, 1762.]

## LAWRENCE KILBRUN,

Portrait Painter,

**TAKES** this Opportunity to ac-

quaint the Publick, that he is removed to Crown-street, which leads from the Fly-market up to the New Dutch Church, next door to Mr. Stephany, Chymist, and over against Messrs. Livingston's Sugar House.

N.B. He continues Face painting as usual, and hath at present by him, a large Collection of Gentlemen and Ladies Pictures, which may be seen at his House.

The habits of the New-Yorkers appear, however, to have been ill adapted for the encouragement of the Fine Arts; and, like his contemporary, ABRAHAM DE LANOY, Junior, Mr. KILBURN, after many years of hard work to establish himself as an artist, seems to have been compelled to seek other employment than that of painting portraits. The following advertisement tells its own story:

[From *The New-York Journal*; or, *The General Advertiser*, 1536, Thursday, June 11, 1772.]

## L. KILBURN'S

PAINT STORE,

At the White Hall, New York,

HATH FOR SALE,

**WHITE LEAD**  
Spanish brown

Yellow oaker

Verdigrease

Red lead

Linseed oil

White varnish

Spirits of turpentine

All as cheap as any body sells in the place.

Vermillion,

Prussian blue

White vitriol

Spanish whiting

Paint brushes

Window glass 6 by 8, 7 by

9, 8 by 10, 9 by 11, 10 by

12, 11 by 13, &c &c &c.

The following tells the last sad story of this Artist's career:

[From *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, 127, Thursday, September 21, 1775.]

**A**LL persons indebted to the estate of Lawrence Kilburn, deceased, are hereby requested to make immediate payment to Judith Kilburn, executrix, who has for sale at her house next door to the Hon. John Watts, Esq; wholesale and retail, on the most reasonable terms, for cash, viz.

White lead ground in oil, ditto dry, read lead, Spanish brown ground in oil, ditto dry, yellow oaker, ground ditto, verdigrease ground in oil, ditto dry, rose, pink, Dutch pink, Prussian blue, Turkey umber, Naples yellow.—Also 8 by 6, 9 by 7, 10 by 8, 11 by 9, and 12 by 10 crown window glass.

### III.

Among the forgotten, in American Art, are WILLIAM B. TETLEY, HENRY PURCELL, J. COLLES, and WILLIAM ROWAND, whose only remaining records, as far as we have discovered them, rest in the following advertisements:

[From *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, 68, Thursday, August 4, 1774.]

## William Birchall Tetley,

FROM LONDON,

**B**EGBS leave to acquaint the PUBLIC, that he has taken a commodious house, the corner of Beaver-street, and facing General Haldimand's;—where he purposes painting PORTRAITS in oil, or in miniature for the bracelet, or so small as to be set in a ring.

Those Ladies and Gentlemen who please to favour him with their commands, may depend on having them done in the best manner, and with the greatest expedition.

[From the same paper, 74, Thursday, September 15, 1774.]

## HENRY PURCELL,

ENGRAVER,

**B**EGBS leave to acquaint his friends in particular, and the Public in general, that he has opened a shop in Broad-Way, nearly opposite Mr. HULL's tavern, where he carries on the engraving business in its different branches, and hopes he can give satisfaction to any gentlemen that may be pleased to favour him with their commands, they may depend on the greatest care and dispatch.

[From *The New-York Gazette*; and the *Weekly Mercury*, 1412, Monday, November 9, 1778.]

## MINIATURE PROFILES.

No. 20, Golden-Hill, opposite the sign of the Unicorn

## J. COLLES,

**H**AVING had the honour of taking off the PROFILES of many of the Nobility in England and Ireland, begs leave to inform the ladies and gentlemen in New York, that he takes the most STRIKING LIKENESS in Miniature Profile, of any Size, at so low a price as Two DOLLARS each, framed and glazed: specimen only (which may be seen at HUGH GAINE) can furnish an idea of the execution.

Hours of attendance from 10 o'clock in the morning till 4 in the afternoon. It requires only a moment fitting.

From *Rivington's New York Loyal Gazette*, 146, Saturday,  
December 6, 1777.]

## WILLIAM ROWAND, PORTRAIT-PAINTER,

(Lately from GLASGOW)

PROPOSES at his lodgings, No. 59, Wall-Street, if encouragement offers soon, to begin painting in miniature, the weather not permitting painting in large, longer, and, to teach gentlemen and ladies the art of drawing. At his lodgings, now, the lovers of the fine arts, may see an original painting in oil, by himself emblematic of the times.

As time and opportunity shall warrant, we shall return to this subject.

H. B. D.

## II.—PAPERS CONCERNING THE PROVINCE AND STATE OF MAINE.

—EXTRACTS FROM THE EARLY UNPUBLISHED  
RECORDS OF THE PROVINCE OF MAINE.

*urnished by Samuel L. Boardman, Esq., Augusta, Me.*

At a meeting of the Com<sup>rs</sup> in the house of  
Capt. Richard Bonithon in Saco this 25th Mch,  
36.

Present

Capt. Richard Bonithon	Mr Tho Purchas	} gents.
Capt. Wm. George,	Mr Ed. Godfrey	
Capt. Tho. Camock	Mr Thomas Levis	

Henry Joslin, gent.

There was this day presented by Mr Theophilus  
his officer for this place, John Wotten for being  
drunk, and giving ill tearmes to the officer.

John the carpenter, for being drunk.

James Coale for being drunk.

Wm. Scadlock for being drunk.

John Watton is by order of Court to make a  
yr of stocks by the last of Aprill or to pay 40/s.  
mo. for misdemeanor: alsoe hee is fined 5/s for  
being drunk.

John y <sup>e</sup> Carpenter	} ar fined 5/s a peece for being drunk.
James Coall	
Wm Scadlock	

Mr. Wm. Hoock is pr order of Court fined one  
return of the officer's warrant, for an uprore  
hitted 25th pro in shouting of divers peecees in  
night for wch hee is fined 30/s and order for  
distraane.

Mr. Geo. Cleves for rash speeches fined in  
art 5£.

Mr. Wm. Smith sworn ay cunstable for his  
Maties sarvis for the woale publike from Cape  
Elizabeth to the furthestmost prte of this prov-  
ince eastwarde.

To the petition of Thomas Wies against Mr.  
Thomas Luis, it is ordered Tho. Wies shall have  
of Mr Thomas Luis one fadom of this cuntry  
beades more then hee hath in satisfaction of one  
swyne killed pr the Indianes, & iff prve that hee  
had more killed then to have furdur satisfac-  
tion out of such kettells as Mr Luis had from the  
Indianes.

Wm Gibbond's cause referrd to tow men to end.

It is ordered Mr Hawkinse to have power and  
authority to execute any Indians that ar prved to  
have killed any swyne of the Inglishes.

Monday the 28th Mch 1636.

To the request of Mrs Joane Vines and an order  
of Sir. Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, as pr the same  
more att large appereth, and other sarcumstances  
us inducing, consarning the difference betwene  
Capt. Richard Bonithon & Mr Thomas Luis  
against Mrs Joane Vines, consarning the plant-  
ing of corne one the Iland where shee planted  
formerly, & order left pr hir husband now to  
plant. It is ordered for the preservation of the  
publike peace and the generall good of the  
cuntry that Mrs Joane Vines shall peaceably  
plant what shee hathe formerly planted and  
what more shee can plant. Also Capt. Richard  
Bonithon and Mr Thomas Luis to plant what they  
can except wher Mrs. Vines planteth, and for  
tryall of the title of the s<sup>d</sup> Iland to rest tell furdur  
tryall may be maid ther of, and this we Register,  
Ratify and Confyrme although Mr Thomas Luis  
did approbriusly in open Court lascerat and teare  
& order maid to y<sup>t</sup> purpose & subscribed as pr the  
same appeareth, when a 5th Com<sup>r</sup> was to firme  
to it.

March the 29th 1636.

It is ordered iff any man that douth sell strong  
liquor or wyne shall suffer his nighbor's laborer  
or sarvant to continue drinking in ther house ex-  
cept men invited or labores uppon the working  
day for one hower att diner, or stranger or  
lodgers ther, the sa offence being seene by one  
Justice of the Peece w<sup>th</sup> in his limitts or Cunst-  
able, or prved by tew witnesses before a Justice of  
the peece, such seller of strong liquor or wyne  
shall forfeit for every such offence tenne shill-  
inges.

Every parson that shall continu drinking as  
abovs<sup>d</sup> with prves as abovs<sup>d</sup>, shalbe fined iij<sup>s</sup>  
ny<sup>d</sup> for each offence.

It is ordered y<sup>t</sup> every planter or Inhabitant shall doe his best indevor to apprehend, execut or kill any Indian y<sup>t</sup> hath binne known to murder any English, kill ther cattell or any waie spoyle ther goods doe them violence and will not mack satisfaction, yf it shalbe proved by tew witnesses that any planter or inhabitant hath bine negligent ther in hee shall be fined at the discreccion of the bench.

1637. Aprill 4th. Margery Batson, the daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth Batson, bound an apprentice by consent to Cap<sup>t</sup> Richard Bonython and wife Lucretia, till the said Margery attayne to the full age of one and twenty yeares.

It is ordered that Mr. Arthur Browne and Mr. Arthur Mackworth shall cause John Cosens to give full satisfaction to an Indian for wrongs don to him.

1637. Apr. 4th. It is agreed between Cap<sup>t</sup> Richard Boynton, Richard Vines and Thomas Lewis, gent, that the said Richard Vines shall pay for a payr of stockes and a lock to them; for that John West his corne was gathered contrary to order: And see all controversies about the Ilands ar ended, according to a former order in Mr. Rich. Gibson's hands.

Richard Hitchcock on acccon of slander against Rob<sup>t</sup> Mills. Rob<sup>t</sup> Mills askes Rich. Hitchcock for givenes for a slander and payes charges.

Mary the wife of Geo. Puddington of Agamenticus is here indicted by the whole bench for often frequenting the house and company of M<sup>r</sup> George Burdett, minister of Agamenticas aforesaid, privately in his bed chamber and elsewhere in a verie suspitious manner, notwithstanding the said Mary was often forewarned thereof by her said hus band and the Constable of said plantacon w<sup>th</sup> divers others, and for abuseing her said hus band to the greate disturbance and scandall of the said plantacon, contrary to the peace of our Sovereigne lord the King.

This Enquest find Billa Vera.

Whereupon the Court enjoineth the said Mary to make this publike confession here in this Courte, and likewise at Agamenticus aforesaid when she shalbe thereunto called by the Worp<sup>l</sup> Thomas Gorges and Edward Godfrey, two of the Councellors of this Province, her confession followeth:

I Mary Puddington, doe here acknowledge that I have dishonored God, the place where I live, and wronged my husband by my disobedience and light carriage, for w<sup>ch</sup> I am heartily sorrie and desire forgiveness of this Courte and of my husband, and doe p<sup>r</sup>mise amendment of

live and manners henceforth; and having made this confession to aske her husband forgiveness on her knees.

Mr. Arthur Browne presented by the Grand Enquest for sweareing two oathes, is therefore fyned by the Bench two shillings.

September the 17th, 1640. It is ordered by this Courte that the Worp<sup>l</sup> Tho. Gorges and Edward Godfrey, Councellors of this Province shall order all the Inhabitants from Pascattaque to Kennibonke, w<sup>ch</sup> have any children unbaptised that assoone as a minister is settled in any of their plantacons, they bring their said children to baptisme, and if any shall refuse to submit to the said order, that then the prties so refusing shalbe summond to answeare this their contempt at the next Generall Court to be holden in this Province.

It is ordered at this Courte, that from hence forth the Register shall have for makeinge every execution (w<sup>ch</sup> shall issue forth from this Courte) two shillings and six pence, whereof he shall pay to the Secretary of this Province for the seale one shilling.

## 2.—NOTES ON THE LOCAL HISTORY OF MAINE. I.

ARROWSICK ISLAND. BOSTON, *May 26*. We hear from *Arrowsick*, that on Wednesday the 14th Instant, one of our native Indians named *Sam*, who had dwelt lately at *Casto-Bay*, being out with a Company of Eastern Indians a Hunting near *Richmond*, the said Indians in a very joyful manner brag'd of what Exploits each one of them had done, in the last War with the English, and who of them they had killed; *Sam* upon hearing thereof, ventur'd to take the same Liberty and began freely to relate, on the other side, what he had done, and what Indians he had kill'd; but his Tale proved fatal to him, for among others, he told of one noted Indian he had kill'd, that happenen to be the Father of one in the Company; who upon hearing thereof, was so irritated, that without more adoe he struck his Hatchet twice into his Head, and he died on the Spot. The People at *Arrowsick* upon hearing of his Affair, have sent after the said Indian to bring him to Justice.—*The New-York Weekly Journal* [Zenger's] 83, Munday, June 9th, 1735.

## II.

BERWICK. *Berwick*, in the Province of *Maine*. Nov. 26: This Day was Ordained here the Reverend Mr. *Jeremiah Wise*, Pastor of the Church

in this Place.—*The Boston News-Letter*, 189, Monday, December 1, 1707.

## III.

BRUNSWICK. [1.] *BOSTON*, September 7. We hear from Brunswick, that on the 19th of last month a Man was wounded there by the Indians, and a Boy taken Prisoner.—*The New-York Gazette, revived in the Weekly Post-Boy*, [PARKER'S], 243. New-York, September 14, 1747.

[2.] *BOSTON*, November 16.—We are informed by Capt. Woodside, that on the fifth Instant, towards Evening, a Lad about 16 Years old, going out of Brunswick Fort at the Eastward, saw eleven Men dress'd with Coats and Hats coming towards him, which he took for Englishmen, till they came up to him, when he found them to be Indians, one of which seized him as his Prisoner, which the Lad's Father observing from the Fort, discharged his Gun (loaded with Swan-Shot) at the Indian, and wounded him, upon which he immediately quitted the Lad, who ran towards the Fort, but was unfortunately shot down by the other Indians. The People of the Garrison got the Lad into the Fort alive, but he died of his Wounds soon after: He said the Indian that took him was mortally wounded by his Father's Shot, one of which struck him (the Boy) in the Ball of his Hand.—*Ibid.* 253, New-York, November 23, 1747.

## IV.

COX'S HEAD. *Boston*. On *Thursday* the 6th Currant, By an Express from Col. *Hilton*, his Excellency received an Account of the Success of the Forces lately sent into the Eastern parts, viz. That on *Tuesday* the 4th Instant, about one o'Clock in the morning, the Colonel with a Detachment of the Forces under his Command, fell upon a party of the Indian Rebels, being nineteen in number, at a place call'd *Cox's Head* within *Kennebeck* River, whereof nine were men, most of them infamously noted for their bloody Villainies, *Mamouson*, alias *Pemaquid Tom*, being one of the Company: The rest were Squaws & smaller Indians.

Eighteen were kill'd on the spot, a Boy about eight years old was saved alive.

Through the Favour of Almighty God, not one of ours was kill'd or wounded; Only in the Action, the Squaw lately taken by Col. *Hilton* in his former Expedition, unhappily received a Wound from one of our men by mistake.

This Accident is very much Lamented, for that the Squaw had been very serviceable in making known the places of the Indians Residence: She was sent to *Piscataqua* for cure; and is in a hopeful way of Recovery.

Col. *Hilton* was again Embarking the Forces on the Transports to go in further quest of the Enemy, Resolving to range the parts all the Shoar along. Our Forces were all in good health, and animated with their Success further to pursue the Enemy.—*The Boston News-Letter*, 151, Monday, March 10, 1706.

## V.

KITTERY. [1.] *Piscataqua*, May 25. On Monday last the Sculking Indian Enemy kill'd one man at *Kittery* in the Province of *Main*, and Wounded another.—*The Boston News-Letter*, 58, Monday, May 28.

[2.] **R**An-way from his Master, William Pepperil Esqr. at *Kittery*, in the Province of *Maine*, a Negro Man-Slave named Peter, aged about 20, speaks good English, of a pretty brown Complexion, middle Stature, has on a mixt gray home-spun Coat, white home-spun Jacket and Breeches, French fall Shoes, and coloured Stockings, or a mixt worsted pair, and a black Hat. Whosoever shall take up said Negro, and bring or convey him safe to his said Master, or secure him and send notice of him either to his Master, or to Andrew Belcher Esqr. at *Boston*, shall be well rewarded for his pains, and all reasonable charges paid besides.\*—*The Boston News-Letter*, 86, Monday, December 10, 1705.

[3.] **L**ately Deserted Her Majesties Service at *Kittery* Garrison in the Province of *Maine*, David Thomas Souldier, a Welsh-man, aged about 30 years, pretty short and thick stature, dark brown coloured hair: hath on a new white Cape cloth Watch Coat, under that an old sad coloured strait bodied Coat and Jacket, gray yarn stockings, and an old black Hat. Whosoever shall apprehend said Deserter, and him safely convey to his said Post, or to Andrew Belcher Esqr. at *Boston*, shall have satisfaction to Content, besides his Charges.—*Ibid.*

[4.] **A**Certain Tract of Land in *Kittery* in the Province of *Main* in New-England, near to Capt. Ichabod Plaisted's, containing 110 Acres, borders on *Piscataqua* River, having on it two good Orchards, a good quantity of fresh Meadow, and good Oak and Pine Timber. To be Sold by Thomas Short at the Printing-House in the South End of *Boston*.—*The Boston News-Letter*, 99, Monday, March 11, 1705-6.

[5.] In *December* last, There was Advertisements of a Negro man Slave, and an Indian's Running away from Mr. William Pepperil of *Kittery* in the Province of *Main*, desiring they

\* The benefit of Advertising, as long ago as a hundred and sixty-one years, will be seen by reference to Number 4 of this series.—ED. HIST. MAG.

might be apprehended where ever they came, and by virtue of said Advertisement, coming (in the News Letter) to *South-Carolina*, whither the said Negro and Indian had travelled, The Governour of said place has secured the said Runaways for their Owner.\* *The Boston News-Letter*, 105, Monday, April 22, 1706.

[6.] *Piscataqua, June 7th.* \* \* \* And yesterday Mr. *John Shaplie* and his Son being Riding on the Road near *Kittery*, their Horses were found all bloody without their Riders; a Party of the *Garison* that went out in Quest of the Sculking Enemy, found Mr. *Shaplie's* B'dy, and his head cut off, but cannot tell what is become of the Son. *The Boston News-Letter*, 112, Monday, June 10, 1706.

[7.] *Piscataqua, June 20.* \* \* \* The Indians are Sculking every where on our Frontiers; and on Monday last 7 of them came to *Spruce-Creek* in *Kittery*, and kill'd *Philip Carpenter*, his Wife & two Children but had not time to pillage the House. A Party of our Forces went in pursuit of the Enemy. *The Boston News-Letter*, 166, Monday, June 23, 1707.

[8.] *Piscataqua, Sept. 19.* \* \* \* On Tuesday night, at the House of Mr. *Gunnison*, in *Kittery*, the Watchman hearing a Noise, and concluding it to be a raft on the water, hail'd who was there, at which time the Wife of one *Wentworth* that belong'd to the *Garison* Landed from her Canoo, at a little distance from the raft, and passing through the Yard of the said *Gunnison*, was discover'd by some within that was newly awak'd by the aforesaid Noise; she having her hood wrapt round about her, apprehended her to be an Indian, & without speaking fir'd and kill'd her. *The Boston News-Letter*, 179, Monday, September 22, 1707.

[9.] We are informed, That on Tuesday the 2d of this Instant, there was hard Thunder with Lightning, which struck a Meeting-House in *Kittery*, where the Rev. Mr. *Newmarch* is Minister; it is suppos'd it first struck the Bellfrey, melted part of the Bell, the other part falling down broke to Pieces, from thence it went down towards the Pulpit, set Fire to the Pews, &c., so that in a little time the whole Building was consumed by the same. *The Boston Weekly News-Letter*, 1415, Thursday, March 11, 1731.

[12.] From *Kittery*, that on 25th past, about 11 of the Clock in the Forenoon, Mr. *Samuel*

*Leighton*, Son of *John Leighton*, Esq; deceas'd went into the Woods about half a Mile from Home with Oxen and Sled to cut and haul some Fire Wood; and about 1 or 2 a Clock the Oxen came home with 5 or 6 small Sticks of Wood on the Sled; they sent out a Man about Sun setting, found him Dead in the Woods, lying with his Face on a small Hill among some Bushes, and his Knees on a Log of about 18 Inches high, with his Ax in his Hand. The Jury's Verdict was that he dyed by the Fall. *The New-York Weekly Journal* [ZINGER's], 116, Munday, January 26th, 1735-6.

[10.] *Boston, February 26.* \* \* \* On the 24th of Feb. last, the House of *Joseph Hill* of *Kittery*, was consumed by Fire, with all his Goods and Furniture, himself, his Wife and Children being much burnt, hardly escaping with their Lives. *The New-York Gazette*, [BRADFORD's] 386, Tuesday, March 20, 1732.

[11.] *Kittery*, in New Hampshire, Sept. 20, 1733. Last Lord's Day was exercised here, in a Meeting-House of this Town, in a most decent and becoming Manner, the publick Worship of GOD, according to Mode of the Church of England, as by Law established, by the Rev. Mr. Plant of Newbury, who preached twice that Day, in the Morning from 2d Epistle to the Corinthians, the 13th Chapter and the 5th Verse; and in the Afternoon from the 1st Chapter of Mathew and the 21st Verse. His Honour the Lieut. Governor of this Province, with about 120 Persons of both Sex's went from Portsmouth to hear Mr. Plant, who had the greatest Auditory that ever met in this Town; and his Sermons were so well digested and adapted to his Hearers (who have long laboured under great Difficulties in the Worship of GOD) that gave a general Satisfaction to the people, who have requested Him to take the Charge of the Church there, till they can be provided suitably with a Missionary from Home, which (by the Direction of the Rev. Mr. Commissary Price) he has engaged to carry on the Service, with the Assistance of the neighboring Ministry of the established Church, as often as possibly he can. *The New-York Gazette*, [BRADFORD's] Monday, October 8, 1733.

## VI.

MOUNT DESERT. BOSTON, Feb. 9. We have the following most melancholly Account from the Eastward, viz. That Capt. Donald, in a Schooner that sail'd from this Town some Months ago for Annapolis Royal, with about 100 Recruits for that Garrison, was cast away at or near Mount Desert, when the Vessel was lost, and 34 Men drowned, and many others froze, &c., but that Capt. Donald having made a Raft of some parts of the Vessel, he, with several others, made a shift to get into one of our Eastern Harbours,

\* The Advertisement referred to (for there was only one) is copied above, Number 2, and it will be seen that no Indian is therein referred to. It is not improbable, however, that "the 'pretty brown Complexion' of the Runaway indicated a Half-breed Indian, and the Editor may thus have been misled. The color of the fugitive is, also, interesting as an illustration of the prevailing habit in New England, a hundred and sixty years ago, and recognized by South Carolina, of holding as Slaves, those who were not "Forreiners and Strangers," but the children of her own soil, the offspring of the Aborigines, if not those of her own Negroes. ED. HIST. MAG.

where happily finding a Sloop he agreed with the Master to go to Mount Desert to fetch off the distressed People. *The New-York Gazette, revived in the Weekly Post-Boy, [PARKER'S] 214, New York, February 23, 1746-7.*

## VII.

NEW-CASTLE. *New-Castle in Piscataqua, Nov. 16, 1704.* The Reverend Mr. John Emerson was Ordained Pastor of the Church in this Place, upon Wednesday the 8th Instant.—*The Boston News-Letter, 31, Monday, November 20, 1704.*

## VIII.

NORRIDGEWOCK. [1.] Boston. *On Wednesday the 14th Instant, Lieut. Col. Hilton & Maj. Walton marched from Piscataqua with 300 men Volunteers, with Snow Shoes, for Narigwalk, the Head Quarters of the Eastern Indians at 250 miles distance, with 20 days Subsistence in their Snap-sacks, who we doubt not if the Weather allow will see that place in 10 days from their setting out. And His Excellency the Governor has at the same time a Cruiser on the Shore of L'acadie to distress the Enemy there. The Discovery of their Head-Quarters will give measures for the Summers proceeding. We have had no mischief from the Enemy these 6 months past, notwithstanding all their Bravo's to visit us once in two months.—The Boston News-Letter, 45, Monday, February 26, 1704-5.*

[2.] *Piscataqua, March 8th.* Our Forces under the Command of Lieut. Col. Hilton, and Major Walton, returned last night from *Narigwalk* the Head Quarters of the Eastern Indians, who advise of a large Fort, Meeting-house & School-house that were there erected, the Fort encompassed 3 quarters of an acre of ground built with Pallisados, wherein were 12 Wigwams but no Enemy: neither the discovery of any Tracks seen, but of 3 or 4 supposed to be there about 3 weeks since, no plunder excepting a few Household Utensils of little value: The Meeting-house was built of Timber 60 Foot long, 25 Foot wide, & 18 Foot studd ceiled with Clapboards, in it were only only a few old Popish Relicks; the School-house lay at one end distinct, all which they burnt, near to it was a Field of Corn ungathered, which may be imputed to the Enemy's desertion by the consternation that seized them at the Ransacking of the Eastern *French & Indian* Settlements the last Summer, our men hail and lusty, and if need were, fit for a new Enterprize.—*The Boston News-Letter, 47, Monday, March 12, 1704-5.*

SUPPLEMENT.

10

[3.] *Province of the Massachusetts Bay.*

By the GOVERNOUR and COUNCIL.

Whereas by Her Majesties Especial Command to His Excellency, which He received while He was absent on His voyage, Eastward, There was a Proclamation Issued for a General THANKSGIVING upon Thursday the Twelfth of April next, for the Causes.

Since which, the Forces that were sent to Noridgewock, being well returned, and found the Enemy fled, and their Fort deserted: And His Excellency being very wonderfully Preserved from Shipwreck, by the good Providence of Almighty GOD, It's ordered,

That the abovesaid Day be duly Observed for Publick THANKSGIVING: and these Causes are Recommended for Solemn Acknowledgements on the same.

Council-Chamber in Boston,  
March 19th, 1704.

Isaac Addington, Sec.

—*The Boston News-Letter, 49, Monday, March 26, 1704.*

H. B. D.

Morrissania, N. Y., Sept., 1866.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

## IV. SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

LETTER FROM GEORGE T. DAVIS, ESQ., TO THE EDITOR.

To the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

PORTLAND, Aug. 18, 1866.

In Moore's *History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, recently published, I find the following passages relating to the trial of Samuel Smith of Sandwich, in 1719, on the charge of killing his negro.

The author says (p. 97), "A master had killed 'his negro slave, and was about to answer for 'the offence before the Court.'"

He further says (p. 98), "It is greatly to be regretted that the record of the trial, conviction 'and punishment of such an offender should be 'concealed among the neglected rubbish of any 'Massachusetts Court-house.'"

The only authority cited for the charge that Samuel Smith killed his negro slave, is the following indorsement made by Chief Justice Sewall, July 20, 1719, in a letter written by him to Judge Davenport:

"To Addington Davenport, Esq., etc. going 'to Judge Sam<sup>l</sup> Smith of Sandwich, for killing 'his negro.'"

This language must be construed with reference to the well-known powers of the Courts as

they then existed. All that Judge Davenport could have done was to *try* Samuel Smith on the charge of killing his negro; and this is all that the expression of Chief Justice Sewall imports. It is, certainly, no authority for the statement of the killing as an unquestionable historical fact.

Mr. Moore not only alleges as a fact that the crime was committed, but leaves it as an open and doubtful question whether Smith was hung for it.

If Mr. Moore had taken the trouble to consult an authority so accessible and so authentic as Reeman's *History of Cape Cod*, he could have satisfied himself that Smith was certainly not hung for any offense in 1719, as the record shews that he had twelve children born to him from 1720 to 1741. I may mention that the eldest of his children, Thomas, born April 7, 1718, became a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Barnstable County in 1758, continued to hold that office till the Revolution, and upon the re-organization of the Courts, during the Revolution, he was re-appointed to the place he had filled under the Royal Government.

I believe the precise fact to be that Samuel Smith was tried for the alleged crime of murdering his slave, and that on trial he was acquitted of the charge. Such is the uniform local tradition. If Mr. Moore, knowing all this, had simply stated as much, I should have had no reason to trouble you or your readers with this communication. I am very respectfully,

G. T. D.

The records of the case, if in existence, would properly be found in the record-room of the Supreme Court in Boston. The papers of that period are in a disarranged state. I have caused some search to be made in reference to this matter, but so far without success.

## V.—BOSTON: OLD AND NEW.

### I.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE HIGH-WAYS AND ROADS, BOTH EAST AND WEST FROM BOSTON. 1713.

[From TRAVIS's *Almanac* for 1713, Boston, 1713.]

*From Boston to Portsmouth, (Ferry's excepted) 62 Miles, thus accounted.*

**F**rom *Winismit*, to *Owens* 4 Miles, to *Lewes's* 2 & half, to the Sign of the Gally at *Salem* 9, to the Ferry at *Beverly* 1, to *Fisks* at *Wenham* 5, to *Cromtons* at *Ipswich* 6, to *Bennets* at *Rowley* 3 & half, (which is called the half way house) to *Sargeants* at *Newbury*, the upper way by *Thurrel's* Bridge 8, but from *Rowley* the right hand way by the Ferry is but

7 to said *Sargeants*, to *Trues*, or to *Pikes* Gate at *Salisbury* 2 & half, to *Nortons* at *Hampton* 4 & half, to *Sherbons* at said Town 2, to *Johnsons* at *Greenland* 8 & half, and to *Harvies* at the three Tons at *Portsmouth* 5 Miles & half.

*From Boston to New York 255 Miles.*

**F**rom *Boston* South End to *Roxbury* Meeting-house 2 Miles, to *Fishers* at *Dedham* 9, to *Whites* 6, to *Billings* 7, to *Shepards* at *Wading River* 7, to *Woodcocks* 3, to *Turpins* at *Providence* 14, or to the Sign of the Bear at *Seaconeck* 10, to *Providence* 4, to *Potters* in said Town 8, to *Woods* at *Greenwich* 8, to the French-Town 4, to *Crandels* at *Narraganset* 9, to *Allens* at *Stonington* 16, to *Sackstons* in said Town 2, to *New-London* Ferry 15, to the Sign of the Carpenter at *Lime* 13, to *Seabrook* Ferry 5, from the Ferry to *Clarks* 2, to *Killingsworth* 12, to *Guilford* 10, to *Bradford* 12, to *New-Haven* 10, to *Milford* 10, to *Stradford* 4, to *Fairfield* 8, to *Norwalk* 12, to *Standford* 10, to *Horseneck* 7, to *Rye* 7, to *Mari-neck* 4, to *New-Rochel* 4, to *East-Chester* 4, to *King's Bridge* 6, to the half way house 9, and from thence to *New-York* 9 Miles.

### 2.—DIARY OF REV. SAMUEL COOPER, OF THE BRATTLE-STREET CHURCH, 1753-4.

[From the original Manuscript, in his *Almanac* for 1753.]

[*January.*] On ye 7. of this Month, was surpriz'd in the Forenoon as I stood up to Prayer with a Note, for my dear Friend & Brother, Mr. Gray near his End. After ye Communion, I went to his House, & found Him dying:—He had been confin'd a few days with a Colic, wch seem'd to be going off: He had slep't comfortably ye night before, & smoak't a Pipe that Morning: but between 7 & 8 o Clock, was seiz'd with a paralytick Disorder, that at once depriv'd Him of Speech & Reason. He expir'd about 2 P. M. His Death was in many Circumstances so much like my dear Fathers, that ye Sorrows of that day were Strong reviv'd, & added to those of this.

7. Pch'd [*preached*] all day & administer'd L. Sup. Mr. Gray died: popounded for Bapt: Cov't Mary Smith.

11. Was a Bearer at ye Funeral of dear Mr. Gray. Marry'd in Evening. *John Welch*: & *Elizabeth Hall*. Fee £5. O. T.

14. Exchang'd A. M. Mr. Mather. Pch't at home P. M. baptiz'd *Sarah* of Mary Smith: *William* of Mary Doller.

18. Marry'd Jacob Ridgeway: Mary Donham. 30.

21. Pch't all day, at home.

28. Exchang'd Mr. Checkley Jun. A. M. at home P. M.

[February.] 4. Pch't at home all day & administer'd. baptiz'd 2. *Sarah* of *Sarah* & — *Currier*, *Hannah* of *Timothy* & *Abigail* *Fitch*.

11. Exchang'd with Mr Elliot A. M. Pch't at home P. M. marry'd in Evening. *John White*. *Elizab: Beachum*. F. 1 Doll. &  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

18. Dr Chauncey pch't for me A. M. I pch't P. M. baptiz'd *Nathan* of *Nathan* & *Grace* *Spear*.

25. Pch't all day at home.

[March.] 1. Marry'd Benja Hail. *Mary* *Beale*. F. 25s.

2. Pch't Fryday Lecture.

4. Pch't all Day & administer'd. baptiz'd *Abigail* of *Joseph* & — *Greenleaf*.

11. Pch't for Dr Mayhew A. M. Mr Foxcroft for me. at home. P. M.

18. Pch't at home all day. baptiz'd *John* of *Joseph* & *Abigail* *Jackson*.

22. Marry'd Tho<sup>s</sup> Symms. *Rebecca* *Marshall*. Fee a Pistole.

25. Exchang'd Mr Welstead A. M. at home P. M.

[April] 1. Pch't all day & administer'd.

5. Marry'd Dr Simpson Jones of Hopkinton & Grizzel Martin of Boston. F. 3 Doll.

8. Exchang'd Mr Checkley Jun. A. M. at home P. M. baptiz'd, *Susannah* of Benjam- & *Mercy* *Sumner*.

15. Exchang'd Dr Chauncey A. M. at home P. M. baptiz'd *Margarett*. & *Mary*, Twins, of *Henry* & *Margarett* *Newman*, *Abigail* of *Henry* & *Margarett* *Bromfield*. pch't in Evening to Society of young men, at *Dawes*.

19. Exchang'd Mr Welstead A. M. being public Fast. at home P. M.

22. Exchang'd Mr Elliot A. M. at home P. M. Dear Mr Welstead was seiz'd this afternoon in his own Pulpit with a Palsie, just after He had begun Prayer. He had pch't & administer'd the Sacram. at Roxbury in ye Forenoon.

23. Fast for Mr Welstead, by his own Chh. Mr Prince pray'd before, Mr Checkley after Sermon. Dr Chauncey pch't. A. M. Mr Abbot pray'd before, Mr Elliot after Sermon. Dr Sewal pch't P. M.

29. Pch't for Mr Checkley Sen. Checkley Jun: for me A. M. at home P. M. Mr Welstead dy'd about 3 o Clock.

[May] At Funeral of dear Mr Welstead.

4. Mr McCarty pch't Fryday Lect: for Dr Chauncey.

6. Pch't all day & administer'd. baptiz'd *Edward* of *John* (I think) *Bell*, blind man.

13<sup>th</sup> Pch't for Dr Mayhew A. M. Dr Chauncey for me. Mr Ross Candidate fr'm N. Jersey pch't for me P. M. I baptiz'd, *William* of *David* & *Eliz: Bell*.

20. Pch't for Mr Checkley jun: Mr Elliot for me A. M. at home P. M. baptiz'd *John* of *Solomon* & *Elizabeth* *Davis*.

27. Pch't all day at home.

[June] 6. At Fun. of Col. Dawn.

10. Exchang'd Mr Mather A. M. at home P. M. baptiz'd *Elizab* of *Daniel* & *Eliz: Boyer*. & *James* of *Mensa*, free. & *Lettice* Serv't to Mr Staniford.

17. Exchang'd Mr Checkley Jun. A. M. at home P. M. baptiz'd, *William* of *Benjamin* & *Elizab: Eustace*. propound for Communion, *Elizab* *Cromartie*.

21. Marry'd *John Pulling*, *Jerusha* *Bradbury* F. 2 Doll. *Thomas* *Powell*, *Elizab: Hale*. F. 1 Doll.

24. Pch't all day.

28. Pch't Thursday Lecture.

[July] 1. Pch't & administer'd A. M. admittid *Eliz: Cromartie*. Dr Chauncey Pch't for me P. M.

8. Pch't at N. Brick. A. M. Mr Fayrweather for me. Mr Prescot of Salem for me P. M.

15. Pch't at home all day. baptiz'd 2. *Elizab: of Isaac* & *Eliz: Smith*. *Elizab: of Elizab. Cromartie*.

19. Marry'd *James Top*, *Joanna* *Price*. F.  $\frac{1}{2}$  Doll.

22. Pch't for Mr Checkley Jun: A. M. Mr Elliot for me. pch't at home P. M. baptiz'd *Sarah* of *James* *Dodg*.

29. Exchang'd with Mr Prince A. M. at home P. M.

[August] 5 Pch't A. M. & administer'd. Dr Sewal pch't for me P. M. I baptiz'd 3. *Joseph* of *Benj: & Mary* *Hallowell: Thomas* of *Story* & *Sarah* *Daws*. *Thomas* of *John* & — *Edwards*.

8. Pch't to Society for encouraging Industry &c collected, 453.£.

12. Pch't at Work-House A. M. Mr Checkley Jun for me. at home P. M.

19. Pch't at home all day. baptiz'd *Gideon* *Ray* of *Thomas* — *Hubbart*.

23. Marry'd Rev'd *Joseph* *Parsons*. Mr's *Elizab: Scott*.

2. [26 ?] Pch't at home A. M. Mr Parsons P. M. baptiz'd *Walley*, of *Joseph* & *Mary* *Sherburn*.

[September] 2. Pch't all day & administer'd.

9. Exchang'd Mr Elliot A. M. at home P. M.

16. Mr Pemberton of N. York. pch't for me A. M. at home P. M. baptiz'd, *Pheeb*, of *Benj: & Hannah* *Colman*.

18. This Evening embark't on board Capt. *Saunders* in ye Province Sloop on a Voyage to *George's*: with the Commissioners for renewing the Peace with ye Indians.

23. Kep't Sabbath in Towns End Harbor: & pch't all day on board. Mr Elliot pch't for me A. M. Mr Parsons of *Bradford* P. M.

30. Kep't Sabbath on board ye Sloop in *Kennebec* River: & pch't all day. Mr Foxcroft pch't for me A. M. D. Chauncey. P. M.

[October] 4. Arriv'd at Kittery; and din'd with Commissioners at S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Pepperell's.

5. Din'd at Capt Wibird's at Portsmouth. sat out P. M. for Boston in a Chair with Brother Cooper.

7. Our Horse having tired, kept Sabbath at Malden attended Communion at Mr Emerson's: din'd with him: pray'd P. M. having no Notes, He preach't.

D<sup>r</sup> Sewal pch't & adminis-for me A. M. Mr Prince pch't for P. M. arriv'd at my own House about 8 o'Clock in Evening—Laus Deo.

14. Pch't at home all day Gave Baptism. Cov't to Margery Tilloch. propounded for Bap: Covt. John Mico Wendell.

Married in Ev—Benj<sup>n</sup>: Walcut: Eliz—Marshal. F. 2 Dollars.

21. Exchang'd with Mr Checkley Jun. A. M. pch't at home P. M. baptiz'd, William Brattle of John Mico & Katherine Wendell.

28. Exchang'd Mr Mather A. M. At home P. M. Baptiz'd Jane of — & Margery Tilloch [November] 1. Public Thanksgiving; pch'd all day at home.

4. Pch't A. M. & administer'd. D<sup>r</sup> Chauncey for me P. M.

8. Married Noah Dogget: & Mary Clark. Fee 1 Dollar.

11. Pch't at Mr Elliots: Mr Checkley Sen. for me A. M. at home P. M. baptiz'd William of W<sup>m</sup> & Mehetabel Hyslop.

13. Married. Joseph Eustice, Ann Beers. F. 1 Dollar.

15. Pch't Thursday Lecture.

18. Pch't at home all day. baptiz'd Phillip of Isaiah Odbur. gave to him Bapt: Cov't. propounded for same, Jacob Ridgeway. & Abigail Blackman for Communion.

25. Pch't at home A. M. D<sup>r</sup> Sewall for me P. M. I baptiz'd John of Jacob Ridgeway.

30. I pch't Fryday Lecture.

[December] 2. Pch't all day & administer'd. admitted Abigail Blackman.

9. Pch't at Work House: D<sup>r</sup> Chauncey for me A. M. at home P. M.

13. Married, Honble: John Osborn, M<sup>rs</sup> Elizab: Pierce Fee. ½ Guin. John Sever of KingsTown, Judith Cooper of Boston.

16. Pch't for Mr Checkley Sen: Mr Checkley Jun: for me A. M. at home P. M.

18. Married Josias Byles & Mary Dixwell. Fee. a Guinea.

30. Exchang'd with Mr Elliot A. M. pch't at home P. M. baptiz'd 2 Martha of Benj: & Elizab. Brandon. William of W<sup>m</sup> Dall.

6 Jan. 1754. Pch't all day & administer'd adm. to Communion Sarah Savage, baptiz'd Mary of Andrew & Sarah Hall.

Jan. 13. Pch't all day. baptiz'd 2. Mary of Martin & Mary Gay. Katherine of Jonas & Mary Fitch.

3 Sabbath in Jan. Exchang'd with D<sup>r</sup>. Chauncey, A. M. at home, P. M.

4 Sabb. Pch't all day. baptiz'd Elizabeth of Timothy & Abigail C. Fitch.

Feb. 1<sup>st</sup>. Marry'd Jonathan Simpson & Margaret Letchmere.

4. Pch't all day & administer'd.

11. Exchang'd Mr Checkley Jun. A. M. Pch't at home P. M. baptiz'd 2. Susannah of W<sup>m</sup>. & Mary Greenleaf: Hepzebah of — More—held up by D. Parker.

13. Marry'd Thos<sup>s</sup> Phillips: & Mary Barron. F. 3£

### 3.—RECORDS OF PAUPERISM, 1813.

[From *Miscellaneous Remarks on the Police of Boston*, Ed. Boston, "Feb. 1814."]

The number of persons, of both sexes, and of all ages, admitted and registered in the Alms and Work-house, which were united, was - - 570

Of these there were Alms-house subjects	495
Work-house subjects	
or vagabonds-----	75 570

Number of Alms-house subjects, as above,	495
Of these, there belonged to Boston-----	152
To other towns in Massachusetts*-----	80
"Foreigners"†-----	263 495

Number of Work-house subjects, as above,	75
Of these, there belonged to Boston-----	26
To other towns in Massachusetts-----	18
"Foreigners"-----	31 75

## VI.—ATTEMPT TO BURN THE BRITISH FRIGATES IN THE NORTH RIVER, IN JULY, 1776.‡

BY ONE OF THE PARTY.

MESSRS. LOVEJOY & MILLER:—

I send you for insertion in your paper, a correct account of the desperate attempt to destroy, by means of fire-ships, the vessels of the enemy in the Hudson, in July '76. Having seen in *The Worcester Magazine* a narrative of that expedition, in the main correct, but inaccurate and defective in many particulars, I am induced to correct that statement, by sending you a detailed account of the whole affair. The narrative in

\* "The persons belonging to other towns, are to be considered as boarders, waiting to be removed to their respective "homes." (p. 6.)

† By this term were noticed not only all those who were of European birth, but those who "belonged to" the other States of the Union.

‡ From an old copy of *The St. Louis Times*.

*The Worcester Magazine* appears to have been compiled from the verbal statement made by Mr. Joseph Bass, who I know was attached to the expedition. I presume that the inaccuracies admitted into that article arose from a wrong recollection of the facts. Being one of the small party engaged in that desperate undertaking, all the circumstances are indelibly impressed upon my memory, and I can give you them, as I think, without addition or omission.

The fire-vessels were an Albany sloop of about ninety tons burthen, and a schooner of about sixty tons. Under the superintendence of Commodore Tupper, they were fitted for the expedition at New York, in the following manner: The holds of the vessels were filled with empty hogsheds, to prevent them from sinking, in case the enemy's shot should strike their hulls. Two troughs were then placed the whole length of the deck, on each side, one end of which went through the bulk-head of the cabin, at which end the train was to be fired. An opening was made in the stern of each vessel, through which the man who fired the train might escape into the whale boat that was to be in attendance for that purpose.

The troughs were about six inches wide and ten deep; and, as I said before, they extended from the bows to the cabin. In each trough was laid a train of mealed powder, half-an-inch or more in depth, which was then covered with wheat straw about twelve inches long, dipped in brimstone. The trough was then filled with black birch twigs, made into small fagots fifteen to eighteen inches in length, and dipped into melted rosin. By the side of each trough were placed a number of empty barrels, each of which was then filled with pitch-pine fagots, split fine and covered with melted rosin. Two more barrels filled with the same materials were placed each side of the mast, and then the whole deck was closely stowed, up to the gunwale, with birch twigs dipped in rosin. Strips of canvas, six or eight inches in width, dipped in spirits of turpentine, covered all the standing rigging from the deck to the mast-head.

There were square sail and spritsail yards to both vessels, and grappling irons fastened to the end of each yard, to the flying-jibboom, and to the gaff and main boom, with chains that led down and were bolted to the deck.

The vessels being in readiness, the command of the sloop was given to Thomas Updike Fosdick, of New London, Connecticut, then an Ensign in the Company of the Regiment of Colonel Charles Willis's Continental troops. Ensign Fosdick's crew consisted of Gideon Beebe and myself of the same company and regiment as above, and Joseph Bass, who was appointed by Commodore Tupper, steersman of the whale-boat in which

we were to make our escape. His Company and Regiment, I do not recollect. The remaining five of our crew were from Webb's Regiment—the crew of each vessel consisting of nine men.

The schooner was given to Lieutenant Thomas, a native of Rhode Island, whose Christian name I never knew. I do not even know to what Regiment he belonged; some of his men were from Willis's Regiment.

Everything being now in readiness, we started from New York up the North River, with a light and variable wind. Our progress was very slow, as we could not make sail to advantage, on account of the grappling irons and chains, which, as I have said, were affixed to the yards of the vessels. The weather at this time was rainy and drizzling. The next day after we left New York, we got up the river as far as Spiking Devil Creek, where were lying three new galleys, which had received orders from General Washington to take us in tow and proceed immediately up the river that night as far as it would be safe for them to venture. The night was very dark, foggy and rainy; and when we left Spiking Devil Creek in search of the enemy's ships, we could not discern any object at the distance of fifty yards. We steered, however, for their ships according to the best of our judgment, and while we were under full headway, a stroke from the bell of their frigate, the *Phoenix*, apprised the galleys of their danger. They immediately cast us off, bid us "Good-bye and God speed," and made the best of their way down the river. After they left us, we steered our course by the sound of the ship's bell, and the sentinel's cry of "All's well!"

The orders of Commodore Tupper were, that Captain Thomas with his schooner, should keep about one hundred yards ahead of Captain Fosdick's sloop, and grapple the bow of the *Phoenix*, while Captain Fosdick should come up and fasten to her stern. But as it happened, Captain Thomas being in advance came first in contact with a tender that was moored in a direct line ahead of the *Phoenix*. The darkness of the night prevented him from knowing what vessel it was; and he was obliged to grapple her and fire his train, by which means the tender was soon consumed. The flames of these two vessels made it as light as day; and the enemy's ships commenced a tremendous fire of cannon and small arms upon our vessel; many of their shot struck our hull, without doing much injury. We kept our course, and succeeded in grappling the bows of the *Phoenix*, amidst the roar of cannon and the volleys of small arms from the marines.

We fired our train, and the sloop remained grappled to the *Phoenix*, burning with great fury for the space of twenty minutes. At length the enemy succeeded in clearing their ship, by cutting

their bow cable, and letting the ship drift with the tide, and then bringing up with their stern anchor, by which means the force of the tide separated the two vessels—the fire-ship drifted to the shore and burnt to the water's edge. We came off in our boat in safety—not a man of us was hurt, nor was the boat damaged in the least by the tremendous fire from the ships of volley after volley, and broadside after broadside. We had, indeed, a hair-breadth escape from death, for which we were indebted to the kind Providence of God, who vouchsafed us a safe return to New York, where with joy and mutual rejoicing we joined our Regiment.

The next day after our arrival in New York, it came out in General Orders, that those brave men who went up the Hudson in the fire-ships, should appear at Head Quarters, at ten o'clock in the morning. At the appointed hour we were there, when General Washington coming out of his room, congratulated us on our escape, thanking us for our services and bravery, although we were not fortunate enough to burn their ships; and as a reward of our gallantry, gave us each an order on the Paymaster for forty dollars. This sum was thankfully received, and going to our tents, we spent the evening with our friends and fellow soldiers, in drinking the health of General Washington and success to the Independence of America!

Captain Thomas, in his schooner, being, as I said before, ahead of our sloop, came down upon a tender that was moored just ahead of the *Phenix*; and finding himself unable to get away, grappled her, and fired his train. He and his crew were by no means, however, so fortunate in escaping, as we were in Captain Fosdick's boat. The weather, as I said before, having been wet and drizzly, Captain Thomas had the troughs of his vessel primed anew, for fear some dampness had been communicated to the powder. He also opened the ends of each of them at the bow, in order that the trains might be fired at both ends, thinking, even in this case, those appointed to fire them might make their escape. Mistaken and unfortunate idea. In an instant both he and his men were enveloped in flames.

Two of the crew, Thomas Harris of New London, Conn., and Mr. Burns, I think of Hartford, succeeded, with great difficulty, in getting into the boat, very badly burnt. Captain Thomas and three of his men jumped into the river and were drowned. Three of his men were in the boat at the time of the firing of the train. The disaster which befell Captain Thomas and his crew was wholly owing to their imprudence, in firing the train at both ends.

Mr. Harris, who was a townsman of mine (he is since dead,) and myself, have often, when sitting under our vine and fig-tree in our native town,

talked over, with swelling hearts, the dreadful dangers which surrounded that little band of eighteen men, the most of whom are no more.

STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD, SR.

## VII.—BOOKS.

### 1.—NEW PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*The Female Review* Life of Deborah Sampson the female soldier in the War of the Revolution with an introduction and notes by John Adams Vinton Boston Wiggin & Lunt 1866 Quarto and Royal Quarto, pp. 267.

The story of Deborah Sampson, like that of Charlotte Temple, is widely known and as widely misunderstood. It seems to have been "founded" "on facts," but spoiled in the preparation for the market, by a most liberal dilution of fiction, of the most worthless character.

The *facts*, as Mr. Vinton has presented them, are soon told. Deborah was born in 1760—a native of Plymouth County, Mass.; and a descendant of William Bradford, John Alden, and Miles Standish. She was admitted a member into the Baptist Church, in Middleborough in 1780; and although she was so royally descended, she appears very soon after, to have "behaved very 'loose and unchristian-like,' for which and for her assumption of 'men's clothing,' the Church, in 1782, withdrew fellowship from her. She was evidently a girl of questionable reputation; and in one of her freaks, she appears to have enlisted in the Continental army, under the name of Robert Shurtleff. It does not certainly appear *when* she thus enlisted, as she swore differently at different times; but Mr. Vinton reasonably concludes that she entered the army in 1782, and thus knocks into pieces one of Deborah's most interesting affidavits in which she averred that she was present, in the ranks, when Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown.

We thought that we knew something of the history of the War of the Revolution, particularly that portion of it which relates to the occurrences in this County; and of that, we thought we best knew just what occurred in the vicinity of Tarrytown. There may have been a fight there, in 1782, between the Skinners and Cowboys, or between the inhabitants and one or both of these gangs of rowdies, but we venture little in saying that there was no such fight as Deborah has described, at the period referred to, in the vicinity of Tarrytown; that there was no fight between 1781 and 1784, near Tarrytown in which the Continental Troops encountered any of the DeLancey regiment, as described by Deborah; and that that portion, at least, is as heartless a falsehood, as are other portions of her affidavits.

Indeed, we regard the greater portion of the

narrative as a deliberate falsehood; and we are at a loss to account for the re-production of it in so attractive a style and with so much ill-deserved Editorial attention.

The volume is a beautiful specimen of typography, from the press of Rand & Avery; and of the edition of Two hundred and eighty-five copies, thirty-five were printed on Large paper.

2.—*History and General Description of New France.* By the Rev. F. F. X. de Charlevoix, S. J. Translated with notes, by John Gilmary Shea. In six volumes. Vol. I. New York: John Gilmary Shea, 1866. Quarto and Octavo, pp. 287.

The first volume of Mr. Shea's translations of Father Charlevoix's History, has appeared from the press of C. Rand and Avery, Boston; and the reading public will welcome it as one of the most useful of the "fine books" which are flowing so plentifully from the American Press.

When it shall be remembered that the New France of which Father Charlevoix wrote was larger, in extent of territory, than the whole of modern Europe, and that its History underlies that of many of our sister States and is necessary to a complete view of that of many others, the importance of this work to every reader of American history will be entirely apparent. Mr. Shea's intimate acquaintance with the subject has enabled him to make useful additions to the good Father's original volumes, in the Notes which he has introduced; and, at the price at which it is sold,—Five dollars for the octavo, and Ten for the quarto,—it is one of the cheapest as well as one of the best, of the recently issued books of its class.

The edition was Two hundred and seventy-five, of which only Twenty-five were on Large paper.

3. *Remarks on the Early Paper Currency of Massachusetts.*—Read before the American Antiquarian Society, April 25, 1866. By Nathaniel Paine. Cambridge: John Wilson & Sons. 1866. Large octavo, pp. 66.

In this beautifully-printed tract, we have the well-considered and intelligent "Remarks" of the excellent Cashier of the National Bank of Worcester, on "the paper money" of the Bay Colony, from the earliest example, in 1646, until the opening of the War of the Revolution; with a passing allusion to the subsequent issues, including our own "Greenbacks"—subjects which he handles with the skill of a master, both in finance and history. He notices, however, other subjects, connected with the issue of paper money; and it is refreshing to see in such a work as this, the sober truths, boldly spoken, that the "large issue" of a paper-currency, in our days, "produces many of the same effects as in earlier years; prices of all commodities increase rapidly; the bills depreciate in value; and the spirit of speculation seems to have taken possession of

"our people"—doctrines of the exact truth of which no reasonable man can entertain a doubt, although hundreds deny it.

The work is elegantly printed by John Wilson & Son, of Boston, and is illustrated with a series of photographs of the different issues of paper-currency in Massachusetts. The edition numbered fifty copies, and was printed, we believe, exclusively for private circulation.

4. *Official Register of Rhode Island Officers and Soldiers who served in the United States Army and Navy, from 1861 to 1866.*—Published by order of the General Assembly, January Session. 1866. Large octavo, pp. iv., (unpaged,) 829.

In this beautiful volume, Rhode Island has recorded the services in the recent war, of her First Regiment of Detached Militia, the Second, Fourth, Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Regiments of Volunteers, the Hospital Guards, the First, Second, and Third Regiments of Cavalry, the Third, Fifth, and Fourteenth Regiments of Heavy Artillery, the First and Tenth Light Batteries, and the First Regiment Light Artillery—why the services of her other regiments were omitted, is not stated.

The services of each Regiment and Battery are separately narrated; and, following these several narratives, are lists of the officers and men who served in them, their residences, the dates of their muster, and remarks on their careers.

The noble little State has done well to place her record thus permanently before the world; and we hope the example will be followed by each of her sister Commonwealths.

5. *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia.*—By William Stith. A.M. New York: Reprinted for Joseph Sabin, 1865. Quarto and octavo, pp. viii., viii., 331, v. 34.

The importance of Stith's *Virginia* is widely known, and the enormous cost of it has appalled many an anxious student, in his search for the sources of authentic information on the subject of which it treats. Mr. Sabin has done good service, therefore, in the cause of historical literature, by thus re-producing it, at a moderate price. Not so much interest need be attached to this service by mere collectors, who generally possess the work, or by students who are near the large cities, who can have ready access to original copies of it; but to the readers of history, scattered over our wide country, in the villages and smaller cities, the re-publication of such works as this, is a perfect God-send; and we have no doubt they will appreciate and reward it.

The volume is printed in old-style type, with rubricated title, on tinted laid paper—the work of Mr. C. A. Alvord, of New York; and, we think, one of the finest of his issues.

6.—*Harper's Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion.* By Alfred H. Guernsey and Henry M. Alden. Part First. New York: Harper & Bros. Folio, iv, 380.

In this volume, which notwithstanding its size is very handsomely printed, we find a history of the war, from the beginning until the close of the campaign of 1862, bountifully illustrated with more than five hundred wood-cuts, many of which are of very large size and nearly all of them of very superior quality—indeed, some of them rival, in effect, the ordinary steel-engravings of the day.

We do not propose to go over the entire work, looking for beauties of style or defects in the narrative, but we cannot refrain from expressing our unqualified dissent from the statement, in the opening paragraph of the work, concerning the character of the Colonists in America, before the Revolution, and the date when they "took a place among the nations" of the earth. *First:* The inhabitants of the territory now known as "The United States," were never homogeneous nor are they homogeneous to-day—that is just where the trouble has been and just where it will remain. *Second:* The man who supposes the Dutch character is not visibly and widely impressed on that of New York, to-day, is either not a very close observer or not very well acquainted with our neighbors—even the emigrant New Englander or Pennsylvanian require an acclimation of character and habit before he can become wholly and successfully one of us. *Third:* The United States—or as the term was then written "the united States"—took their places "among the nations" about the fourth of July, 1776; and they have never left those places, for a single moment, since that date.

It is also very evident that the authors have not become very thoroughly acquainted with either the contents of the Declaration of Independence or the result of its publication. This is seen in the muddy account of them on page 3, and in their engraving of Mr. Jefferson's *original draft* of the Declaration, to which they have appended the signatures of the members, as if that draft was thus signed, instead of the *amended copy* of the revised copy of that draft. This feature in the authors of this volume, is also evident in their wonder that the people of 1776 were so slow in their progress to a centralization of power and an investiture of the Federal officers with the attributes and name of a Sovereign—just as if that principle was not just the opposite of that for which they declared in the Congress and fought in the field. The real trouble, in this case, is in the Authors' want of knowledge on the subject, rather than in the ignorance and inconsistency of the men of 1776. That "beam" of which we read, is more noteworthy in the eye of the former, than the "mote" which is seen in the eye of the latter.

From this, and other evidence which we have not room to notice in detail, we doubt the value, as *History*, of the Authors' *Introduction to this volume*; yet, we see little in their narrative of the military operations which we disapprove. With one correction only, therefore, we close the volume, with a hearty commendation of it, for the sake of its numerous illustrations. The correction to which we refer is that of the statement (page 357) that General Robert E. Lee is a son of General Henry of the Revolutionary army—"Light-horse Harry," so called. He is, instead, the son of General Henry Lee's son, Major Henry, who died about thirty years since. As General Lee is one of the heroes of the narrative, it seems to be unfortunate that more attention was not paid to his memoirs.

7.—*Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, containing Province Records and Court Papers from 1680 to 1692: Notices of Provincial Councilors, and other articles, relative to the early history of the State. Vol. viii. Edited by Nathl. Bouton, D.D. Concord, 1866. Octavo, pp. xvi., 484.

The title of this volume will indicate the character of its contents.

The Province Records are exceedingly meagre; and the greater number of the Court Papers possess no general interest whatever. The "Notices of some of the Early Councilors of New Hampshire," by the Hon. Samuel D. Bell, are interesting and useful, although necessarily brief and imperfect. An article on "The Massacre at Dover, 1689," re-produces the story of Mrs. Christina Baker, the great-great-grandmother of John Wentworth of Chicago. A paper on the "Character of the Penacooks," and one on the "Indian Mode of applying names," both by Rev. Dr. Ballard, of Brunswick, Me., are well written and able, as such of our readers know as have read his brief contributions to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Several minor articles, one by Hon. Samuel D. Bell, and another by our friend, Captain W. F. Goodwin, on the use of the words "Colony" and "Province," as applied to New Hampshire, close the volume.

We cannot say that we think much of this collection as a whole; and we are sorry that the five hundred pages were not occupied with something more worthy of so old and so honorable a Society as that which published it. Besides, we consider that *any* alteration of the text of a document, either ancient or modern, is unbecoming and destructive of its authority and value, as a historical paper. For this reason, we entirely disapprove the alteration in the orthography, &c., of the greater number of the papers published in this volume—they possess, in their present form, no authority whatever; and they are not even interesting, as curiosities in literature.

The mechanical execution of the work is very good, but it would have been better if the proofs had been read more carefully, as, for instance, in the Note on page 1, which shows a mistake of a hundred years; and no mechanic possessing any taste, should have allowed the text of the Records to be mixed up with the Editor's Notes (pp. 1, 39, &c.), or run the Court Papers in with other papers, without a distinguishing caption (p. 39), or failed to distinguish the leading divisions of the work with bastard-titles (pp. 1, 305, 395). We had a right to expect better things from the printers of this volume.

A ninth volume is promised, in which we trust no mutilated or altered papers will be allowed a place.

8.—*Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*. Comprising a description of the Indian Nomads of the Plains; explorations of new territory; a trip across the Rocky Mountains in the winter; description of the habits of different animals found in the West, and the methods of hunting them; with incidents in the life of different frontier men; &c., &c. By Colonel R. B. Marcy, U. S. A. New York: Harper & Bro., 1866. Octavo, pp. 442.

We have seldom taken up a book in which we have found so much amusement as in this; yet it instructs while it amuses, and entertains without debauching its reader.

It gives a minute description of the character and habits of the Prairie Indians, illustrated with neatly-told anecdotes; and its accounts of border life, of border adventures, and of border hardships, is among the most graphic and interesting.

Historically considered, this book is quite noteworthy. We have had description after description of the virtues and vices, the habits and manners, the hardships imposed on and the outrages endured by, the Indians on the Atlantic coast and on the eastern borders of the Mississippi basin; but we have not seen before, in so convenient a form as this, any reliable description of the habits and every-day life of the tribes in the Far West, as they are in our day. For this reason, if for no other, this volume will be found a useful addition to the libraries of the students of our history; and, at the same time, it will be welcomed by those who read only "to kill time," as one of the most interesting issues of the day.

9.—*History of the Atlantic Telegraph*. By Henry M. Field, D.D. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 367.

In this little volume, which was issued within a few days after the opening of telegraphic communication with Europe, Doctor Field has given what may be considered, we suppose, an authentic history of the greatest triumph of modern science. It shows, however, the bad effects of undue haste in its preparation; and it is, probably, intended only as a forerunner of another

volume, which will be more worthy of the subject.

10.—*Four Years in the Saddle*. By Colonel Harry Gilmour. New York: Harper & Bros., 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 291.

Personal narratives of those who participate in any event, afford the best evidence concerning that event. They are the testimony of eye-witnesses and actors; and there can scarcely be found any authority which is more important.

The volume before us is just such a narrative; and, although the passions of some have condemned its publication, such censure might just as sensibly have followed the issue or the use of Tarleton's or Stedman's, of Simcoe's or Fanning's, of Howe's or Clinton's volumes, the value of which is known to all our readers.

The style of the author of this volume is easy and unrestrained; and he recounts his various operations, with the same coolness with which he performed them. We do not pretend to know how truly he has written; but we shall require some other testimony than any we have yet seen, to induce us to condemn the narrative, in the form in which we find it.

It must be considered an original authority, on some of the most interesting incidents of the war.

11.—*A Narrative of Andersonville*: drawn from the evidence elicited on the Trial of Henry Wirz, the jailer; with the argument of Col. N. P. Chipman, Judge Advocate. By Ambrose Spencer. New York: Harper & Bros., 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 272.

There are some men who insist that they, of all men, are the best adapted to do some particular work; and, although nine times out of ten, they are wholly unfit for the task, they arrogantly assume a commission from the Almighty, and repeat what has been better done already, by some other person.

Mr. Spencer is one of these consequential individuals; and when he tells us, in his Preface, that it is cause of great regret to him that he has "been forced to repeat and publish that "which it would have been better to bury for "ever from public sight," he simply tells what he knows is a falsehood. *Who* forced him to re-hash the officially garbled and imperfectly published testimony against Wirz? *Why* was he thus forced? *Why* was he selected as the victim of such an outrage? It is very evident that no one but his publishers and himself were the parties to the transaction; the former, therefore, must have been accessories to the fact of Mr. Spencer's violation, if he speaks truly! Such silly lies are too transparent to need particular refutation.

The character of the narrative may be judged by this specimen of the author's ability to tell it correctly. It is simply a repetition of the

Government's argument and of that portion of the testimony which the Government permitted to see the light; and it rests on the naked word of the Judge-advocate-general of the army, and seems to desire no better foundation.

There is an unwritten history of all these prisons, however, which it is the interest of interested parties to keep out of sight; and they can best promote their peculiar purposes by the issue of such works as this. The day is not far distant, we hope, when History shall assert her authority and those corrupt and heartless creatures, within our own lines, who prevented the exchange of prisoners, and intensified, if they did not produce, their misery, for purposes of their own, receive the condemnation which they have so richly earned.

12.—*Relation des Affaires du Canada, En 1696.* Avec des Lettres des Pères de la Compagnie de Jesus de puis 1696 jusqu'en 1702. Nouvelle-York: De la presse Cramoisy de Jean-Marie Shea, 1865. Duodecimo, pp. 73.

*Relation de la Mission Abnauisque de St. Francois de Sales l'Annie 1702.* Par le Père Jacques Bigot, De la Compagnie de Jesus. Nouvelle-York: Jean-Marie Shea, 1865. Duodecimo, pp. 26.

*Lettre du Père Jacques Gravier, de la Compagnie de Jesus, Le 23 Fevrier, 1708, Sur les Affaires de la Louisiane.* Nouvelle-York: Jean-Marie Shea, 1865. Duodecimo, pp. 18.

These three works, bound together, form a volume of Mr. Shea's very important Cramoisy Series of *Relations* of the early Catholic Missions in America—a series which no well-appointed Library can dispense with, especially those in the Western parts of the Union.

The first of these tracts contains a paper on the War against the Iroquois, 1696; a Relation of the Mission at the Sault St. Francois Xavier, 1696, by Father J. de Lamberville; one of the Mission among the Illinois, 1696, by Father Gravier; a letter from Ville Marie, September, 1697, by Father Gravier; a letter from Chicago, April, 1699, by M. de Montigni; a letter from the Illinois Mission, 1700, by Father Gabriel Marest; a letter from Point aux Trembles, 1702, by Father P. L. Chaigneau; a Relation of Detroit, by M. de Ponchartrain; two letters from the Illinois Mission, 1699, by Fathers Gabriel Marest and Julien Binneteau; and a letter from the Abnauquis Mission, 1699, by Father Bigot. The contents of the other two tracts are sufficiently indicated in their respective titles.

The importance of the series of tracts of which this volume forms the thirteenth volume, to all who seek information concerning the early history of the country, seems to be very little understood, except among the very few who have plunged into the most hidden recesses of the archives of the Continent; and Mr. Shea will some day receive, for this and for his parallel series of *American* [Aboriginal] *Linguistics*, the grateful acknowledgments of the literary world.

We believe that the edition of this series of *Relations* is limited to one hundred copies—a greater number than probably finds purchasers in these days of frivolity and recklessness.

13.—*GWAN'S BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA.*—*Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in America*, being a true account of the country; with its produce and commodities there made in the year 1685. By Thomas Budd. A new edition, with an Introduction and copious Historical Notes, by Edward Armstrong, Member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, &c. New York: William Gowans, 1865. Octavo and quarto, pp. 111.

Mr. Gowans was one of the first to begin reprinting rare tracts relating to the Middle Colonies, having begun his series in 1845, with *DENTON'S New York*, edited by Gabriel Furman. *WOOLLEY'S Journal* and *MILLER'S New York in 1695*, followed; and now a fourth volume is added, consisting of the very curious tract of Edward Budd. It is well and handsomely printed on fine, clear, white paper, all that could be desired in a handsome book, with no affectation of eccentricity or pretension to unusual beauty.

Mr. Armstrong's account of Budd is quite interesting. He appears to have been the son of a clergyman of the Church of England who embraced the doctrines of George Fox, and died in prison at Ilchester for refusing to take an oath originally passed for the oppression of Roman Catholics. His son, Thomas Budd, the author of this tract, emigrated to West Jersey in 1678, and took so prominent a part in public matters that he was sent, in 1684, to England, as a Commissioner of the Colony, to negotiate matters relative to Byllinge's claims. It was while he was in England on this business that he published this tract, which was given to the printer October 25, 1685.

In the troubles raised by Keith, Budd seems to have adhered to that discontented member of the Society, and died, finally, early in 1698, it would seem at Philadelphia.

His tract, prompted by public spirit, contains views of much originality and forecast.

The Notes, by Mr. Armstrong, show great research and a resolute and successful attempt to bring all possible information necessary to elucidate the text.

Mr. Gowans' Catalogue, appended to the tract, is interspersed with extracts from an unpublished work, entitled *Western Memorabilia*, and composed of scraps well worth reading, which give his views of men and things—the result of a not unobservant or unintelligent experience of many years, in New York and elsewhere, which make him for several reasons one of the remarkable men in the great city.

Of the edition of this work, sixty are quartos.

14.—*History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth.* By James Anthony Froude. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1865-'6. Crown octavo, pp. Vol. I, 447; II, 501; III, 480; IV, 508; V, 474; VI, 495.

The History of England, brought to the test of modern criticism and to the light of modern investigation, is as unlike the Histories of England which our fathers read and believed, as the History of Slavery in Massachusetts, to-day, is unlike the same History as it was before Mr. Moore raised the curtain and showed us the truth concerning it.

In the volumes before us, Mr. Froude has bravely ventured to run outside the rut in which historians of England, like historians everywhere, one after another, have been wont to travel; and the effect has been marvelous. Old things, as in the days of Paul, have passed away, and all things, connected with English history, have become new—Anne Boleyn, for instance, seems to have been anything but a good wife, and Henry VIII. anything but a bad husband. Marvels, equally strange, meet us in almost every chapter; and when the array of original authorities, which the Author brings forward to sustain his remarkable statements, are seen and read, the faith of the reader, in the generally-received written histories of the mother country will be severely shaken.

The extremely neat appearance of these volumes, and their convenient form, will render them very acceptable to the great body of book-buyers.

15. *Records of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England.* Printed by order of the General Assembly. Edited by John Russell Bartlett, Secretary of State. Vol. X. 1784 to 1792. Providence, 1865. Octavo, pp. 527.

This is the tenth and last of the series of volumes, containing the Records of Rhode Island, from the date of its foundation, which that State has given to the world, through her excellent Secretary of State.

As our readers are doubtless acquainted with the importance of the Records of this noble little State, we need not enlarge on that branch of the subject; and the widely-known capability and industry of her Secretary has left little to be desired, either in the plan or the execution of his portion of the work. Close students of American history, everywhere, will welcome the volume, both for the sake of the Records to which they will now have access and for that of the illustrative papers with which Mr. Bartlett has enriched them.

There are two matters, however, which we could have omitted, had we been in Mr. Bartlett's place; and we are very much inclined to think that he will live to regret that he admitted them into a volume where they were wholly unnecessary, if not entirely out of place.

We refer to the admission, into the "Preface" of the volume, of the vexed subject of State Sovereignty; and to the Editor's voluntary, uncalled for, and, we believe, unwarranted declaration that the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations ceased to exist as such, when that State ratified the Constitution for the United States.

Concerning the first of these, fortunately, the New England States, alone, furnish six full-grown examples; and although some worthy State Officer in one of them, shall voluntarily tell us one story, the State itself will tell us another, the moment that *her* individuality shall be invaded, either by the Federal authorities or any other power. Indeed, there is no more complete depository of material with which to refute Mr. Bartlett's idea on this subject, than his own office; and Rhode Island, within our own memory, has most nobly and successfully vindicated her own Sovereignty, by the armed enforcement, against all comers, of her own will concerning the form of her own Government and the membership of her own body.

Concerning the last of Mr. Bartlett's statements, it is a question of History; and History can alone decide it between Mr. Bartlett and those who shall differ from him. That intelligent umpire tells us, through the instrument by which Rhode Island ratified the Constitution, the Seventh Article of that Constitution thus "established between" Rhode Island and her sister States, and the Records of Rhode Island's subsequent action, as a party to the compact, for the amendment of that Constitutional bond of Union, that Mr. Bartlett need not have volunteered to make so grave a statement concerning Rhode Island's existence, as a State; that he had no authority, in fact, to make such a statement; that Rhode Island still lives, as she lived before 1792,—a free, sovereign, and independent State, full-grown and unabridged.

16.—*The Sexagenary; or, Reminiscences of the American Revolution.* Albany: J. Munsell, 1866. Octavo, pp. 224.

One of the earliest of our purchases, in the book line, nearly thirty years ago, was a handsomely printed volume bearing this title, but inscribed with a manuscript note, said to be Dunlap's, that it had been suppressed by the author, whose name was not given. We read the book with the greatest interest; and that was not diminished, years after, when we saw a more recent edition, and learned that it was written by S. DeWitt Bloodgood, Esq., whom we had learned to respect, while a boy, at Ithaca, in this State. Many years after, while engaged in our principal work, this volume became very useful; and we have never ceased to regard it as one of the most valuable of its class.

We have here, a new and elegant edition, apparently with illustrative appendages, mainly documentary; and an Introductory Letter from the Author is also inserted, in which we have a narrative of some of the circumstances which led to its original publication. It is well worthy of a place in every library, both for its intrinsic merits and for the typographical beauty with which it has been dressed.

It may not be generally known that the accomplished writer of this work was taken to his rest, during the recent hot weather, a victim of sun-stroke.

17.—*The Niagara Frontier*: embracing sketches of its early history, and Indian, French, and English local names. Read before the Buffalo Historical Club, February 27, 1865, by Orasmus H. Marshall. Printed for private circulation. Octavo, pp. 46.

This elegant tract contains a paper which was read before the Buffalo Historical Society, at one of its weekly "club meetings," by one of its officers; and both the Society and Mr. Marshall are entitled to more honor than, it is probable, either will receive for so valuable a contribution to the local history of Western New York. Indeed, we have seldom seen so thorough and so well-supported a production, even on a local subject; and its careful, if not exhaustive, examination of the origin and meaning of the Local Names on the Niagara frontier, is worthy of the highest praise.

As a specimen of Western New York book-making, we cannot speak too highly of this tract. If some of our noted Boston and New York printers, of whom we hear so much, can turn out a handsomer job, without bragging, we wish they would do so. J. Warren & Co., of the *Courier* office, it is proper to say, were the printers.

18.—*Origin of the Erie Canal*: embracing a synopsis of the Essays of Hon. Jesse Hawley, published in 1807. A paper read before the Buffalo Historical Club, February 21, 1866. By Merwin S. Hawley. Printed for Private Circulation.

Perfectly uniform in appearance with Mr. Marshall's tract, just described, is this, written for the same body by Mr. Hawley; and, although relating to an entirely different subject, it is equally creditable to the Society and its author.

Mr. Hawley has the rare merit of being perfectly willing to give all due credit to others, while he has a hero of his own; and we are glad to find that Colden and Colles, Geo. Clinton and Elkanah Watson, have places in his consideration, as well as Jesse Hawley, Thomas Eddy, and DeWitt Clinton. The narrative of the early movements on this subject in the Legislature, is also well told; and we have seen, in so small a space, no history of the work which has established the Empire of New York, which will compare with it.

19.—*History of the City of New York, from its earliest settlement to the present time*. By Mary L. Booth. New York: W. R. C. Clark, 1866. Octavo, pp. 850.

A new edition of a work which is well and favorably known to all our readers.

20.—*Temperance Recollections. Labors, Defeats, Triumphs. An Autobiography*. By John Marsh, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 6, 378.

In the temperance cause, as in nearly all others there have been, always, cliques, castes, and parasites. There were plain, working temperance men; and there were exclusives in the cause, who loved to parade their contributions before the gazing world and expected the gazing world to take off its hat and render them honors in return for the sight of their munificence. The latter never co-operated with the former, *except as leaders*: the former went on their way rejoicing, without generally seeming to care for the latter, or for their loftiness.

We remember, very well, the roomy office in the Brick Church Chapel, in Nassau street, where Dr. Marsh pandered to the vanity of a few wealthy men, temperance men, so called, who cared less for the welfare of the masses, if we might judge of the way they labored in the cause, than he did for his living or they did for the notoriety which he gave to their stilted sympathy for Temperance. We do not remember,—who does?—that we ever saw either Doctor Marsh or his supporters at a Dock Meeting, or in a Rechabites' Tent or a Division of the Sons of Temperance; we do remember seeing him as busy as a bee—we suppose for the same purpose—when a Convention was to be engineered or the result of *some others'* hard work was to be celebrated. In short, we remember the Doctor and his "Union" and their *Journal*, just as we remember other fossils, as something to look at, but of no other earthly use to any body.

In this volume, we have the story, re-told, which he has told before, over and over again—how much other people worked, what other people ought to do, how much "I" and the *Journal* helped the movement of which they were only the flies on the wheel. We have, in this volume, the same enmity to the Sons of Temperance, the same greater enmity to the Rechabites, and the same disregard for, if not hostility, to all Temperance movements which did not begin and end in the Brick Church Chapel, which we saw every day when we were a younger man; and we do not see in it, just how much money, year by year, Doctor Marsh made for his own individual pocket out of his one-horse Temperance machine. Indeed, some people whom we knew were Tee-totalers because they could make more money with less labor than in any other business; others were Tee-totalers because they thought it was the *right*; and their services and their pocket-books

were freely given to support it. The latter were the flowers in God's garden; the former were the humble-bees which buzzed around and made all they could by the operation. If our readers want to know where Doctor Marsh buzzed, let them read this book.

21.—*The Fire Lands Pioneer*: published by the Fire Lands Historical Society. Vol. VII., Sandusky, O., 1866. Octavo, pp. iv., 120.

The proceedings of this association of the Pioneers of North-eastern Ohio, the stories of their early individual adventures, the record of their early abiding-places, must always be interesting, even beyond the limited circles to which they especially refer; and the volume before us is richly laden with just this kind of Material for "History." Our readers, or such of them as collect Local Histories, should not neglect this very important series of publications.

22.—*Testimonial of Respect of the Bar of New York to the Memory of Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson*. New York: Octavo pp. 59.

A neat pamphlet containing a Biography of Mr. Dickinson, Proceedings of the Courts and of the Bar on the occasion of his decease, etc., which will be very acceptable to those who were intimate with him. He was undoubtedly a man of ability and high private worth; of his career as a Politician, we can say little that is favorable, because we can see no consistency in it.

23.—*Address to the Graduating Class of the Law School of Columbia College*, May 16, 1866. By Charles P. Kirkland. New York, 1866. Octavo, pp. 20.

Our good friend, the learned author of this Address, has done well to publish it, in order that others may see what pearls he cast before the swine, on the occasion of its delivery when he was treated so rudely by the nominally genteel crowd of Graduates, &c., who sat in front of him.

The Address is both patriotic and learned, as every one will know who knows its Author; and we perceive that while he is gradually becoming more Republican in his political opinions, he is becoming more Democratic in some others—he prefers the Code of Procedure to the old system of Pleading and Practise; he doubts the propriety of adopting the proposed Code, because of the disarrangement of all existing bodies of Law, in this State; and he bears the strongest evidence of the inexpediency of returning to an "appointed Judiciary."

## VIII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

THE POPHAM COLONY OF 1607.—The 259th anniversary of the founding of the first English Colony in New England was duly honored on the 29th of August last, at the mouth of the Kennebec. A large number of citizens, by means of railroad communications to Bath, and thence by steamboats to the present Fort Popham, gathered to enjoy the historical festivities of the occasion.

The assembly was called to order by the Hon. B. C. Bailey, formerly Mayor of Bath, who, after a brief address, stating the purpose of the celebration, called upon the Rev. Mr. Fiske of the same city to offer prayer. Several speakers had been selected to address the large audience on the topics suited to the day, and were successively introduced by the chairman. The Rev. Mr. Dike, of Bath, spoke of the motives, good and ill, that had influenced the early efforts at discovery and colonization, as developed in successful and unsuccessful efforts to extend the influence and increase the greatness of the nations engaged therein. He then referred to the toils of Fro-bisher, Raleigh, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Gosnold and Smith, as following tardily the discoveries of Cabot, till at length the effort was made by a chartered company to colonize the coast of New England, and introduce here the Laws, Religion, and Government of England. Such an event in History ought to be commemorated.

The Hon. C. J. Gilman, of Brunswick, called attention to the Charter of James I., April 10 1606, as the source whence proceeded the grant of South and North Virginia, and the authority to occupy the same by legally established Colonies. He gave a brief history of the procurement of this instrument, through the energy of the leading minds of England at the time of the endowment; and of the importance of the Popham Colony in the next year, as illustrating its intent and ample provisions. He showed how the successive charters of 1609 and 1611 were the enlargement of that of 1606; and that all the later grants, including that of New England in 1620, and of Massachusetts Bay in 1629, were equally dependent on the Charter of 1606 for their force and vitality. So that all these enterprises were but the fulfilling of the great design of colonization, connected with the great purpose of the last-named charter. There is no antagonism between the Popham and the Plymouth Colonies. They were both the exponents of the grand design of transferring English laws and civilization to these shores. They were both on the same line of progress. He referred to the late Mr. Everett, in speaking of the Plymouth colony, as the first in the work of colonization. But it was *here*, at

the mouth of the Kennebec, that the work began and the way was prepared, which was now successfully followed by the later New England Colonies. All depended on the original charter procured by Popham, Gorges, and their co-laborers in this great enterprise. The Popham colony was the *first*, as one of the Charters says, to "occupy the continent."

The Hon. J. W. Bradbury, of Augusta, urged attention to this annual commemoration, to keep in mind this first Colony. We need not blush for our ancestry. We need to preserve the materials of history. The early Colonies came not from a semi-civilized people, but from the high civilization of the cultivated people of the Old World.

The Hon. J. Y. Scammon, of Chicago, claimed his descent from a veritable member of the Popham company, whose name was "John Scammon, Secretary of the Colony," and therefore he had reason to be proud of his relation thereto. He alluded to Bishop Berkley's line on the "westward course of empire." This Colony was in harmony with its truth; and the West was still waiting multitudes to occupy its rivers, hill-sides and plains.

The day for the celebration was clear and beautiful. Many of the company rambled to view the new Fort, and others to see the location of the old "Fort George" of 1607, and the beautiful lake that bears the honored name of Seymour, the first preacher in the English tongue on the shores of New England. The commemoration was a success, and gave pleasure and satisfaction to all. The same Committee was appointed for the renewal of the celebration next year.

**A REMINISCENCE OF INFANT-SCHOOL DAYS.**—The Newport, R. I., correspondent of the *Providence Journal* tells the following curious and interesting story:

A gentleman who was born in Newport and passed a few of his earlier years here, has just related me the following anecdote, which I am sure he will pardon me for repeating. The facts are as he gave them, (the names alone being withheld) and the occurrence took place but a few years ago, whilst on a short visit to the place of his birth. He remembered that he was sent to school to Marm Jones, when but two years of age, and that he and another child of about the same age were frequently, during school hours, placed in a cradle and rocked by Becky Jones, Marm Jones's daughter, who assisted her mother in the school. The impression of the school-room had remained fresh on his mind. There was a small fireplace across the angle of the room, with tiles on the jams, and the heavy beams on the sides of the room were met at the ceiling by other heavy beams running overhead. This impression he

sometimes supposed, later in life, was a creation of the mind and had no foundation in reality; but he clung to it tenaciously, and at last had it confirmed, and in this way:

Passing up Thames street, he came upon an old building that he felt confident was the scene of his early school days. Pausing to survey it, he asked an old man in the neighborhood if Marm Jones kept a school there forty years ago. "Yes," was the reply, "and she keeps there now." "She has a daughter Becky, who assisted her in the school, is she still living?" "Yes," said the old man, "and in the same house; she is the widow Smith now." This was enough for the inquirer, who once knocked at the low door. The rap was answered by a woman past the prime of life, and he asked, "Are you Mrs. Smith, formerly Miss Becky Jones, who kept school here forty years ago with Marm Jones?" "Yes, Sir," she replied. "Well," said he, "I came to school here at that time, and was then but two years old." "If that is so," said the woman, looking intently at him, "your name must be either Benjamin Long or George Short, for we had two children of that age, and we used to rock them in a cradle when they were tired." "My name is Benjamin Long," said the gentleman; "I remember the rocking, and am anxious to see your mother and the school-room."

On entering a chamber above, to which he was conducted, he said at once, "This is the school-room; there is the fire-place in the angle, with its tiles, and there are the great beams overhead and down the sides of the room." Then the old lady, Marm Jones, a woman of ninety, came in, who, when asked the same questions that had been put to her daughter, said, "We had at that time two children placed under our care, and they were each about two years of age, and to keep them quiet we used to rock them in a cradle. Their names were Benjamin Long and George Short." "This is Benjamin Long," said Becky. The old lady looked incredulous for a moment and then exclaimed, "Why, Benjamin, how thou hast changed; for thou had'st then soft, flaxen hair and thy complexion was fair! there must be something in the air of New York that has changed its color and made thee so brown." The babe she remembered, but she could not recognize in the strong and active man the child she had cared for in its infancy. Where will you find another instance of a school kept for forty years in one place and by the same school-marm?

**THE HEATED TERM.**—*The New Haven Journal* of the 18th July has the following communication from Professor Loomis, of Yale College:

"This afternoon, at 3 P. M., my thermometer suspended in the shade, upon the north side of the New Haven Hotel, indicated 102 3-4 de-

"grees, being the highest temperature known to have been observed in New Haven since 1778—a period of eighty-nine years. The highest temperature recorded before the present season was 102 degrees, viz.: June 24, 1864. Previous to this, the thermometer had been twice observed at 101 degrees, viz.: in 1798, and there have been three other cases in which the thermometer has risen to 100 degrees, viz.: in 1781, 1800 and 1815, making in all seven known instances in which the thermometer, fairly exposed in the shade, has risen to 100 degrees and upward.

"The period just passed has been quite as remarkable for the long continuance of extreme heat as for its intensity. Within a period of eleven days, the thermometer has risen five times to 95 degrees and upward. Since 1778 there has been only one other instance in which the thermometer has risen to this height five times during the same summer, viz.: in 1845, and these cases were spread over an interval of thirty-six days. During the same period there have been but two other cases in which the thermometer has risen to 95 degrees as many as four times during the same summer, viz.: in 1780 and 1798.

"The hottest month at New Haven since 1778 was the month of July, 1825. The heat of the past thirty days has been somewhat higher than that of July, 1825; so that we seem authorized in asserting that the heat of the recent period has been more intense, and the extreme heat has been longer continued, than has occurred before in eighty-nine years, and probably for a much longer period. E. LOOMIS.

"Yale College, July 17, 1866."

THE ANCIENT MINES OF MICHIGAN—WHO WORKED THEM.—An address was recently delivered by Father Jucker, before the Houghton County Historical Society and Mining Institute, on "The Ancient Miners who have worked in Michigan in pre-historic times," from which we gather that the Rev. Father had made diligent inquiry among his Indian acquaintance respecting traditions of these miners; but all professed ignorance on the matter, except John Metakosigo ("the smoker of pure tobacco"), who assured him that they were Gete Wemitogo jiwag. These words really mean "the people possessed of wooden boats," but it is applied to the French and Canadians. That it can be either of these is utterly disproved by the growth of timber and the accumulation of humus in and around the "old pits," and "from certain known facts I do not believe," said Father Jucker, "that the Ogilwa tribe, the present occupiers of this district, date to a more distant period than the discovery of America." But those "ancient miners," who dislodged and

transported unwieldy masses, which probably were not removable in the bark canoes of our present Indians, may have been another race of "people possessed of wooden boats," with whom the ancestors of our present Indians were acquainted. All I feel confident in asserting is this: that if they were expelled more than four hundred years ago, it is in vain to look for well founded traditions among the present Indian residents.—*Journal of Mining.*

A PYRAMID IN THE WEST.—A party of five young men, while on an exploring expedition recently, along the Colorado river, discovered an immense pyramid on a barren plain. It was composed of layers of stone from eighteen inches to nearly three feet in thickness, and from five to eight feet in length. It had a level top of more than fifty feet square, though it was evident that it had been completed, and that some great convulsion of nature had displaced its entire top, as it was evidently lying on one of its sides, a huge and broken mass, nearly covered by the sand.

Its present length is 104 feet, and it must have been formerly full 20 feet higher. This pyramid differs in some respects from the Egyptian pyramids. It is, or was, more slender or pointed; and while those of Egypt are composed of steps or layers, receding as they rise, this American pyramid was, undoubtedly, a more finished structure. The outer surface of the blocks was evidently cut to an angle that gave the structure, when new and complete, a smooth or regular surface from top to bottom.—*N. Y. Tribune, August 14.*

AN ANTIQUITY.—A few days since, the Rev. B. F. De Costa of New York, while making a careful examination of some Indian shell heaps, in Weelfleet, on Cape Cod, succeeded in finding a small carved image which is undoubtedly of Indian manufacture. The sculpture is of soapstone—a stone seldom found on Cape Cod, and represents the human face. Such relics are of extreme rarity, and none of the antiquarian societies hereabouts are so fortunate as to possess a specimen. It is, perhaps, one of those images which represented "the totems of the different Indian families, and their personal gods," which were used in the "mystic rites of the Meday worship," and which, as one testifies, were made the "objects of most piteous regard."—*Boston Transcript.*

UPON a beam of one of the houses recently pulled down near Notre Dame, Paris, the following inscription was found cut in the wood: "I was placed here in the year 1450, and was six hundred years old when they took me from the forest."

**AN INTERESTING COLLECTION.**—A friend interested in the history and antiquities of our country, who has recently visited the room of the Bangor Historical Society, informs us that the Society—though but lately organized—has a very large, valuable and highly interesting collection of aboriginal relics, consisting of arrow and spear heads, hatchets, domestic utensils, together with ancient documents, copies of very early maps, &c. &c., which is well worth the attention of all visitors to that city interested in our early history. The Society is doing a good work in preserving from obliteration and destruction the materials necessary for history, and it is a plan that deserves the greatest encouragement. We sincerely trust the Society will have the encouragement to issue its publications, and that it will at no distant day present us with a creditable history of the City which is its headquarters—one second in commercial importance to no other in the State. Hon. Elijah L. Hamlin—a gentleman thoroughly acquainted with our early history—is President of the Society, and will at all times be happy to show its collections to appreciating visitors.—*Maine Farmer.*

**REMOVAL OF AN OLD ESTABLISHMENT FROM WASHINGTON STREET.**—Curtis, Collamore & Co., Importers and Dealers in Crockery, China and Glassware, have removed from Washington Street to Federal Street; they are successors to John Collamore, Jr. & Co., Churchill, Collamore & Co., Churchill & Collamore, Collamore & Churchill, and Horace Collamore, who commenced the business on the corner of Washington (then Marlborough) and Franklin Streets in 1813. Mr. Curtis, the senior partner of the present firm, leaves but two firms on Washington Street, from Cornhill to Winter Street, who were on the street when he entered the establishment in 1825.—*Boston Transcript.*

**MR. SKINNER,** member of the New Brunswick Parliament, has introduced a bill thus entitled: "A Bill to Establish Conditions for the Admission of the States of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and the District of Columbia into the British North American Confederation; and for the Organization of Territorial Governments for the other States of the American Nation."

**CENTENARY CELEBRATION OF THE FOUNDING OF ST. LOUIS.**—The centenary celebration of the Founding of St. Louis took place in the Court House, August 11th, when a large number of the oldest citizens met together, interchanged congratulations, and passed resolutions to form a Historical Society there. There were no special remarks of interest.

**JUDGE CHARLES A. DEWEY,** of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, died at Northampton, on the 22d ult.

The *Boston Sunday Times* says of him: "Judge Dewey's second wife was a Miss Clinton, the daughter of Vice-President George Clinton, and 'sister of Governor DeWitt Clinton.'"

This is an entire mistake, so far as it relates to the relationship between Mrs. Dewey and Governor DeWitt Clinton. The latter was a son of General James Clinton, a brother of the Vice-President; and Mrs. Dewey, consequently, was Governor DeWitt Clinton's *cousin*, not his *sister*.

**CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE TOWN OF NORTHBOROUGH.**—The citizens of the town of Northborough celebrated the centennial anniversary of the incorporation of that town yesterday, with exercises befitting the occasion. The addresses were made by a large number of distinguished citizens of the State, who were present to participate in the general rejoicing and add to the *clat* of the occasion, in celebration of the well-advanced birthday of the town of their nativity.—*Transcript, 23d Aug.*

**MRS. CALHOUN.**—We take the following from a Southern newspaper:—

"Departed this life, in Pendleton, S. C., July '26, 1866, Mrs. Floride Calhoun, relict of the late 'John C. Calhoun, in the 75th year of her age.'"

The brief obituary says:—

"The wife of John C. Calhoun, Carolina's 'greatest statesman and most honored son, it were 'better she should depart than longer live to witness the destruction which he so ably and earnestly endeavored to prevent.'"

**NEW HAVEN GRAYS.**—The past and present members of the New Haven Grays, have determined to celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the organization of the Company, which occurs on the 13th day of September.

The exercises will consist of a parade, a dinner, the delivery of an Historical address, and in the evening a promenade concert.

**DEATH OF A VENERABLE EDITOR.**—Francis Hall, Esq., late editor and proprietor of *The Commercial Advertiser*, died on the eleventh ultimo, in the city of New York, aged eighty-two years. He was connected with the above paper fifty-three years, and was always highly esteemed.

**JOSEPH ROBIDOUX,** the founder of the city of St. Joseph, celebrated his 82d birthday on August 2. Mr. Robidoux was the first white man to penetrate the Upper Missouri country, when St. Louis was a mere trading post.

THE

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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OCTOBER, 1866.

[No. 10.

## I.—STATEN ISLAND AND THE NEW JERSEY BOUNDARY.

To the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

The accompanying papers appear to have escaped the attention of all the writers who have so ably discussed the title to Staten Island in connection with the New Jersey Boundary. They seem to me to possess interest enough to deserve a place in the MAGAZINE. They show conclusively to whom Governor Carterett himself, and his widow after him, thought proper to look for title to lands on Staten Island, and within whose "cognizance" and jurisdiction they understood them to lie.

It would be gratifying to know what was the result of the "Tryall" in New Jersey, and the letter to "Governor Rud-iard," in August, 1684. Perhaps some of your correspondents can find the records in New Jersey.

## I.—GOVERNOR CARTERETT TO COMMANDER BROCKHOLLS.

[N. Y. Col. MSS., xxx. 112.]

Elizabeth Towne 8<sup>th</sup> August 1682.

Worthy Sir,

After sallutations p<sup>r</sup>misses you may please to take notis that About the space of fiftene yeares Last past I was by Gouvern<sup>r</sup> Nicholls putt into possession of A certaine psell of meadow Land Lying within Staton Island ouer Against the poynt called the Gouverno<sup>r</sup>s poynt the which possession I peaceably enjoyed also Dureing the tyme of Gouvernor Louelis And Gouvernor Andross tyme without Disturbance in word or Act

HIST. MAG., VOL. X. 34

saue onely that About two yeares Last past John Tunyson of Staton Island Layd claime to my s<sup>d</sup> Meadow Land by vertue of A Dutch pattent where vpon I made Applycation: And by Gouvern<sup>r</sup> Andross Appoyntment had an Ordor vnder the hand of Capt. Dyer for the continuance of my wrightfull possession vpon which the s<sup>d</sup> Tunyson Did forbear making Any further Claime so that I haue had A continued possession Dureing all the tyme of the Aforementioned three Gouvernors which hath beene Aboue fiftene yeares and I well hope that now In your tyme I shall nott be wrested out of that which I haue so long possessed And now so it is that A few dayes since I Apoynted foure or fve men to cutt me Downe some Grasse in my sd Meadow and the Afores<sup>d</sup> John Tunyson without my priuitye hath taken or caused to be taken Away from the sd Meadow all that I had so cutt And vpon enquiry After his Authoritye for his so doing I am informed that he p<sup>r</sup>tends an ordor from you to take or carry Away all that I ether haue or shall cutt Downe or other wayes to burne the same vpon the Ground And being of oppinyon that you haue Graunted the sd Tunyson no such ordor as he p<sup>r</sup>tends too) therefore my request is that you will be pleased to Afforde me the benyfit off your Ordor for the Continuance of my possession: as allso you Ordor to the sd Tunyson commanding him and all others to Dissist from further prossecuting their force vpon me to the end that I may speedely gett the remainder of my Grasse Cutt and peaceably bring Away the same Leaueing the p<sup>r</sup>misses to your Consideration I hope to

receiue by this bearer An Accomp of your  
good pleasure here in with incurriage-  
ment to cutt the remayneing pt of my  
grasse with hearty thanks for you<sup>r</sup> Last  
vissitt I remayne ssir

You most humble Seruant

[Address]

PH. CARTERETT

To Capt ANTHONY BROCK-  
HOLIS Esq<sup>r</sup> Command-  
er in Cheiffe ouer all  
his Royall Highns his  
Territories in America  
these p sents  
New York.

## II.—PETITION OF GOVERNOR CARTERETT'S WIDOW TO GOVERNOR DONGAN.

[N. Y. Col. MSS., xxxi. 164.]

To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Coll THOMAS  
DONGAN Gover<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> under his  
Roy<sup>l</sup> High<sup>se</sup> of all his Territorys  
in America.

The humble Peticon of Eliza-  
beth the Widdow & Relict  
of Phillip Carteret Esq late  
Governour of the Province  
of East New Jersey.

Humbly Sheweth,

That the Peticoners husband had lib-  
ertygranted him by Coll Richard Nicolls  
thefirst Gover<sup>r</sup> for his Roy<sup>l</sup> High<sup>se</sup> in  
these parts, to cutt hay for his convenience  
off a piece of Land, commonly called Gov-  
ern<sup>r</sup> Carteretts Point, which priviledge  
like wise in the succeeding Government  
of Coll: Francis Lovelace, about the latter  
end of whose time, your peticoners hus-  
band had a Graunt from the said Govern-  
our of a Pattent for the said Meadow  
ground, & a Survey thereof was re-  
turned into the Secretaries Office in Or-  
der thereunto, but the surprisall of these  
parts by the Dutch hindered itt Effects.

That in the time of S<sup>r</sup> Edm Andross  
when the English Government was re-  
stored, hee had the like priviledge as

before of mowing the hay off the afore-  
recited Meadow, & some disturbance  
therein happening after his departure,  
Capt. Anthony Brockholes as Dep<sup>r</sup> Gov-  
ern<sup>r</sup> granted an Order, dated Aug<sup>st</sup> 12  
1682, for his quiet possession of the same,  
Notwithstanding the which your peti-  
tioner since the Decease of her said hus-  
band, hath nott only been molested by  
one John Tunissen an Inhabitant of  
Staten Island, pretending title to the  
said land, but having by her servants  
taken off some hay from the said Meadow  
ground, hath been arrested for a Tres-  
passe in the Province of East New Jer-  
sey, where on wednsday next (if not  
pvented by you<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>r</sup>) a Tryall for the  
same will bee: Shee therefore humbly  
prayer.

That your hon will be pleased  
to putt some stopp to the said pro-  
ceedings in New Jersey, the Tres-  
passe (if any) being Committed in  
this Government, so wholly out of  
the cognizance & Jurisdiccon of  
any other Courts, & only tryable  
here, where your petitioner shall  
alwayes bee ready to answer any  
thing alleaged ag<sup>t</sup> her on the be-  
half aforesaid, and try her title  
to the said Meadow ground when  
legally brought thereunto.

And as in Duty bound shee  
shall ever pray &c.

(Endorsed)

The Petition read the  
Govern<sup>r</sup> ordered a let-  
ter to be sent to Gov-  
ern<sup>r</sup> Rudiard on y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup>  
of August. [1684]

In the *Land Papers* (New York Secre-  
tary's office) Vol. I. 209, December 24,  
1680, there is a description of a survey  
of a neck of land, containing 116 acres,  
situated on the northwest side of Staten  
Island, and known by the name of Black  
Poynt, laid out for John Tunisson, by  
Philip Welles, Surveyor—together with

a draught. *Calendar of Land Papers:* 23.

Another recognition of the fact that Staten Island was held and taken to be a part of New York may be found in the Instructions of the Council of Proprietors, November 11<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup>, 1695, to Thomas Gordon, their Agent to England. In answering objections to their demand of quitrents, he was directed to "Let it then be Considered under what quit-rent Statin Island Long Island & the Bulk of the Lands in York Government were Settled by the same Coll. Nicols after the date of the Eliz. patent. It will be found to amount to the  $\frac{1}{2}$ d per acre demanded by the prop<sup>rs</sup>." *MSS. N. Y. Hist. Soc.—N. Y. and N. J. Boundary Papers.—Vol. I.* These instructions were signed by Andrew Hamilton, Daniel ———, George Willocks, John Barclay, Thomas Boell, John Reid, and Thomas Warne. G. H. M.

*New York: Sept. 1. 1866.*

## II.—MAP OF THE WORLD, CONTAINING THE DISCOVERY OF VERRAZZANO, DRAWN BY HIERONIMUS DE VERRAZZANO.

From the *Appendix* to a pamphlet printed at Paris, in 1852, entitled *Les Papes Géographes et la Cartographie du Vatican, par M. R. Thomassy*, the following account of a chart is taken for the especial information of Americans going to Rome, in the hope that before long we may see a *fac simile* of that curious and instructive document brought to our country. Some among us claim the relation over the name of Verrazzano, addressed to the King of France, to be a fraud, and that the evidence of his having come to our coasts is yet to be produced.

### GEOGRAPHICAL CHARTS OF THE PROPAGANDA.

Let us now pass to the Geographical

charts. They are still in perfect preservation, and each is numbered on the case that incloses it.

The first map represents the planisphere on a magnificent roll of parchment, eight feet, four inches in length, by four feet in breadth. This is a marine Map, having on its back this insignificant title: (*Translated*) "Small chart of a large part of the earth."

One reads at the top, "*Hieronimus de Verrazano faciebat.*" The date is to be inferred from the following inscriptions:

Under the words "*nova Gallia sive Jucatanet,*" is read: "*Verrazana sive nova Gallia, quale discopri, 5 anni fà Giovanni da Verrazano fiorentino, per ordine e commandamento del cristianesimo re di Francia.*" [TRANSLATION: New Gaul or Jucatanet, which John da Verrazano, Florentine, discovered 5 years since, by order and command of the most Christian King of France.]

It is known that the narrative of the voyage of Jean Verrazano was addressed by him to Francis I.\* and dated in the year 1523 or 1524, which, from the preceding inscription, would fix the date of making this marine Chart towards the year 1528.

The first meridian passes close to the Isle of Fer [*Ferro*] situated in parallel 27° and a few minutes. The equator passes nearly where it does on modern charts, by the Isle of Saint-Thomas, the Straits of Sunda, and the mouth of the Amazon.

We will venture these remarks on the work of Jerome Verrazano:

And first, this Jerome ought to be a relative, and probably was a brother, of Jean Verrazano, author of the report addressed to Francis I. as appears from the letter of the poet, Annibal Caro, who expresses himself thus:

"A voi Verrazano, come á cercatori di nuovi mundi e delle meraviglie di essi, non posso ancor dire cosa degna della

\* It is found in the collection of Ramusio: *Navigazioni e viaggi*, III, 350, Edit. fol. Venetie, 1606.

"vostra carta, perché non avemo passate  
"terre che non sieno state scoperte da  
"voi, o da vostro fratello."\* [TRANSLATION: To you Verrazano, as a seeker after new worlds and their wonders, I can tell nothing worthy of your Chart, since we have passed no country that has not been explored either by you or by your brother.]

Tiraboschi,† in his turn, speaks of this brother of Jean Verrazano, unknown to the historians; but everything leads to presume to be this Jerome Verrazano, author of the chart in question, and renowned for his geographical knowledge. One may judge of the nicety by the scale here given, *in fac-simile*:



Beneath is read: "*Contiene dal vno al  
"otro piccolo punto 9 milia 10, che sono  
"leghe 2½ comprendendo milia 4 per leghe."*

At Cape Breton [*c. de Bretton*] one sees the shield and the arms of Bretagne: besides, at the north and east, is read: "*Terra laboratoris. Questa terra fù scoperta by the English;*" which is the most northerly point on this chart.

This chart ends, on the west, at the Isles *Meluco* and the Isle of Borneo. Under the meridian of these Moluques one sees the Gulf of Canton, and reads there: "*In questo golfo di Cailan, stan  
"le navi che vengono d'India, a questi regioni, del Gastaio (du Cathay)."* [TRANSLATION: In this Gulf of Cailan are the ships which come from India to this region of Gastaio (of Cathay.)]

The white cross of the Crusaders is on the Isle *Lanciloto* and on that of Rhodes.

Among the Isles of Cape Verd, is read "*Illa de Sal.*"

On the South of the banks  
of the Arguin

(in red)

"*Amedon.*"

"*SIETE-MONTA.*"

"*Plaia.*"

"*Ruina.*"

(in red)

"*C DARCA.*"

It is not to be forgotten here, that the word *Ruina* corresponds to the word "*Terre fracca,*" that we shall again see at the south of the bank of Arguin in the next chart. This should prove the fact of establishments anterior to the arrival of the Portuguese on the western coasts of Africa.

There is no allusion to Tombuto; but all the interior of Soudan is indicated as very rich in gold.

Abyssinia is indicated as "*Regno del  
"prele Jhoannes."*

One reads, "*Acsum, principal città del  
"prele Janni."*

The isle of Feu [*Tierra del Fuego*] is vaguely drawn as the commencement of a large northern continent. All the western coast of North America is omitted and only described as "*TERRE INCOGNITE.*" Finally, Groënland is no way indicated from what it is on other charts of that epoch.

### III.—THE SHAW PAPERS.

The subjoined letters have been forwarded to us by Mr. Charles Lanman, of Georgetown, D. C.

"They are submitted," writes our correspondent, "as specimens of a large and valuable collection of papers, to be found in a number of old trunks in the city of New London, in the safe-keeping of the descendants of Nathaniel Shaw, Jr. That personage was born in New London, December 5, 1735, and was, perhaps without exception, the most active, most wealthy, and most influential merchant in Connecticut during the dark days of the Revolution. He was for a long time a General Agent of the Continental Congress,

\* See 12th familiar Letter of Annibal Caro, I.

† *Storia della letter. italiana*, vii, 263 Mut, 2 edit.

"and his judgment was considered paramount in all matters connected with financial, military and naval affairs; and his devoted patriotism was such that he commanded for many years the personal friendship of Washington.

"The papers in question consist of his own letters, addressed to a variety of men, on matters connected with business, and the welfare of the country, from 1765 to the time of his death, April 15, 1782; and also of letters addressed to himself by numerous persons who, directly or indirectly, were participants in the labor of carrying on the War of the Revolution. They are from such men as Washington and Hancock, as well as from many others engaged in mercantile pursuits. The letters now transmitted do not need any comments to be understood, but it may be well enough to direct attention to the date of the letter from the great traitor, Arnold. At the very time of writing it, he had command of West Point and its dependencies, and was secretly corresponding with Sir Henry Clinton through his aid-de-camp, John André; and as his debts were numerous and creditors importunate, it is not strange that he should have been anxious about a speedy settlement of his commercial venture. Whether he ever obtained the money, for which he so earnestly petitioned in 1780, is not known, but the presumption is that he did not, for it was in September, 1781, that he destroyed the town of New London by fire, thus completing the measure of his infamy and desecrating the very cradle of his infancy. A few of Mr. Shaw's letters will be found in the *American Archives*."—ED. HIST. MAG.

1.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO NATHANIEL SHAW.

HEAD QUARTERS ROBINSON HOUSE

Sir, 31<sup>st</sup> July 1780.

In the present situation of affairs, it is

indispensably necessary that we should have the most instantaneous advices of the movements of the Enemy at Rhode Island. For this purpose I have posted relays of Dragoons at every 15 miles distance between New London and the Head Quarters of the Army. This taking as many as we can consistently spare, I shall be exceedingly obliged to you to hire as many trusty men with their horses as will continue the chain from New London to Tower Hill, posting three at every 15 miles, with orders to ride by night or by day whenever dispatches arrive at their quarters. I will be answerable for their pay while in service, which will be as long as the British Fleet and Army at or off Rhode Island. Should you not be able to accomplish this Business, you will inform the officer, the Bearer of this, who must in that case carry the Dragoons the whole way through, however inconvenient it may be. I shall also be obliged to you to have a constant look out kept upon the Sound, and if the fleet appear standing from the Eastward towards New York, to give me instant intelligence of it by the Chain of Express.

I am with great respect Sir,

Your most obt. svt,

G<sup>o</sup>. WASHINGTON

NATH<sup>l</sup>. SHAW Esq.

2.—ROBERT MORRIS TO NATHANIEL SHAW.

PHILAD<sup>a</sup>. *Jany.* 23. 1777

Sir,

I take the liberty to enclose herein a copy of a letter from my friends Messrs Hewes & Smith of Edenton in North Carolina wrote from Hallifax in that State the 13<sup>th</sup> ulto by which you will see they have most unjustly been plundered of a part of their property on the High Seas, the only ostensible reason offered by the privateer or rather piratical Captain is that they are Tories,—a most villainous assertion made to cover the base-

ness of the Asserters Conduct. Mr. Hewes is a member of Congress, and has been so from the first—a warm & steady Friend to America,—a zealous and steady Supporter of its interests & Independence, his partner Mr. Smith is a man of merit equally attached to the liberties of his Country, tho' not so much employed in public Councils. Perhaps if we do not begin in time, and bring such offenders to Justice, we may bid adieu to all security of property, for we shall have no leisure for other employments than a search after retaliation. Mr. Hewes is still in N<sup>c</sup>. Carolina, but soon expected back to Congress, where he will represent this matter fully. In the mean time I hope you will keep a look out in all the ports of your state for his vessel and if found put in a claim, Commence an action against the Privateer & do every thing necessary to support both one & the other,—informing Mr. Hewes or me soon as possible and all things necessary to support you therein shall be complied with.

I am Sir,

Your obt hbl servant

ROB<sup>t</sup>. MORRIS.

NATH<sup>l</sup>. SHAW JUN Esq.,

*New London.*

3.—GOVERNOR TRUMBULL TO NATHANIEL SHAW.

LEBANON, *June 30th, 1777.*

Sir,

I am advised by Genl. Schyler that the Enemy are arrived at Crown Point, that they have sent a Strong Party by the way of Otter Creek to fall in between Ticonderoga and Skeenesborough, that another detachment is sent down on the West Side of Lake George to get possession of Fort George if possible. Thus, the enemy's plan of operations is opened. We may hourly expect intelligence that the army under General Howe is in motion to act in Concert with

the Northern army—probably up the North River. It is not unlikely a diversion may be attempted on our Coast.

It will be prudent to take every precaution to watch their motions, and frustrate their measures. As the Continental troops are now rendezvousing at New Haven, I am of opinion it will be best to send the whale boats in your care to New Haven to facilitate their movements, and that the Mifflin and Schyler should cruise off New Haven and to the Westward to make discoveries of the motions of the Enemy, which you will please to order accordingly. Niles will be ordered on the same service. I need not mention how much it concerned the inhabitants on the coast to keep a good look out, and give seasonable intelligence.

As there is a quantity of Flax due to Mr Tilley and we may have occasion for more cordage, I have to desire you to send to Genl. Silliman & Thaddeus Burr Esq. for four or five tons of flax, out of which Mr Tilley will have orders to receive what is due to him, & the remainder may be stored at New London to be used as the State has occasion for it. An order is enclosed accordingly.

I am Sir, your obt. humble Servt.

JON<sup>th</sup> TRUMBULL.

NATH<sup>l</sup> SHAW, JR., Esq.

4—GENERAL ARNOLD TO NATHANIEL SHAW.

HEAD QUARTERS ROBINSON HOUSE,  
*August 10, 1780.*

Dear Sir,

I have taken the liberty of Inclosing sundry Letters & Bills sale &c: by which it appears that Capt. Joseph Parkwood in Aug<sup>t</sup> 1778, sold to Capt. Thomas Truxton one fourth part of the sloop *John*, with the Cargo amounting to £1070, Lawful Money, for which amount Capt. Truxton drew on me (there in Philadelphia) which draught I stood ready to honor when presented: It also

appears by Capt. Parkwood's letter that he had no doubt of the draughts being honored. It also appears by the papers that the sloop made one voyage and returned safe from the West Indies in March 1779, with a cargo of Rum, Sugar & Molasses;—how many voyages she had made since, or what has become of her, I have never heard. Capt. Truxton informs me that Capt. Parkwood wrote to him some time since, requesting him to draw for two thousand pounds, lawful money, part of the profits on the voyage, and at the same time objected to his sharing his full proportion,—alleging for reason, that the sloop was not paid for when bought and that the money had greatly depreciated. This is an objection that Capt. Parkwood has no right to make, as it was his own neglect (not the owners) that he did not present the draught and receive the money which lay ready for him, and Capt. Parkwood has had the neat Profits of the voyage in his hands as well as the vessel, seventeen months. It seems to me but just that after deducting the prime cost of the vessel and Cargo, the Ballance of the proceeds should be accounted for by Capt. Parkwood, and as he has had the vessel and ballance in his hand, and to his use since the arrival in March 1779, or since the sales of the Cargo, without advising us that we might draw for the same, it is but reasonable he should make good the Depreciation.

Neither Capt. Truxton or myself know if the vessel has been sold or is still running on our acct; I am requested by him and the other owners to beg of you the favor to inquire into the matter and make a settlement with Capt. Parkwood which you think just and reasonable. If you should differ in sentiment with him, I beg you will submit the affair to Arbitration, which I conceive he can have no reasonable objection to. It is the wish of the owners of the vessel in being, and

not sold, to have their Quarter part sold, the acct. closed, and the Ballance remitted to me at this place by the Post or any safe private Conveyance.

Your compliance will be esteemed a very particular favor done.

Dr Sir, your most obt.

Humble Svt.

B. ARNOLD.

NATH<sup>l</sup> SHAW Esq.,  
New London.

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5.—DAVID SPROAT, BRITISH COMMISSARY OF PRISONERS, TO THOMAS SHAW, AMERICAN COMMISSARY.

NEW YORK, 19<sup>th</sup> April, 1782.

Sir,

I received your letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> Instant by Mr Ledyard, to whom I have shewen the State of our exchanges of prisoners, which must convince him and every candid person that motives of humanity alone have induced the Commanders of His Majesty's Fleets on this coast, from time to time, to permit a greater number of the American prisoners to be sent out, than they had of British to return; amounting at this time to upwards of 1000 men, per Account settled the 2<sup>d</sup> of this month at Elizabeth Town, with Mr Skinner, the American Commissary General for Prisoners.—This same principle so generously extended to the American prisoners, actuated His Excellency, Rear Admiral Digby, to feel also, for the distressed situation of the British prisoners with you; and therefore he was pleased to direct me to offer the Exchange of American Seamen, for an equal number of British Soldiers now in your hands; which I was in hopes would have taken place, as Commissioners were appointed on both sides had met, and gone so far in the business as to settle the Tariff—but I am sorry to say, it afterwards appear'd that the Gentlemen on the part of General Washington, had no such intention; which probably may put off the

exchange for a long time before the Captures you make will enable you to pay the Balance due, and redeem those who are here.

I have seen Sir, what is said to be a Copy of a resolve of your Governor and Council, respecting the Exchange of Prisoners, wherein Mr Ledyard is directed "to repair in a Flag to New York or Long Island, and in Name and behalf of this State, apply to the proper Officer and solicit the release and discharge of all, or any of the Naval prisoners belonging to this State, confined in prison ships or otherwise, at or near New York, and in return, to engage in behalf of said Board immediately to send in Exchange all the Naval prisoners of like rank." by which transaction, (should it take place) the Board saw the would get the advantage, by receiving a greater number of Americans, than they had of British to exchange—and therefore Mr Ledyard is instructed—"to pledge the faith of this State, that no prisoner of ours, who may be released, shall on any occasion by Sea or Land, bear Arms, or act offensively against the subjects of the King of Great-Britain, until they shall be exchanged." In answer to this Sir, I shall only ask you how many of those you already owe, do you think have observed this neutrality? who have paid any regard to their being prisoners? who are not at this time actually employ'd in the support and prosecution of War? and who could not be collected, were they to be demanded.

In the Second place I observe Sir, in your Letter, you express with some degree of warmth, "it is extream disagreeable to me, to have men confined in loathsome Goals and Ships for no crime, but for their being so unfortunate as to be taken and rob'd" I confess Sir, the expression surprizes me from an Inhabitant of New London, where during the whole of this unhappy Contest, they have been foremost in fitting out Privateers, for

the express purpose of *taking*, and *robbing*, as you term it, every every British vessel and Subject they could find. This Sir, is deem'd such a Crime, that the perpetrators of it (now confined on board His Majesty's Prison Ship *Jersey* will not be set at liberty upon promises—indeed it is unreasonable for you to expect it, while the Americans continue to hold such a number of British prisoners, for whom an Equivalent has been offered.

Mr Ledyard has had a conference with the Admiral, and will be able to inform you, how humane and ready he is to alleviate distresses, unavoidable to prisoners in a State of Confinement, which is manifested in his having directed me *at this time* to send you 20 of the Seamen who have been taken in Traders, and promise that when you send down the British Seamen in your hands, I will return you the remainder.—

You will remember that I apply'd to you requesting some provision to be made for the prisoners, to enable them to support themselves through the winter—which I am sorry to say was totally neglected, and had it not been for the donations which I collected from the charitable inhabitants of this city, many of them must have perish'd for want of Blankets, Clothing and other necessities. I am Sir,

your most Hbl. Serv.

DAVID SPROAT

Commissary General  
for Naval Prs:

THOMAS SHAW ESQ.

D Commissary for Prs:  
at New London.

6.—THE BOARD OF WAR TO NATHANIEL SHAW.

War & Ordnance Office,

March 3<sup>d</sup>, 1778.

Sir,

The Spring is commenced, and in a short time probably the campaign will open. This Board is alarmed at the

smallness of the supplies of military stores collected in this State. We therefore, in the most earnest manner call upon you to forward to Springfield, the military stores of every kind, which you have the direction of or can Command. Lead, Flints and Tent Cloth we most dread the want of, and arms and powder we do not possess in abundance. To the procuring & forwarding these Articles you will pay particular attention. Spare no pains we beseech you for this end, and let nothing impede the business. If money or any other thing be wanting to enable you to execute this order, and you cannot borrow, apply to the Government of your State without delay for aid, shewing this Letter, that they may be fully impressed with the urgency of the demand. Whatever you send, give proper orders that such a route may be taken as will not endanger the Stores falling into the hands of the Enemy.

Once more, we request

*Make no delay*

I am Sir,

Your most obt. hum. Svt,

HORATIO GATES,

NATHANIEL SHAW, Esq                      President.  
Continental Agent.

7.—THE MARINE COMMITTEE TO NATHANIEL SHAW, JUN.

In Marine Committee

PHILADELPHIA October 18, 1776.

Sir,

Herein you will find enclosed two resolves of the Continental Congress of which we have the honor to be members, whereby you will observe you are ordered to account with us from time to time, for the Continental Share of all Prizes received and sold by you as Agent. In obedience to this Resolve we think proper to lay it down as a rule that you state your accounts every three

months, crediting therein the Continental Share of every prize whose accounts can be settled & included within that quarter of a year, & that you add thereto a schedule containing an exact Account or State of all the Prizes that then remain in your care whose accounts are unsettled, and we desire that you will constantly remit undoubted good bills on this place, as you can meet with them, which will save the trouble and risque of sending money. In taking drafts prefer those of the Continental Agents, Paymasters & Commissary's to any other,—provided they are drawn on the President of Congress, this Committee or any of the public Boards for Public Service,—next to those, undoubted good private bills, but none others, and when neither one nor the other can be met with, inform us of the Sums that you have that we may give particular orders respecting the remittance or application thereof.

By the other resolve you will find yourself under orders of Congress to make a just distribution amongst the officers and men concerned in taking each prize as soon after the Sales as possible, agreeable to the rules and regulations made by Congress in this respect & it is our duty to see this punctually complied with, as the Service has already suffered by delay. Therefore we desire you will always make the said distribution soon as can be after the Sales, and transmit us duplicates of the accounts & your proceedings therein. We shall allow all your just Expenditures on account of the Continent to be charged against their share of Prize money, but those charges must be supported by vouchers.

We are Sir, Your obed<sup>t</sup> Servants—

JOHN HANCOCK

ROBT. MORRIS.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON

FRA LEWIS

GEO WALTON.

To NATH<sup>l</sup> SHAW Jr Esq

8.—FROM THE MARINE COMMITTEE TO NATHANIEL SHAW, JUN.

In Marine Committee  
PHILADELPHIA, June 17, 1777.

Sir,

We received by Captain Chew your letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> ultimo advising your having purchased a Brig suitable for an armed Cruizer in our Navy.

On recuring to our letter to you of the 22<sup>d</sup> August last we find our orders were expressly that you should purchase & fit out the schooner taken by Commodore Hopkins in his return from the New Providence expedition and sent by his fleet into your Port. Our principal inducement in giving those orders was, that a vessel of that kind was then wanted for an expedition we had planned, & Commodore Hopkins recommended that schooner as suitable for our purpose. If on examination you found that vessel to be defective, you certainly did your duty to decline the purchase of her, but we cannot consider that you were authorized by the orders we gave you, to buy a Brig eight months after, without first having consulted us on that head. Commodore Hopkins has never been invested with any authority from us to order the purchase of vessels for our Navy, and we beg leave to recommend in future an observance of our orders only; advising us when you think any alteration of them will be of service to the publick.

From what we have thought proper to say on this subject, you will perceive that we do not consider ourselves bound to take this vessel; but as we think that the public service will be benefited thereby, we have concluded to take her, and have appointed Captain Samuel Chew to command her. We now request that you will assist him in getting said vessel ready for the sea with all possible expedition. You will please to put on board Provisions &c for a four months cruize, and make the necessary advances of money which will be wanted for mann-

ing & fitting her out, & recommend your doing everything in the most frugal manner.

Should you have any money belonging to the States in your hands for which you are to account with the Committee you may apply it to this purpose, if not you may draw on us, & your Bills shall be paid.

You will please furnish us in due time with accounts of the cost and outfitt of this vessel, with proper vouchers;—and a list of the men on board at the time of sailing.

Recommending this business to your attention We remain Sir,

Your very humble servants,

ROB<sup>t</sup> MORRIS  
PHIL. LIVINGSTON  
H. MARCHANT  
ROGER SHERMAN  
ABRA. CLARK  
THOS. BURKE  
NICH<sup>s</sup> VANDYKE

P. S. This brig is to be called the "*Resistance*."

NATH<sup>l</sup> SHAW JR Esq.

#### IV.—NORTH AMERICAN ROCK-WRITING AND OTHER ABORIGINAL MODES OF RECORDING AND TRANSMITTING THOUGHT.

—CONCLUDED.

BY THOMAS EWBANK, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE  
ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The cross, or letter X, varied to the perpendicular stem and horizontal bar, occurs in American inscriptions. The Spaniards were surprised to find it an object of veneration in the central States and Peru, but the inference that Christianity was early introduced there, in the first century some thought, is questionable. By the same rule it was anticipated or prefigured in Asia, where mystic and religious meanings were associated

with the symbol, centuries before the birth of Christ. It appears to have been as popular a form of amuletic jewelry 3,500 years ago, as at this day among us. Tiglath Pileser wore it suspended from a narrow fillet crossed over the chest. In Pharaonic sculptures it occurs in a group of prisoners of war, some having it pendent from a necklace or the collar of their dress. It is figured on the robes of the Rot-n-no people; and traces of it are observable in the fancy ornaments of the Rebo, showing it in common use in the fifteenth century before the Christian era. It was also an Egyptian amulet: of five figures representing different seated postures, (*Wilkinson*, ii., 203), No. 4 wears one whose center is a circle and the horizontal bar two smaller ones.

A cross of jasper, suspended by a chain of gold, was seized in the palace of the Incas. It was as broad as long, and about three fingers broad. When Garcilasso left Cusco for Spain, in 1560, it was hanging from a nail by a piece of black ribbon, in the vestry of the cathedral. A symbol appears on the bronze staffs of the Caciques of the Assyrian pattern. On the ruins of Coati, it is cut in stone walls; and a specie of Pan pipe has been found ornamented with it.

The figures subjoined are from Bonomi's *Nineveh*, *Wilkinson's Egyptians*, and *Ewbank's Life in Brazil*.



No. 3. Portrait of Tiglath Pileser. (See 1st Book of Chronicles and 2d Book of Kings.)

No. 4. Another Assyrian monarch, on whose breast it is associated with other symbols.



No. 5. Foreigners at war with the Egyptians.



No. 6. Head of a cacique's bronze staff, of the Inca era.

It is remarkable that the Maltese cross, worn by modern kings and conferred on military chieftains, is identical with those figured on the breasts of conquering monarchs of Assyria. May not this martial application of it have reached us through Pagan, not Christian, Rome? The influence of the Cross of the Legion of Honor, on the French army, during the Crimean campaign, so far surpassed that of all English decorations, that the Victoria Cross was founded in imitation of it.

To no written character has more varied significations been given. None have been more widely employed by the learned and unlearned. It occurs in the hieroglyphs of most barbarians, as in alphabets; then it is a numeral, an algebraical symbol, a conventional element of computation in several professions, an emblem of religious faith, a heathen charm or talisman, and a fashionable appendage of Christian dress.

A general chart of American characters is a desideratum deserving the attention of Historical Societies. With it in hand, any one can run over the fifty alphabets in the Encyclopedias, and form his own conclusions on supposed relationships. That which is wanted I have attempted to supply, or, rather, to indicate, by a collection from rocks in New Mexico, on the Alleghany River, Cunningham's Island, Lake Erie, the Dighton Rock, &c., from Schoolcraft, and official reconnoissances in Texas, New Mexico, and Pacific explorations. On a second sheet, specimens of angular-formed letters from the Runic, Latin of the Fourth

Century, Irish orgums, and old Welch writings. On a third sheet, ancient Greek letters, Pelasgian, Etruscan, Phenician, Egyptian, Cufic, Palmyrean, Chaldean, Samaritan numerals, Persian, Cuneiform, and from rock tombs in Syria and Asia Minor.

They are necessarily omitted here. On collating them with American characters, there appears no more reason to infer these were derived from them than they from these.

Fruits of the early workings of that faculty which evolves new ideas, aboriginal devices are of special interest, for every advance in Arts, Science and Literature comes from INVENTION. The Indian mind did not stop with inscriptions on distant and immovable rocks, but sought for means to render the information portable, to circulate it in public, and preserve it in families. Northern Indians adopted *belts of wampum*, things familiar to most of us; while Peruvians preferred *Quipus*, twisted woolen cords and knotted strings of various lengths, colors, and combinations—an invention that might be ascribed to a mind uniquely organized. It was not, however, peculiar to this hemisphere, having been in use by the Chinese, within one or two centuries of Noah's flood. The principle is probably of antediluvian origin. It preceded the chisel and stone, the pen and papyrus in Egypt. That it was familiar to the Israelites, is obvious from Moses including it among the means of perpetuating a knowledge of the laws he gave them. Their very garments he made their teachers, a remarkable instance of sagacity, in a statesman legislating for an illiterate people. (See *Numbers* xv., 38, 39, and *Matthew* xxiii., 5.) To this day, the borders of their garments are made to remind them of the Commandments of the Lord; and here, and wherever their ancient costume is laid aside, the fringes of the scarfs worn in the synagogue enforce the lesson.

Very different and vastly superior was the plan of the Toltecs and Aztecs. They developed the most elaborate system of *pictorial writing* known, having rendered it efficient for national, civil, and social purposes. It was universally taught—men and women, boys and girls learned to read, write, and cipher by it. Bernald Diaz mentions a decided proof of facile talent in their professional writers, or artists, as we would call them. Those sent by Montezuma with his first messengers to Cortez took back, among other sketches in outline, portraits of the principal Spaniards, and that of Cortez so strikingly resembled Quintalbor, a Mexican chief, that Montezuma sent him with the next messengers. He was found so much like Cortez in features, air, and person, that the Spaniards called him "the other Cortez."

That inscriptions in rebus, said by some to have been in vogue in ancient Mexico, should be deemed *phonetic writing*, is surely inadmissible. Representing sounds by things, they are at best but phonetic pictographs. Like the hypothesis that knots in the quippa represented letters, this one can hardly command serious acceptance.

Taking leave of the technical part of the subject, it may be stated that American Archæology is in its infancy. Covering so vast an extent, and reaching into a remote and unknown past, without a ray of historical light to penetrate the gloom, ages will be required for a complete exploration. This Northern section is comparatively a barren field, but another is opening, Southward, rich in remains of varied and advanced civilizations. Contributions of the highest interest are justly looked for from Mexico, the Central and neighboring States, in whose forests, unexplored ruins abound. Of recent confirmations of this, the following is from a late Matamoras paper:

"Ruins of a very extensive aboriginal city have been discovered in the forest

"of Jicorumbo, in the province of Tlaxicala. The temples are of immense size, some with vaulted roofs, and so well preserved that ancient paintings appear fresh. The courts are filled with hideous and grotesque idols, and pyramids surmounted by the same. The whole is enveloped in a dense forest of cedar and ebony trees. Some of these cedars are of such immense size, that eight men, taking hold of hands together, could not reach round one of them. These forests are on healthy table lands, about fifty miles from the port of Tuxan."

An official report of the political Prefect of the Department of Tlaxicala speaks of the discovery, in June last, by a party headed by himself, of two ancient cities—one encompassed by a wall of stone, fifteen feet thick, ten feet high, and defended by bastions of stone. Of architectural monuments, one edifice had been constructed of finely polished square stones, the first sight of which, he observes, reveals to the eye, works of art not heretofore accorded by civilized nations to Mexicans of ancient times. Idols, sculptures, paintings, doors of stone, a broken arch, and a sun-dial are mentioned. On the latter a native had been portrayed, armed with a Moorish cimeter. The color had penetrated plaster an inch thick, and marked the stone beneath.

W. V. Wells, in an interesting account of an ascent of Popocatepetl, mentions facts that promise valuable information. He observes that the fatal zeal of the monks doomed to destruction every relic of Aztec idolatry that came within their reach; so that, by the end of the Sixteenth Century, comparatively little had survived their insensate rage; but a few zealous antiquarians were found, even in that age of flame and sword, who labored to stay the general devastation, and to save some vestiges of that strange and isolated civilization, so suddenly unveiled

by Cortez, and so swiftly to disappear before the fanaticism of the Cross. The unhappy Aztecs saw the annihilation not only of their nationality and race, but even the gradual extinction of their literature, arts, and refinement. Some of the learned natives sought to preserve, at least, the outlines of their history in neatly written *Maguey Manuscripts*; while others hid away in caverns, precious sculptured tablets and curious picture writing, with the same object.

Within a few months, an immense Pantheon or tomb has been discovered in the side of Iztaccihuatl, among the tangled forests that skirt its western base. Its exact size or shape has yet to be ascertained, for it has been penetrated only a few hundred yards, but at that distance the extent beyond—reaching into gloomy, vaulted caverns, resounding with solemn, far-sounding echoes—seems almost illimitable. Multitudes of skeletons, placed upright against the walls, stretch in grisly ranks into the unexplored inner darkness; and a variety of grotesque, hideous idols, beasts, birds, nondescripts, and household pottery, fill the niches and cover the ground. The discovery was accidental, and may be the forerunner of others still more interesting.

Señor Ramirez, an eminent Mexican scholar, has *ancient manuscripts*, written on paper made of the *Maguey* plant, which speak of eruptions of "the Smoking Mountain," hundreds of years before the discovery of America; and the Abbé Bourbourg, the explorer of Yucatan and the head of a French scientific commission, now in Mexico, has equally interesting records to the same effect. He thinks Mexican civilization flourished prior to that of Egypt. Be that as it may, there is a fair prospect of recovering records and entombed monuments, and, in them, means of noting the progress of the American mind from the era when information was communicated by

marks on trees and tracings in sand, to that in which it was inscribed on stone, and at length in pictorial writings on natural paper. The Maguey was the Aztec Papyrus.

Of Peru how little we know, and that but of yesterday. La Vega traced back the Inca dynasty to the beginning of the eleventh century; but Fernando Montesinos furnishes facts connected with the history of the country, several thousand years earlier, from which it may be inferred that civilization existed at a period of even more remote antiquity. Rock-writing was known, and there was a marked similarity between the hieroglyphs and those found in Mexico and Brazil. There are unexplored caves, catacombs, and sculptures, deep wells dug through the solid rock (mentioned by La Vega), ruins of buildings and monoliths, possibly coeval with remains of Nineveh and Babylon. Current ideas of the recent occupation of this hemisphere, like those of the age of the earth, will be deemed those of children a century hence.

American continents appear to have been assigned to a race whose status has varied with the sections occupied—low in high latitudes and rising as the tropics were approached. Information derived from Northern antiquities is conclusive, that the condition of the natives has been much the same as that of the present tribes. They lived by hunting and fishing. Agriculture, except when necessity required planting small patches with maize, was unknown; and the use of the buffalo as a beast of draught and burden, not thought of. It was different in the tropics. There, at periods when our progenitors were savages, civilization of a decided and, as might be expected, of a somewhat peculiar form, was established. Mexico and the Central States were theaters of the rise, progress, and declension of nations, of whom nothing, or next to nothing, is known, except re-

maines of their cities and cemeteries, inscribed tablets, and imposing monuments, in the unbroken solitudes of forests. These will be explored and interrogated; they will disclose their secrets and add a new chapter to the annals of the earth. Discoveries may be confidently expected that will equal, if they do not eclipse, in interest and novelty, those of the decipherers of Egyptian hieroglyphs, Assyrian tablets, and the Rock of Behistun.

But greater things than the recovery of the past history of Central and South America await us. In the signs of the times, a higher class of inscriptions are beginning to be read. Events are the letters of which the records of time are composed; and mental activity never was so great as it is now. Not confined to the present, it reverts to what has been, and reaches forward to what shall be. It is indeed evident that Man, the ultimate object of creation here, is ordained to be the historian of this scene of his birth and theater of his mortal existence. For the task, he is being prepared by researches going on in almost all departments of knowledge—in Science, Arts, and Antiquity. Over a hundred inscriptions have recently been photographed in Sinai—contemporary records of Israel in the Wilderness. Nor are his inquiries into the past, limited to his own advent. Geology shows him the changes which the earth, in being prepared for his reception, has undergone, with specimens of minerals, vegetables and living products of every period. And such will, in a great measure, be the case with himself and his doings. Every race will be found to have left proofs of its presence and condition, wherever located. These will be collected and incorporated in a general account. This expansion of view, this rising from the contemplation of parts to that of the whole, is an illustration and a proof of the law that governs the movements and destinies of our species

—the cardinal law and crowning element of our organization—that of PROGRESS: of progress neither limited in duration nor degree, and which we may well believe is common to intelligences of every orb. The more it is looked into, the more irreconcilable with our ideas of the Creator and of our own natures would be its limitation or arrest—the more incredible appears intellectual annihilation. Not animal life, but mental development, is the measure of our growth. A world of barbarians is a world of children. The idea that any class of intelligences are created “perfect,” incapable of higher development, is irrational and unscriptural. There could be no such thing as happiness in the Universe if there were not progress in knowledge; but God has made nothing to stand still,—neither mind nor matter. To know the relative age of our species is a natural wish; and that implies the existence of something like means for gratifying it. Of the vast cycles of time required for maturing a class of beings like ourselves, we can form no conception for lack of data as to the future; but, from the relation which our present condition bears to that of the past, the age, or position of our species in the path of its destiny, may be approximately deduced. Taking knowledge as the standard of growth, we are certainly in early childhood. Ignorance and infantile superstitions pervade, as heretofore, the masses, everywhere. Occupants of vast regions have never emerged from the lowest forms of barbarism, while religious ideas and systems, puerile, savage and sanguinary, still fearfully prevail. Corresponding with this is the condition of the earth itself. A fraction only has been brought under cultivation. The greater part, including the richest sections, has never been reclaimed from wild beasts. Till modern days, not half of it was known to people of the other half. Vast regions have never yet been

explored; and as for its internal treasures, they have hardly begun to be opened. In short, every thing relating to it and to ourselves proclaim our infancy, and that of the earth as our home.

Our past history is marked by two cycles, and the present times by the opening of a third one, each characterized by a different Educational center. Mental culture began in, and was long confined to, the Eastern hemisphere. Asia was the first school of the species, and essentially an infant school: the government patriarchal, priest and king united in one person, and religion and law what he willed them to be. Representative of the Deity, he was addressed, and all but worshiped, as a God. The institution of caste was established. The population was divided into four classes: priests, military officers, mechanics, and tillers of the soil, or Sudras, who were not permitted to read the sacred books. Of subdivisions, not less than thirty were, and are still, degraded below the Sudras. The Pariahs have no caste; industrious as they are, they are deemed outcasts of humanity and their very touch pollution.

The second cycle opened with a new school in Europe and a course of studies, different from and in advance of Asiatic ideas. Under the influence of dissimilar climates and social organizations, thought expanded in new directions and brought forth new fruits. A keener spirit of inquiry was awakened, important discoveries in science were made, industrial arts and inventions were multiplied and improved, and inorganic forces adapted to diminish human toil. Commerce is becoming widely extended; and the elements of political and civil liberty, subjects of public discussion. Still, the system is allied to the first one in some of its grossest features. Monarchs claim to rule by “Divine right,” are addressed with divine titles, and their dignity bolstered up, as in the East, by what now appear, in the eye of reason, childish forms, cere-

monies, costumes, and baubles.\* Male or female, wise or foolish, virtuous or vicious, monarchs are "heads of the Church," proclaim National creeds, and appoint National priesthoods. Oriental shackles are loosened, not discarded. Caste is ameliorated, but the principle held, with Hindoo tenacity, in hereditary nobles, legislators by birth, and other privileged classes; while laws of primogeniture keep up the evil. With slight exceptions, the industrial classes, the creators of European wealth, have no voice in its expenditure, and no rights but what the ruling orders accord to them. The greater part are little better off than the pariahs of India: not so well off, since thousands and tens of thousands are yearly driven to seek the means to live, in foreign lands.]

No institution has entailed such deep and lasting wrong as this of caste. Of the bright intellects, born in degraded classes, which its inexorable despotism has smothered in every age, who can speak or tell the loss to the world? Founded on diabolism, and fitly upheld by withholding knowledge from the people, it has been the standing curse of the East. As with other thaumaturgical frauds, ignorance was made to believe what knavery feigned to believe—it was of Divine origin; and just as it was established by ancient impostors, it is maintained by their successors, in even Christian lands! It is the chief obstacle to progress in Europe, where its defenders are struggling to keep things as they are—to perpetuate the past. It is, however, certain that the act of the French people, which proclaimed *the distinction of caste a crime against mankind, one that wounded at once human dignity and in-*

*sulted common-sense*, will ere long be universally indorsed. Arago proudly quoted it over the grave of Salvette, a member of the Institute and of the Chamber of Deputies, who, like his illustrious eulogist, "disdained to accept a single one of those gewgaws which, under the name "of decorations, crosses, and ribbons, are "so strenuously sought after."

In the early part of the present century indications had accumulated that a new period was setting in; and that fresh starting-points were a leading feature of the law. Thus, European advancement was not held back till its principles were realized in Asia; nor are higher lessons than Europe is prepared to learn, to be suppressed till she ripens up to them. Hence a third cycle, and a school on this side of the planet, destined to transcend in its teachings the second, as far as it excels the first. We have all that Europe has acquired to begin with, and have cast off the fetters she retains. We have already left her behind in important steps, and are rapidly leaving her in the rear of more. Monarchy, aristocracy, tithes, and political hierarchies are excluded by fundamental enactments; thought is left free to soar where it listeth, with every natural and noble stimulus to its fruitful exercise, and an arena opened for intellectual athletes on all subjects; so that neither oriental swaddling-clothes nor European leading-strings can check the growth of the species here, through vigorous youth, toward glorious manhood. The superiority of the second school over the first is obvious to every mind; but who can catch more than a glimpse of the social, civil, intellectual, and moral elevation of mankind, ere the one now open gives way to another?

It is superfluous to remark that the mighty agent for working out these wonders is that into which the seeds or primitive modes for making thought visible and diffusing it, have in our days ripened — THE STEAM PRINTING

\*Among the items of foreign news in last Tuesday's papers is this: "A telegram from Brussels, of February 11th, says: "Viscount Sidney arrived here last night to invest King Leopold II. with the Order of the Garter. To-day, the King received, in solemn audience, at the Royal Palace, all the members of the mission deputed by Queen Victoria to invest "His Majesty with the Order of the Garter." What will be thought of such National embassies a century hence?

**PRESS:** a device resembling in its effects that prophetic tree whose branches are to cover the earth and whose leaves are for the healing of the nations.\*

**NOTE.**—Some doubt having been expressed of the Israelites using the Quippa, the following Note is appended:

The term "Phylactery" is commonly ascribed to slips of vellum worn on the wrist, arm, and forehead, according to *Exodus* xiii., 9, 16, as "a sign" or "memorial," to keep in memory the law of the Lord; but it is equally applicable to the *fringe*, a form of the device adapted to their dress—"that ye may look upon it and remember all the commandments of the Lord."

The adoption of the former by Moses, was not as a badge of Nationality, for it was the general practice of the heathen of wearing short inscriptions on their persons, and the names or marks of the deities they worshipped, on their foreheads,—a practice still continued in Hindostan and other parts of the East. Repeated references to it occur in the *Revelations*. The inscribed frontlet of Aaron was to be of gold; but the material for the people is not mentioned. An innate fondness for jewelry, it may be supposed, led those who could afford it to inclose the slips in locketts of gold or silver, while *leather* served the poor. I have one of the latter that belonged to a priest and his ancestors for several generations. It is less than a half-inch cube, and contains the usual four slips. The sacred character—Sh—is stamped on two of the sides.

Frontlets of leather are now worn by rich and poor; and some intelligent Jews do not understand that any other was ever used, except in the case of Aaron. Charms of it, still current, are of extremely remote date in Egypt, and, in all probability, were when Moses wrote; so that there was no necessity for his mentioning it. Egyptian children wore a necklace with a *bullo*, or charm, suspended from the center, representing the symbol of Truth and Justice—one was worn by the youthful deity Harpocrates—both probably of gold, or hard stone like those of the Romans; others, worn by the poorer classes, as in Rome and modern Egypt, were of *leather*. Sometimes a charm consisted of a written piece of papyrus, tightly rolled up and sewed in a covering of linen, or other substance. Several have been found at Thebes.

But to armlets, or bracelets, and frontlets, Moses ordained that the *fringe of their principal*

*garment* should be added. There is a slight difference in the English and Jewish reading of the passage. According to the former, they were to "put upon the fringe of the borders, a riband of "blue;" and to the latter, "they shall put to the "border fringes a thread of blue wool."

In Western Europe and the United States, fringe phylacteries are confined chiefly to the *Tuleth*, or scarf worn in the synagogue and public assemblies over their dress, and to the *Artbaug Confout*—literally "four corners,"—worn by every strict Jew, under his vest. One before me is a rectangle of figured silk, nine inches wide and three times as long. The interior is cut away so as to leave two side strips that hold the ends together. It is worn like a Romish lay scapulary,—the head being passed through, so that part hangs over the breast and part down the back. It differs only from the scarf in being privately worn, the recording strands and knots being the same in both. The number of knots amounts to about six hundred, embracing all the negative and positive precepts of the Pentateuch. A few examples will suffice: At each of the corners are eight strands or threads,—the eighth indicates the day of circumcision; the five double knots the five books of Moses; ten single ones the commandments; seven single knots, between the first and second double ones, the seven days of the week and the Sabbath; thirteen single knots, between the fourth and fifth double ones, the thirteen articles of the Jewish faith, &c.

Advocates of the Hebrew origin of the Indians have overlooked the Quippa. Modern attempts to decipher ancient quippas have had little success. Some Indians in Southern Peru, are understood to possess a perfect knowledge of them, derived from their ancestors, the Quipucamayocuma—literally, "officers of the knots;" in other words, National historians—but which they keep profoundly secret from the *whites*. The principle, to a limited extent, is still employed in the Puma.

The chaplet or string of praying beads, the rosary of Romanists, a Pagan device of extreme antiquity, is allied to the Quippa. Found in the Catacombs on the Nile, it is still in common use in Egypt, Turkey, India, Japan, China, and, in fact, in all the Eastern nations. A safe and ready reckoner, the poorest of the worshippers never lacked the means of procuring one, as natural pellets, berries, nuts, peas, &c., answered every purpose of costly artificial ones. The abacus of the Greeks and Chinese—perforated beads strung on wires—were most likely derived from it; and as not a few of our current devices are older than the flood, this in all probability is among them.

\* It would be wrong to close this paper without acknowledging indebtedness to the excellent Treatise of Mr. Haven on the Archaeology of the United States, one of the Smithsonian contributions to knowledge.

## V.—THE EARLY METHODISTS AND INTEMPERANCE.

Our respected contemporary, *The Methodist*, recently devoted a couple of columns to a discussion of the early history of the Temperance movement, especially considering the debt due by the world, on that subject, to Methodism and to Doctor Benjamin Rush.

While, in that article, *The Methodist* rendered all due honor to Doctor Lyman Beecher, whose *Six Sermons on Intemperance*, preached in 1825, did so much for the suppression of the evil, and to the zealous labors of "The Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance," formed in Boston, in 1813, it claims for Doctor Rush's tracts, especially for that entitled *The Effects of Ardent Spirits*, issued, in various editions, from 1775 until 1813, the honor of being the earliest, or one of the earliest, instrumentalities employed successfully in that cause.

*The Methodist* then proceeded to notice the part taken by the early American Methodists in the same important movement,—indeed the article is entitled "*Dr. Benjamin Rush and Methodism*," and opens with a declaration of the indebtedness of the world "to Methodism and Doctor Rush, jointly," in this matter—yet it unaccountably says when it reaches the latter part of its subject, "It is not necessary to cite the early records of Methodism on the subject"—the very "record," it seems to us, which was necessary for the establishment of its propositions.

Now this "record" of the part taken by the early American Methodists, concerning the monstrous evil of Intemperance, like that of the part taken by them on the equally monstrous evil of Slavery,—both of which, at that time, swept over the entire country, North and South,—was perfectly accessible and perfectly honorable; and we cannot understand why our good neighbor dismissed the

subject of his notice with a few cold words, loosely tacked on his mention of Mr. Wesley's ideas on the subject, apparently, as a tail is tacked on a kite, in order to keep the latter in an upright position.

Will *The Methodist* pardon us, if we supply the "record" which it has omitted, if not slighted? We are not of that denomination of Christians, nor do we agree with it on many of its leading tenets, but we are, nevertheless, disposed to see that it has fair play, especially when it is in the house of its friends.

As early as April, 1780, when "the Preachers in connection with Rev. Mr. John Wesley," met in Baltimore, in General Conference, the twenty-third "Minute" was in these words:

"QUES. 23.—Do we disapprove of the practice of distilling grain into liquor? *Shall we disown our friends who will not renounce the practice?*"

"ANSW.—YES."\*

This testimony struck at the very root of the evil, although it did not particularly allude to the use of alcoholic drinks; and, it seems to us, that both its character and the date which it bears, stamp it with respectability, and should command for it the respect of all who examine the general subject of which it treats.

But the Preachers did not rest at the distilleries. At their General Conference held at Ellis's Preaching House and, by adjournment, in Baltimore, in May, 1783, they advanced still further in their movement against Rum—the Eleventh "Minute" reading thus:

"QUES. 11. Should our friends be permitted to make spirituous liquors, *sell, or drink them in drams?*"

"ANSW. *By no means*; we think it wrong in its nature and consequences; and we desire all our Preachers to teach the people by precept and example to put away this evil."\*

\* The emphasized words are our own.—ED. HIST. MAG.

\* The Italics in this extract are ours.—ED. HIST. MAG.

But this was not all. In the standard edition of *The Form of Discipline for the Ministers*, etc.,—the Fifth,—under the Section—the Sixth—"on the Constituting of Deacons, and their Duty," is the following:

"Ques. 3. What other directions shall we give the Deacons?"

"Ans. Several:

\* \* \* \* \*

"4. Vigorously, but calmly, inforce the rules concerning needless ornaments and DRAMS" (p. 7).

Again: in Section xxxv. of the same work, on "The Nature, Design and general Rules of the United Societies," we find the following:

\* \* "There are about twelve persons in every class; one of whom is stiled *The Leader*.—It is his duty,

\* \* \* \* \*

"II. To meet the Ministers and the Stewards of the Society once a week, in order

\* \* \* \* \*

"3. There is one only condition previously required of those who desire admission into these societies, *a desire to flee from the wrath to come, i. e. a desire to be saved from their sins*: But, wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shewn by its fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation,

"First, By doing no harm, by avoiding evil of every kind; especially that which is most generally practised: Such as

\* \* \* \* \*

"Drunkenness, *buying or selling spirituous liquors; or drinking them.*" (p. 48.)\*

We have not considered it necessary to carry our examinations to more recent dates or to less authoritative sources; yet we respectfully submit that on the

testimony which we have adduced, the conclusions of *The Methodist*, concerning the action of the Fathers of the denomination in America, have been fully sustained.\*

H. B. D.

## VI.—NOTES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

Mr. Palfrey, in his *History of New England*, iii. 582, *Note*, refers to two

\* The letters from Doctor Rush, on which *The Methodist* relied for its statements, are so very interesting, in this connection, that we lay them before our readers. They were addressed to Doctor Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire, and are to be found in the original handwriting of Doctor Rush, in a volume of the correspondence of Doctor Belknap, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston.—*Belknap Papers*, i. 158.

### LETTER I.

"PHILADELPHIA, May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1788.

"DEAR SIR: The commerce in African slaves has breathed its last in Pennsylvania. . . . I am encouraged by the success that has finally attended the exertions of the friends of universal freedom and justice to go on in my romantic schemes (as they have often been called) of serving my countrymen. My next object shall be the extirpation of the abuse of spirituous liquors. For this purpose I have every year, for several years past, republished the inclosed tract (*Essay on the Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Constitution*) two or three weeks before harvest. The effects of this perseverance begin already to show themselves in our State. A family or township is hit with the publication one year, that perhaps neglected or ridiculed it the year before. Associations are forming in many places to give no spirits at the ensuing harvest. The Quakers and the Methodists take the lead in these associations, as they have often done in all enterprises that have morality and the happiness of society for their objects."

### LETTER II.

"PHILADELPHIA, July 13<sup>th</sup>, 1789.

"DEAR SIR: Mr. Hall, the printer, has neglected to publish the essay upon spirits, probably from an opinion that it is less necessary than formerly. Much less rum will be used this year than last, in this and the adjoining States of New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. From the influence of the Quakers and Methodists in checking this evil, I am disposed to believe that the business must be effected finally by religion alone. Human reason has been employed in vain; and the conduct of New England, in Congress, has furnished us with a melancholy proof that we have nothing to hope from the influence of law in making men wise and sober. Let these considerations lead us to address the heads and governing bodies of all the churches in America, upon the subject. I have borne a testimony (by particular desire) at a Methodist Conference against the use of ardent spirits, and I hope with effect. I have likewise written to the Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. Carroll, in Maryland, to set an association on foot, in his society, against them. I have repeatedly insisted upon a public testimony being published against them by the Presbyterian Synod of this city; and have suggested to our good Bishop, Dr. White, the necessity of the Episcopal Church not standing neutral in this interesting business. Go, then, my friend, and in your circle of influence, organize and do likewise."

\* The Italics in this extract are in the original.—ED. HIST. MAG.

pamphlets by John Palmer, formerly of New York: "*The Present State of New England*," &c. (1690), and "*An Impartial Account*," &c. (1689), both of which are mentioned by Rich, 114, 115. It was to the latter pamphlet that the "*Revolution in New England Justified*" (Force's *Tracts*, iv. No. 9) is a reply. Would it not be well to have these two rare pamphlets of Palmer republished, so as to be generally useful? They would assist very much in getting at the real truth.

B.

*New York City.*

FULTON'S STEAMBOAT.—The Rev. Dean of Ripon, in a recent lecture at Leeds, England, said that forty years ago he was invited by Gen. Moreau, at New York, to make a short trip with him on board "*a ship to go by hot water*." It was the first vessel of Fulton.—*Commercial Advertiser*, April 27, 1849. DE V.

*New York City.*

DESCENDANT OF COLUMBUS.—A gentleman in Rome, writing to a friend in Boston, makes the following reference to a descendant of Christopher Columbus:

"I have had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Monsignore Colombo, the only living descendant of Christopher Columbus. I first met him at a breakfast given by Cardinal Reisach at the Monasterie St. Cecelia, and accepted an invitation to dine with him. He is a very genial, pleasant man, about sixty; manifests great interest in the affairs of our country; and expressed his great desire to visit us. The Pope has granted him permission to be absent next year; and he intends to visit America. I hope he may do so, and that our people will give him a cordial, generous reception, he being the only living descendant of one whom Americans should gratefully remember and love to honor. He possesses many interesting relics, formerly belonging to Columbus, among

"which are two fine oil paintings of him. He has written a life of Columbus, and presented me with a copy, in Italian. I believe it has been translated into English, German, and French. Monsignore resides in Rome most of the year, passing a few months at his castle near Genoa."

HENRY LAURENS.—The following, from *The Royal Gazette*, No. 213, *New York*, Wednesday, October 14, 1778, will serve to illustrate, still further, your articles on Henry Laurens. W. K.

*New York*, Aug., 1866.

NEW YORK, October 14.

To the PRINTER.

SIR,

IT is with much concern I hear that Mr. Laurens, the President of the Congress, is looked upon by most of the loyal people of this continent as the blackest of incendiaries, and at the bottom of every violent and vindictive measure adopted by that body. I will be bold to say I am of a different opinion, and it is from a perfect knowledge of Mr. Laurens, I hold that opinion. I have written proofs in my possession to support it, could I think myself justified in publishing to the world private and friendly correspondence. The seats in Congress every one knows are very differently filled, from what they once were; the men of sense, character and property, have either abandoned that assembly, or have been drove out of it, and their places supplied by the indigent, the worthless, and the desperate. How Mr. Laurens can remain amongst them, is a matter of astonishment to all who know him. I wish to heaven he would exert that fortitude I know him possessed of, spurn at men he must despise, and reprobate councils he cannot in his heart approve. Was the united testimony of the whole Congress to be produced to his giving his approbation

to that indecent and illiberal answer to Sir Henry Clinton's last letter, I would not believe them, unless I had his assurance also. A false sense of honour I do believe is the only tie by which Mr. Laurens is bound to such a knot of parricides, or his character, his fortune, his love of country, and his affection for his family, would soon separate him from an association so unworthy of him. Having done this justice to the character of a man I was once happy to call my friend, I have only to add that I am,

Sir, Yours, &c.,  
VERAX.

N. Y. BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Peter Tharp, of Marlborough, Ulster Co., N. Y., published by subscription, in 1798, *A New and Complete System of Federal Arithmetic, in three parts; with an Appendix containing Board and Timber Measure, designed for the Use of Schools.* 140 pp. 12mo. Price 25 cents. E. B. O'C.  
*Albany, N. Y.*

PONTOOSUC.—This name has been given to one of our national war vessels. Its origin, in the Indian tongue, in western Massachusetts, where it now designates a beautiful lake, is thus furnished by *The Pittsfield Sun*.  
BRUNOVICUS.

Brunswick, Me.

PONTOOSUC.—In a letter from the Hon. JOHN STODDARD, dated "Nth Hampton, Dec'r 6th, 1739," he speaks of "laying out and Clearing a Road from Albany to Nth Hampton by Poontooksuck, which would greatly promote the settlement of that place, of which he [the person before mentioned] approved by a letter he lately wrote to me." (*N. E. Hist. & General Register*, April 1866, 133.)

In the Abnaki Indian language, of which a dialect was spoken by the natives on the Housatonic, the word "pontook" means "falls." The last syllable "suck" is a frequent termination to denote

"place." So that "Pontooksuck" means "Falls Place," and well represents the part of the stream which has furnished the several valuable water-powers that have called forth the enterprise and added to the wealth of the town, originally denoted by this name; which Yankee convenience has shortened to "Pontoo-suc."

The name of the beautiful lake at the head of this branch of the Housatonic, was "Shonkamonke." This is only another form of "Songamonki." The first part of the word is the same as "Sangamon," in another dialect, identical with "Sagamore." The termination "ki" is "land," or "place," and the whole word is the same in sense, as "Sagamore Lake." To perpetuate the name, the island in the lake might well be called "Sagamore Island."  
B.

POSSIBLE EASTERN ORIGIN OF YANKEE DOODLE.—I have lately read a work containing a passage which may bear on the source and meaning of these words. The book is a "*Journal of a Residence in England*," \* \* \* originally written in Persian "by H. R. H. Najaf Koolee Meerza \* \* \* London," published about 25 years ago, Vol. ii., p. 146. "As to America, which is known in the Turkish language by the name of 'Yanki Dooniah,' or 'the New World,' I found, on inquiry, that the fact is correctly stated, but the literal meaning of the words is 'End of the Earth.'"

WRITTEN HISTORIES.—John Adams thus referred to the written histories of his times:

"If I were to write a history of the last sixty years," [1755 until 1815] "as the facts rest in my memory and according to my judgment and under the oath of '*Pro veritate historiarum mearum*' '*Deum ipsum obtestor*,' a hundred writers in America, France, England, and Holland would immediately appear and

"call me, to myself and before the  
"world, a gross liar and a perjured vil-  
"lain."—*Letter to Rev. Dr. Morse*, March  
4, 1815.

DOCTOR WARREN'S CHILDREN.—1781.  
Dec., 3<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Lovell called respecting a  
Bill for the Education of one of Gen.  
Warren's children, and when I told him  
I had some time before ordered payment,  
he said he was concerned for the Honor  
of the State, that they had not paid it.  
He mentioned his intention of reporting  
£50 to be paid the Young man that dis-  
covered Arnold's plot for robbing the  
Secret<sup>y's</sup> office by his agents Moodie &c.  
I told him he had my approbation.—*MS.*  
*Diary of Robert Morris.*

#### WHO KILLED TECUMSEH?—

TO HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq., Ed. HISTORICAL  
MAGAZINE.

NORFOLK, VA., Aug. 15<sup>th</sup> '66.

DEAR SIR,

In the No. of your Magazine for July,  
I find a statement of facts relative to the  
death of Tecumseh.

It is in my power to furnish you with  
a corroboration of that very circumstan-  
tial narration, were any needed.

An intimate friend of my youth, Mr.  
Colin C. Spiller, of the county of Alber-  
marle, Virginia, was in the battle of the  
Thames, and he related to me the fol-  
lowing facts, which I give you in almost  
his very words.

He told me that after the battle he  
walked over the field with a Kentuckian,  
a *red-headed* man; and I am very sure  
that he said that his name was *King*.  
As they went on, they came to three In-  
dians lying dead. The Kentuckian re-  
marked, "I killed that fellow," pointing  
to the Indian lying between the two  
others.

King did not know who the savage  
was, and it was not till afterwards that  
he was identified as Tecumseh.

The conversation was introduced by

my own assertion that I believed that  
Col. Johnson had killed the Indian chief,  
as was then the general opinion, and  
Mr. Spiller gave me the above account  
to prove that I was mistaken.

I may add that Mr. S. was a gentleman  
of the strictest sense of honor, and I  
know that his narration was true.

Very respy., WM. R. GALT.

ANECDOTE OF REV. MR. PIERPONT.—We  
are glad to be able to print the following  
anecdote of the late Mr. Pierpont, which  
is sent us by a correspondent:

"The death of this venerable gentle-  
"man calls to mind a little history re-  
"lated to the writer by Paul Allen, an  
"eccentric poet and editor in Baltimore,  
"who had the honor of first nominating  
"General Jackson for the Presidency.  
"Mr. Pierpont and John Neal were part-  
"ners in the dry goods business, in that  
"city, about 1816-19. While thus en-  
"gaged, they formed, with Allen and  
"Dr. Watkins, who was afterwards em-  
"ployed at the Treasury Department in  
"Washington, and three other literary  
"wits, what they called the 'Delphian  
"Club,' which met one evening in each  
"week for literary exercises and enter-  
"tainment; their numbers being strictly  
"confined to seven. Mr. Pierpont was  
"the life of these meetings, which were  
"productive of rare enjoyment to all the  
"members. One evening it was among  
"their exercises to produce four lines of  
"the sweetest poetry, to convey the pret-  
"tiest idea, and contain the least sense;  
"and Mr. Pierpont excelled all the others  
"in this performance. These were his  
"lines:

"Pleasure comes in car of purple,

"Purple car that's drawn by doves,

"Doves that both the car and her pull,

"Pull where'er the zephyr moves."

SLAVERY IN NEW YORK.—The following  
will illustrate the status of Slaves in  
New York, *after* THE REVOLUTION:

[From *The New York Packet*, and *The American Advertiser*, Numb. 434 [New York] Thursday, November 4, 1784.]

**T**he subscriber having broke up house-keeping for the present, has for SALE, a NEGRO-MAN and NEGRO-WOMAN, with her CHILD about two years old.—The Negro Man and his Wife will be sold together or separate, as may suit the purchaser—they both understand house-work, and the Negro Man has been used to assist in the tallow-chandlery business. Enquire their price of

ABRAHAM VAN DEURSEN,  
At No. 10, Dock Street.

**LONGEVITY.**—Rev. William Williams, of Hatfield, died in 1741, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the fifty-sixth of his ministry. His son, Dr. Solomon Williams, died in 1776, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the fifty-seventh of his ministry. His son, Dr. Eliphalet Williams, died in 1803, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the fifty-fifth of his ministry. His son, Rev. Solomon Williams, died in 1839, in the eighty-third year of his age and the fifty-fifth of his ministry. His son, Dea. Eliphalet Williams, of Northampton, is living and eighty-six.

**HAMILTON AND BURR.**—A paper in Boston, objecting to an Oration upon the death of Alexander Hamilton, broke out with this exclamation:

*"An Oration!"*—The Champion, the "Goliath of party is dead—and died like a fool! He ought to have had the burial of an ass, and none to lament him, "saying, ah Lord! or ah his glory!"—*The New York Spectator*, Saturday, August 4, 1804.

FENIAN.

**AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, 1789.**—"According to an estimate lately made by a gentleman of this city [*New York*],

"chiefly from actual accounts received "from the several printers, it appears "that the number of *Newspapers* printed "in the United States, weekly, is 76,438—"annually 3,974,776, which at 4 cents "each, amounts to 158,991 dollars and "four cents."—*Gazette of the United States*, Oct. 14, 1789.

FENIAN.

**DEATH OF THE DISCOVERER OF THE SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI—HIS NARRATION OF THE EVENT.**—William Morrison died recently near Montreal, aged eighty-two years. That which most of all will immortalize his name, is the fact of his being the first white man who discovered the sources of the Mississippi River. This honor has been generally awarded to Schoolcraft; but there are living (or were very recently) witnesses of the justness of Mr. Morrison's claim. The following copy of a letter which the late Mr. Morrison addressed to the Historical Society of Minnesota, so clearly sets forth his claim as to leave no doubt of his title to the lasting honor of this great discovery, viz:

"I left Old Grand Portage in 1802; "and landed at Leech Lake, in September. In October, I went and wintered "on one of the Crow Wing streams, near "its source. Our Indians were Pillagers. "In 1803-4, I wintered at Rice Lake. I "passed by Red Cedar Lake (now Cass "Lake), and followed up the Mississippi "to Cross Lake; then followed up the "Mississippi to near Elk Lake (now "Itasca), the source of the great Mississippi. The portage we made to get to "Rice Lake, that empties itself into the "Red River, which I visited in 1804; "and if the late Gen. Pike did not lay it "down as such, when he came to Leech "Lake, it is because he did not happen "to meet me. I was at an outpost that "winter. The late Gen. Pike laid down "on his map, Cass Lake as the head of "the Mississippi River. I did not trace

"any vestige of white men before, to Itasca Lake. In 1811-12 I again went the same route, and down Rice River to the plains. Then I overtook a gentleman with an outfit from Mackinac, M. Otepe, with whom I parted only at Fond-du-Lac. He took the south, toward Mackinac, and I took the north to Headquarters, which had been changed to Fort William from Old Grand Portage. This, I expect, will explain that I visited, in 1804 and in 1811-12, Itasca and five small streams that empty into that lake.

"By way of explanation why the late Gen. Pike, in 1805, who had orders to trace the Mississippi to its source, failed to do so, I must say he was stopped a little below Swan River (what is now called Pike's Rapids or Block House) by the foe; and had to proceed on foot to Leech Lake. He had to learn there where the source of the Mississippi was. He went to Cass Lake and could not go further. He had been told that I knew the source; but could not see me, being out on an outpost. This want of information made him commit the error. Some person, not knowing better, told him there was no river above Cass Lake. Cass Lake receives the waters of Cross Lake; and Cross Lake receives that of Itasca Lake. There are five small streams that empty into Itasca Lake. They are short, and will soon lose themselves in swamps. Rice River is a short portage, and is called the heights of land, which is the dividing ridge between the Mississippi and the waters that empty into Red River and Hudson's Bay. No white man can claim the discovery of the Mississippi before me, for I was the first who saw the source.

"Yours, &c.,

"WILLIAM MORRISON."

It is manifest from this that neither Schoolcraft nor Nicolet were the first discoverers of the Mississippi.

## VII.—QUERIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Can you inform your readers where—unless at Cambridge—an American can find a copy of Cotton Mather's *Parentator*, published in 1724, to which Mr. Palfrey refers in the third volume of his *History of New England*, pages 332 and 511, *Notes*? ENQUIRER.

September, 1866.

THE OLD BULL'S HEAD TAVERN, IN THE BOWERY.—When was this celebrated tavern torn down? What is the present number, which is the site of that old tavern? CLEAVER.

Greenpoint, L. I.

REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS (Vol. X., p. 19).—William Hutchings, of Penobscot, Me., died May 15th, 1866, and Lemuel Cook, of Clarendon, Orleans Co., N. Y., the last of the Revolutionary heroes, whose name appears on the Pension-rolls, died May 20th, 1866, aged 102 years.

Are there any persons living who participated in the war of the Revolution?

What number of widows of Revolutionary soldiers are now on the Pension-rolls? J. S. F.

Westchester, Pa.

## VIII.—REPLIES.

MASSACHUSETTS ELECTION SERMONS. (Vol. 10, p. 156).—Your correspondent MEMO thus closes his interesting notice of Election Sermons: "Perhaps some of your readers may be able to furnish lists of those in other libraries, public or private."

In obedience to this call, I now send you a list of Election Sermons in my possession, viz.:

1736. Edward Holyoke, of Marblehead, made Pres. of H. C., 1737.

1739. Samuel Mather, of Boston (Artillery Election), (T. Fleet).

1742. Nathaniel Appleton, of Cambridge (Boston, John Draper for S. Elliot).  
 1746. John Barnard, of Andover (John Draper).  
 1750. Samuel Phillips, of Andover.  
 1770. Samuel Cooke, of Cambridge.  
 1772. Moses Parsons, of Byfield.  
 1794. Samuel Deane, of Portland.  
 1798. Nathaniel Emmons, of Franklin.  
 1800. Joseph McKeen, of Beverly, First President of Bowdoin College.  
 1801. Aaron Bancroft, of Worcester.  
 1806. Samuel Shepard, of Lenox.  
 1807. Wm. Bentley, of Salem.  
 1809. Dr. Osgood, of Medford.  
 1812. Edmund Foster, of Littleton.  
 1819. Peter Eaton, of Roxford.  
 1827. Moses Stuart, of Andover.  
 1828. James Walker, of Charlestown, afterwards President of Harvard College.  
 1830. Wm. E. Channing, of Boston.  
 1831. Leonard Withington, of Newbury.

The Rev. Thomas Smith, of Portland, was invited to preach the sermon, but declined.

I have also several Convention Sermons, among them Dr. Charles Chauncey's, 1744, printed by Rogers & Fowle, for S. Elliot; Wm. Balch's, of Bradford, 1760; John Tucker's, of Newburyport, 1768.

The above are scattered through several bound volumes of sermons and religious pamphlets.

Portland, 1866.

WM. WILLIS.

PLACENTIA ISLANDS. (Vol. 10, p. 159).—Two places of this name are mentioned in the classics: the most noted of which is one situated on the Po, near the mouth of the ancient Trebia, now Trebbia. The name would seem to involve the thought of "Pleasant Places," *i.e.*, "Placentia Loca;" the plural being used for emphasis. Some early visitor—perhaps the makers of De Barre's Charts—may have given the same name to the islands off Mt. Desert, as derived from classic times, or may have applied it as of his own invention, to indicate the beauties gathered in and around this mountain island.

BRUNOVICUS.

THE BAY OF FUNDY. (Vol. 10, p. 158).—This name may be traced to "Sinus Fodinarum," *i.e.*, "The Bay of Mines," given by reason of the metals supposed, by De Monts and other early navigators, to exist in the northern part of Nova Scotia. On the map of Du Creux (1660), published in Bressani's *Relation*, the word "Fodinarum" occurs in connection with the present Cape Blomidon. The maps of this Province still retain the idea in the "Basin of Mines," often pronounced "Mi-nes" and "Mi-nas." The change of position in one of the letters, by which "Fodin" becomes "Fondi," and so "Fundy" is not extraordinary.

Brunswick, Me.

B.

CAUGHNAWAGAS—(Vol. x. p. 224).—These Indians are described as being "in Canada. May they not have been "on the Mohawk? Is it true that the "Canada tribe of this name were refugees from the tribe of the same name "in this State? Where did they have "their ancient home?"

The Caughnawagas were a tribe of the Mohawk Nation, and dwelt at an early day along the north side of the Mohawk, in what was for many years known as the town of Johnstown. When Montgomery County was divided, something over twenty years ago, the town of Johnstown was also divided; the northerly portion, retaining its name, finding a lodgment in Fulton County, with its county seat still at Johnstown; and the southern part, called the town of Mohawk, in which, at a new village just then commenced and called Fonda (after the late Gen. Henry Fonda), was located the new county seat for Montgomery County, which County lies along both sides of the Mohawk. Those two county seats are within *four miles* of each other, and the only Colonial Court House, probably, in the State, is the one at Johnstown, erected under the supervision and auspices of Sir William Johnson.

The principal settlement of the Caughnawagas was at the ancient village of Caughnawaga, which is now embraced in the corporate limits of Fonda; though the tribe was scattered along the river, to the eastward of that place, some six or eight miles, embracing the district called from their occupancy, Tribes Hill.

Caughnawaga became a trading post at an early day; and, prior to the Revolution, Maj. Jelles Fonda carried on at this place, an extensive trade with the Indians and the pioneer Dutch settlers of the Mohawk Valley. The Caughnawagas remaining near the graves of their fathers at the beginning of the Revolution, followed the fortunes of the Johnsons and Butlers of their neighborhood, to Canada.

In June, 1778, a large body of Tories and Indians returned quietly by the northern route to their old homes, in the vicinity of Johnstown; and gathering as secretly as possible their families, which was the principal object of their visit, and at which time the greater number of the Indians were living about Tribes' Hill; they made a detour, when ready for their return, through the isolated little settlements, near the Sacondaga River, capturing sixteen prisoners, fifteen of whom, with no little booty, they carried to Canada. Solomon Woodworth, one of the prisoners made in Mayfield, escaped, the first night, from their encampment on the north side of the Sacondaga, near the present village of Conklingville, some twenty miles below the Fish House, and returned in safety to Johnstown. He afterwards made a gallant defense of a small block-house, in Mayfield, pursuing and killing most of the invaders; and, for his bravery, was given the command of a company of Rangers. He left Fort Dayton, which stood within the present village of Herkimer, on his first enterprise, in the summer of 1781. A few miles up the West Canada Creek, he struck an Indian trail; and, over-anxious to meet the foe, he dis-

carded the advice of several of his men, was drawn into an ambuscade, a few miles from Eaton's Bush, in Herkimer County, and was slain, with more than half of his command. With twenty-five of his men, he was next day buried by another company of Caughnawaga Rangers, then at that fort, commanded by Captain Putman, on the ground where they fell. They were all buried in one grave, and no stone marks their resting place. This was one of the bloodiest transactions of the Mohawk Valley settlements, during the war. The bones of those brave men should be removed to Herkimer, buried on the site of Fort Dayton, and a befitting monument placed over them. Who in Herkimer County will take the paternity of so laudable an enterprise? The one who does, may put me down for a five-dollar greenback. The details of this sad affair I had a few years ago from the lips of one of the few who escaped to tell them. He was also a prisoner to the Indians from whom Woodworth escaped, in 1778. He was under cover of the same tree with his gallant Captain, who, as he was falling, with a bullet through his heart, as supposed, exclaimed, "O God! I am a dead man!" He never spoke again.

One word upon the origin of the name Caughnawaga. It would be folly to undertake to tell *when* it originated; but it had a *local* origin, and signified *Stone in the water*. As there is a rift at this place, some think it should be rendered *Stone in the rapid water*. The name, we may suppose, originated long before it attached to the Indians, who were living in its vicinity when the whites first entered the valley. As at other rapids, so at this, there are numerous stones in the water, but the one here especially designated is so large that it is still visible when all the rest are under water, and after a freshet it is the first one again visible. Hence it became a local landmark to the red man in his early roving

life. In the third volume of the *Documentary History of New York*, arranged by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, at page 1108, in the Journal of the Rev. John Taylor, missionary, who passed through the Mohawk Valley, in 1802, the signification of this word is given as *Cook the kettle*. He could hardly have shot wider of his mark, though he did give part of the signification of Canajoharie, which is, *The kettle that washes itself*. J. R. S.  
FORT PLAIN, N. Y., August 7, 1866.

## IX. CURRENT EVENTS.

### —CELEBRATION OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHURCH AT FISHKILL.

The celebration, on the twelfth of September, of the founding of this church, one and a half centuries ago, gathered a large number of clergymen from different portions of the Reformed Dutch Church, and also led many of the sons and daughters of Fishkill to revisit the scenes of their early years.

When the bell tolled the hour for these public exercises to begin, between 700 and 800 persons crowded the body, the galleries and aisles of this ancient church. The people had adorned it with evergreens, and thus fitted it up tastefully for the occasion. Directly opposite the pulpit, the gallery bore the inscription, "Praise ye the Lord!" Upon the left side was inscribed, "The Lord our God, be with us, as he was with our fathers," while the right presented the encouraging scripture, "Instead of thy fathers, shall be thy children."

The choir opened the exercises by singing the hymn, "Praise ye the Lord."

The Rev. George H. Fisher, D. D., of Hackensack, N. J., the only surviving former pastor of the church, offered an impressive Prayer; and an appropriate hymn, written for the occasion by Miss Ann R. Barrulo, of Hopewell, was sung by the choir.

The pastor of the church, the Rev. Dr. Francis Kipp, then delivered an able and extended historical discourse, occupying an hour and a half of its delivery. This Address was the result of long preparation, careful study and that intimate acquaintance which a pastor's position of thirty years' duration has given him, with the condition, incidents and traditions of his people. After speaking of the difficulties of preparing a proper historical sketch, growing out of the loss of the

Consistorial minutes, the speaker traced the early history of this section.

Francis Rembout and Gulian Verplanck obtained a license, in 1682, to purchase 85,000 acres of land of the Wappinger Indians. A committee sent to examine the land, forming portions of Dutchess and Putnam Counties, reported "it not worth crossing the river to obtain." The land was conveyed by the King's Patent to Rembout, Stephen Van Cortlandt, and Jacobus Kip.

In 1737, this County was divided into seven precincts. In 1714, it contained 445 inhabitants, of whom, in 1717, 195 were taxable: and their property was assessed at \$3,250. The churches of Poughkeepsie and Fishkill were collegiate, till 1772.

The first recorded marriage and baptism were in 1731. The first edifice was erected in that year, of stone, with metal shutters and a bell. The speaker described, fully, the great controversy between the Cœtus and the Conferentiæ, which produced so much unhappy contention in the Reformed Dutch Church, from 1737 until the division was healed through Dr. Livingston's influence, in 1772.

This controversy obtained in this church; and the parties were very bitter toward each other. The Cœtus party, who favored an ecclesiastical organization independent of the Classis of Amsterdam, called Henry Schoonmaker as the fifth pastor of the united churches. The Conferentiæ, who only recognized the validity of ordinations in Holland, were so strongly opposed to this call, that they closed the doors of the church at Poughkeepsie; and his ordination was held under an apple tree, near by. The latter party made a strong and graphic representation of the irregularity of the proceedings of the Cœtus, and asked the Classis to send them a minister. They sent Dominie Rysdyck; so that for some years there were two pastors, one for each party. The ministers agreed very well, but the contests of the people were bitter. The Cœtus party at one time broke open the doors of this church; and at another were accustomed to sit in their pews with clubs in hand ready to repel any assault. The spirit of division remained long after it was formally healed, in 1772.

Mr. Rysdyck was a gentle, mild man, a gentleman of the old style, a man of diversified attainments, and the most learned theologian in the Dutch Church. He conducted the first Academy in Fishkill, in which Dr. Livingston and other distinguished men were trained. He was made a Theological Professor by the General Synod. After ceasing his labors here, he preached at Hopewell and New Hackensack, till his death, in 1790. The speaker gave an interesting and concise sketch of all the ten pastors of the church. The first of these, Cornelius Van Schie, labored

here for seven years, from 1731 to 1738, and then removed to Albany. The second, Benjamin Maynama, filled this charge from 1745 to 1755. He is said to have died in Albany, in 1761. Jacob Van Nist was pastor two and a half years; and died here and was buried under the pulpit. Mr. Schoonmaker was pastor for ten years, from 1763 to 1773, during the troublesome period. Mr. Rysdyck's ministry reached till 1789. Mr. Blauvelt officiated from 1783 to 1790. Nicholas Van Vranken was called in 1791, as pastor of the Fishkill, New Hackensack, and Hopewell churches. His ministry was greatly blessed, and he was much beloved. His son was for many years Professor of Theology, in the Theological Seminary. The Rev. C. D. Westbrook's ordination, in 1806, is the last one which has been held in this church. His pastorate was one of twenty five years. His character was benevolent and he was greatly honored, dying in Kingston, in 1858. The Rev. George H. Fisher was pastor from 1830 to 1835, since which time the chair has been filled by the present incumbent, the speaker.

Until 1747, this church and that of Poughkeepsie were the only churches, and their pastors the only ministers, in this section. Now there are seven churches and pastors in the same field, with a membership of 1,516, and having nearly 800 families. Out of this church have been formed the churches of Hopewell, Fishkill Landing, and Glenham; and yet the church has now twice the strength it had when he became its pastor.

The present church edifice was erected in 1784, and finished in 1790; the steeple, pulpit, &c., were built a few years after.

Of then ten pastors who have filled the pulpit during the last 150 years, two died in the service and two are still living. The speaker closed with the impressive thought that it is a hundred years since the pastorate of Mr. Rysdyck, and nearly all the pastors and people of that time and since had gone! Who will preach to you a hundred years hence? Who will fill these pews? Who will walk these streets? What shadows we are! and what shadows we pursue!

After the conclusion of the address, a hymn, written for the occasion by James E. Dean, Esq., of Fishkill, was sung.

An interesting poem, in memory of the early times and customs of the country, was then delivered by T. Van Wyck Brinkerhoff, Esq., of Hopewell. The Rev. Dr. Thomas De Witt, of New York, closed the exercises with Prayer and the Benediction.

Shortly after the exercises in the church, the audience and friends, to the number of twelve or fifteen hundred persons, repaired to the beautiful grounds adjoining the mansion of John C. Van

Wyck, Esq. Here, beside the shaded banks of the Fishkill, the ladies had spread an abundant and tasteful collation. The assemblage enjoyed the scene, drank in the beauties of nature, and satisfied the wants of the inner man. After they were disposed of, the audience again listened to excellent and appropriate addresses from the Rev. Dr. Wm. H. Campbell, of Rutgers College, Chancellor Ferris, the Rev. Dr. Demarest, of New Brunswick, and others. Chancellor Ferris referred to the time when there was but one Professor at New Brunswick, and he had to leave for want of support.

The company was dismissed with a Benediction.

2.—THE CONSECRATION OF THE MEDFORD SOLDIERS' MONUMENT, on the sixth of September was participated in by a large proportion of the citizens. A procession, composed of the military, Fire department, the Masonic organization, School and dignitaries of the Town, was formed in the Square; and at two o'clock, started for the Cemetery, which is about two miles distant. The exercises at the grounds opened with a dirge, and after the procession had halted, a brief introductory address by Mr. Mitchell, the Chairman of the Committee, was listened to with much attention. He was followed by Rev. Mr. Hooper in reading of appropriate selections of Scripture and prayer by Rev. Mr. Waitt. The oration was pronounced by Rev. Charles Brooks, and remarks were made by Rev. Messrs. Preston, Davis, and McCollum. The exercises closed with "America," sung by the choir.

The Monument is constructed of Concord granite, located near the entrance to the Oak Grove Cemetery, and is about twenty feet high with a base about four feet square and three feet high. From the corners of this base there are projections of about one foot square each, of which are placed imitation shells of granite. On the base is a solid block of granite, four feet in width by three in height, on the four faces of which are inserted marble tablets containing inscriptions of the names of those to whose memory the monument is to be consecrated. On the East side, facing the entrance to the Cemetery, the inscription: "In Honor of the Medford Volunteers who sacrificed their lives in defense of the Union. Fallen heroes leave fragrant memories."

The other tablets bear the names of the honored dead. They are as follows: Lieutenant-Colonel J. G. CHAMBERS, wounded at Drury's Bluff, died at Fortress Monroe; Lieutenant WILLIAM H. BURBANK, died of wounds; EDWARD GUSTIN, killed in battle; L. M. FLETCHER, died of disease; FRANK A. KEEN, died in battle; E. SPRAGUE, died of wounds; D. T. NEWCOMB, killed in battle; D. NOLAN, died of disease; A. H. STAC

died of disease; D. MCGILLICUDDY, S. HARDING, JAMES HALEY, J. P. HUBBELL, AUGUSTUS TUFTS, B. J. ELLIS, H. MILLS, G. H. LEWIS, Corporal G. H. CHAMPLIN, and S. W. JOYCE, died of disease; J. STETSON, JAMES BURNE, E. IRELAND, WILLIAM HARDING, H. R. HATHAWAY, D. S. CHENERY, R. W. CHESLYN, Sergeant S. M. STEVENS, Corporals E. B. HATCH and R. C. HATHAWAY, killed in battle; J. M. POWERS, C. W. WILLIS, A. JOYCE, PATRICK GLEASON, R. LIVINGSTON, F. J. CURTIS, H. G. CURRELL, W. H. ROGERS, J. M. GARRETT, M. O'CONNELL, Sergeant J. T. MORRISON, E. H. COOLIDGE, B. J. ELLIS, died in prison; F. CURTIN and Corporal J. M. FLETCHER, died of wounds.

The top of the stone containing the names is surrounded with neat and appropriate mouldings, from which arises a granite shaft, about ten feet in height, surmounted by an urn encircled with a carved laurel wreath. The monument and its surroundings were beautifully decked with flowers and trimmed with evergreen and the National colors. The total expense of the monument was \$3,500.—*Transcript*.

3.—ON Saturday last, the old settlers of Rock Island and vicinity united in a joyful picnic on Rock Island. In the course of the day, says the *Davenport Gazette*, the Hon. Joseph Knox, well and honorably known to the old settlers on both sides of the river, one of Rock Island's first and best friends (but who now resides at Chicago,) was introduced amid the applause of the multitude, and, in a stirring speech, held the audience with breathless attention for three quarters of an hour.—*Springfield (Ill.) Republican*, Sept. 26.

4.—THE SARGEANT PLACE, on Prospect Hill, Stockbridge, has recently been purchased by Hon. J. E. Field, for \$15,000. The venerable homestead was built in 1739, by the Province of Massachusetts Bay, for Rev. John Sargeant, first Missionary to the Stockbridge Indians. The title to the property has remained in the Sargeant family from the time of Governor Belcher to the purchase by Mr. Field.

5.—CHURCH CELEBRATIONS.—The church and society of the Winnisimmet Church, on Chestnut street, Chelsea, celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its organization on the twentieth of September, in the afternoon and evening. In the afternoon, Rev. I. P. Langworthy, the first pastor of the church, delivered a historical discourse before a full and interested audience. In the religious services in the afternoon, Rev. Dr. Cobb and Rev. Dr. Blagden participated. A social conference meeting was held in the evening.—*Transcript*.

## X.—PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

### 1.—NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

*Boston*, August 1.—The monthly meeting of this Society was helden this afternoon, Dr. Winslow Lewis in the chair. The Librarian's report acknowledged the donations, since the last meeting, of forty bound volumes; also a large number of newspapers and pamphlets. The Historiographer read memoirs of the following-named deceased Members: Rev. Calvin Fletcher, of Indianapolis, Ind., a Corresponding and Life Member, who died May 26, 1866, aged 68 years; Rev. Nathan Munroe, Resident Member, of Bradford, Mass., who died July 8, 1866, aged 62 years; and of Hon. Lewis Cass, Honorary Vice-President of the Society for Michigan, who died June 17, 1866, aged 83 years.

Rev. Elias Nason read a most able and interesting paper on *The Literary Character of the Founders of New England*.

Mr. Nason commenced his paper by relating the accidental circumstance which drew out the beautiful lines of Mrs. Hemans on the Pilgrim Fathers, beginning:

"The breaking waves dashed high  
On a stern and rock-bound coast," &c.

He said the original settlers of New England were men of stamina and mark, and, to some extent, of gentle blood. They were, to use the King's word, "harried" out of their native land for conscience's sake; and, as the oaks of the mountain gather strength by the storms that beat upon them, so did they increase in power, in solid and compact nobility of soul, by the tremendous ordeal through which they passed. It was not hyperbole to say that God sifted a continent to find choice seed wherewith to sow America. The far-spreading branches of the high-towering Tree of Liberty, the golden clusters of the fruit we pluck from it, abundantly attest the genuineness and excellence of that seed. He said the Pilgrims were the most conscientious, liberal, enlightened, and even tolerant men of their times. They stood nearer the word of God. They persecuted heretics; but England herself had driven more than twenty thousand of them into exile; and by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Louis Quatorze let slip the bloodhounds of war upon a million of the unoffending. It was the fashion of the times to be intolerant. They had their faults; we would not gloss them over, but their penal code was milder than the mother country's. Did they hang witches? Sir Matthew Hale himself pronounced against them. The spirit of the age was intolerant, yet it is a firmly-fixed historic verity that our fathers were in front of the foremost of the defenders of Civil and Religious Liberty, at that period.

Mr. Nason said it could be most clearly shown that the men whom we proudly claim as our ancestors in this country, possessed a profound literary as well as religious spirit. They were scholars and educators. We should consider the time in which they lived. They had but little leisure. They were too much absorbed by their daily cares in the establishment of the Colony to write *Iliads* or *Divina Commedias*. It was before Addison had written his charming periods; and we must remember that every successive generation has its own peculiar style.

Mr. Nason spoke of John Robinson, who said God had yet more light to break forth from his holy word, and quoted from his works, and of that remarkable compact written on board the *Mayflower*, equaling the Declaration of Independence, and containing the germ of civil liberty; of Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Morton, Winthrop, Dudley, Sir Henry Vane, John Wilson, Roger Williams, John Norton, William Hubbard, Thomas Parker (the first Minister of Newbury), Peter Bulkley, John Wheelwright, the Mathers, Gorton, Danforth, Hooker, Giles Firmin, Nathaniel Ward, John Harvard, Henry Dunster, John Eliot, and others, giving some characteristics of each.

We complacently call our city not the Athens of America alone, but the "Hub" of the whole universe. But, taken hundred by hundred, should we find as many people conversant with the polite tongues to-day as in the times of Henry Dunster? No person in his senses can believe it; and did our preachers of the "Hub" and the spokes around it deign to introduce into their sermons that "well-beaten oil," that solid substance of well-hammered logic, that golden argosy of divine philosophy, that celestial grace which Cotton, Hooker, Shepard and Eliot used, there would not now be so many empty seats at church, so many lethargic heads in those seats which are occupied.

Mr. Nason mentioned and scanned the ability, beauty and merits of many of the literary and historical works of these learned fathers. He spoke of *The Bay Psalm Book*, by Mather, Weld and Eliot; of Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence*; of Roger Clapp's *Advice to his Children*; of Daniel Gookin's *Historical Collection*; of the Indians, etc. He spoke of the establishment of the first printing press, comparing it with the present wonder-working steam-power; of the Atlantic telegraph, now bringing the lips of freedom to touch the ear of royalty, saying, "So may these sublime outboundings of power be traced distinctly back to the spirit of the founders of our beloved land."

A copy of this paper, a very slight sketch of which is here given, was, on motion of Hon. Charles Hudson, requested for the Society.

Wm. B. Towne, Esq., the Treasurer, gave a short statement of his late visit to Stratford-upon-Avon.

Frederick Kidder, Esq., made a report on the date of the Sudbury fight, which will be printed in the October number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

The meeting then adjourned.

*Boston, Wednesday, September 5.*—The regular monthly meeting of this Society was held this afternoon. W. B. Trask, the historiographer, read memoirs of Hon. Ezekiel Whitman, who died at East Bridgewater, Mass., on the first of August, aged ninety years, and of Hon. Augustus Dewey LL.D., who died in Northampton, Mass., on the twenty-second of the same month, aged seventy-three years, both honorary members. The former was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Maine, and the other one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Also a memoir of Hon. John Reynolds, ex-Governor of Illinois, a corresponding member, recently deceased.

Wm. R. Deane read a paper, prepared by Joseph L. Chester, Esq., of London, England, author of the life of the proto-martyr John Rogers. The paper contains the results of a long and laborious investigation upon the ancestry of Governor Hutchinson. It solves the chief doubts existing in respect to the early history and connections of this family. The genealogy of the famous Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, as well as that of her husband, has been successfully traced. She was a daughter of Rev. Francis and Mrs. Bridget (Dryden) Marbury, and was baptized at Alford, in Lincolnshire, on the twentieth of July, 1591. Her father was subsequently rector of three churches in London, namely: St. Martin's, Vintry, St. Pancras, Soper Lane, and St. Margaret's, New Fish street. The father of John Dryden, the poet, was a first cousin to the New England female religionist, and the poet himself was (to use the nomenclature of the late Mr. Shattuck) her cousin-nephew.

The paper will be printed in *The Historical and Genealogical Register*. It is one of the most exhaustive specimens of genealogical research that has been completed. It throws light upon the genealogy of several other New England families. Mr. Chester has also prepared a paper on the Washington family, in which he proves that the connection with the English family, usually given, is erroneous. This will be printed in the October number of the *Heraldic Journal*.

David Pulsifer exhibited a manuscript Journal of the House of Peers, beginning on the seventeenth of May, 1625, and ending on the fifteenth of June, 1626, a large folio volume in good preservation; a very curious relic of the

era immediately preceding Oliver Cromwell. Mr. Pulsifer made some interesting comments upon some passages in the volume and upon the period between 1626 and the Protector. The meeting then adjourned.—*Transcript.*

## 2.—THE NEW ENGLAND NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

*Boston, Thursday, Sept. 20.*—The regular monthly meeting of this Society was held at its room this evening. After the transaction of the regular business of the meeting, quite an interesting discussion took place relative to the origin of two ancient coins exhibited to the members, in which all present participated. This Society is increasing in numbers, and we learn that it is the intention of the officers to open the hall every evening during the coming winter, and to invite young numismatic students to be present.

## XI.—NUMISMATIC NOTES.

**THE NEW COIN.**—A few days since, a facetious butcher in New York sent to us five new and bright specimens of this *new* thing “under the sun,” the first we had seen of the kind,—and he desired us to consider that each of them was worth *five cents*—one-twentieth of an old-fashioned silver dollar, such as, when younger than we are now, we sometimes saw in the hands of working-men, at the close of a day’s work.

They were duly looked at, by all the members of our country household; and, with one exception, these condemned them as humbugs—the approving party regarded them only as legal equivalents for five sticks of candy, at the neighboring confectioner’s; and cared nothing more for the obverse or reverse of the pieces, than for the swindle of the Government in passing them for, what they are not, five cents, or one-twentieth of a silver dollar.

We supposed, in our Westchester verdancy, that each of the shining things which the butcher had sent to us, was intended as a coin—a measure of *value*, in any exchange which we should desire to make, of the products of our labor for those of the labor of others; indeed, we were told that that was the case, and we believed the statement, notwithstanding the ugliness of the piece and the doubts which we entertained concerning its intrinsic value.

How unfounded in fact was that sage conclusion of ours! How far from such an intention, it seems, was the object of the Treasury Department, in authorizing its issue!

A few days since, one of the Scientific Conventions of the month—bodies in which there have been seen a vast deal more of speculative

theories than of practical common sense—invited the Honorable Samuel B. Ruggles, who was a delegate from this country to the Statistical Convention recently assembled at Brussels, in Belgium, to address it, which invitation he graciously accepted; and what, kind reader, do you suppose he said to the assembled wisdom of that body? Why, in fact, nothing more, if the newspaper reports speaks truly—and who has ever doubted the correctness of such an authority?—than the fact that the first great result of the great wisdom which was concentrated in that great assemblage of great men from all the great countries of the New World, as well as from all the little ones of the Old World, is this great—what-do-you-call-it?—“*COIN.*” Truly, when the mountain labored in Brussels, it brought forth a mouse!

But that is not all. Our readers have heard of that botch of a blacksmith who undertook to make a broad-axe, and failed; concluded he could better make an ordinary axe, and failed again; thought his material would be better employed in a hatchet, but after heating and hammering it, failed a third time; and, finally, thought he knew of one thing it would do for, and after heating it a fourth time and plunging it into the water-trough, really and truly accomplished his purpose, by making—a *hiss*. Just so, it seems to us, this Statistical Convention at Brussels proposed to do very much more than it knew how to do; and the things before us—with such a multiplied Trans-Atlantic paternity, with such authority as the Treasury Department could impart, and with all the beauty which the great taste of the well-fed wet-nurses at the Mint could secure for them—it seems, are not, after all *Coins*, but new-fashioned *TAPE-LINES*, or new-fashioned *STEEL-YARDS*, or *both*. Witness the following:

“At a meeting of ‘The American Association “for the Advancement of Science,’ held at Buffalo, on the eighteenth of August, Doctor Gould alluded to the recent act of Congress in partially entering upon the metric system in the introduction of the new five-cent piece. With “this coin in his pocket, every man could readily “determine measure and weight. By placing five “of them side by side, he would have exactly the “*decimeter* (or the tenth part of a *meter*); three of “them used as weights would give fifteen *grammes*, which slightly exceeds the half ounce. If “a person wishes to pay the postage on a foreign “letter to any country in Europe, he had only “to place the letter on one side of a scale and “the five-cent piece on the other, and he would “at once have the weight of the letter and the “price of the postage.”

There’s Science, for you, kind reader! “With “this coin in his pocket, every man could *readily*

"determine MEASURE and WEIGHT." Marvelous result, truly, of marvelous modern Science! Just as if, with one of the *old-fashioned* five-cent pieces, or even with a five-cent shinplaster, "in his pocket," every man could not, just as readily as with this, "determine weight and measure." Just as if, "with this coin in his pocket," any man would be wiser than before, concerning the distance to the next town or the short weight in his in-coming ton of coals.

Seriously: this thing, by courtesy called "*a coin*," is just the ugliest, just the most contemptible, of the several petty issues with the name of "money," of our petty, if not contemptible, Mint-masters. It is a disgrace to the designer, and stamps the artistic ability of our countrymen with contempt. It is a disgrace to the Department which approved it; and stamps those who authorized the issue of such a *penny toy* as a *five-cent coin* of the country, with the questionable qualities of a Petty-Larceny, Special-Sessions culprit. It is a disgrace to the Scientific men of our country, who are its Godfathers: and stamps their crude speculations with their true value, as void of practical common-sense. In short, it proves, beyond a doubt, the entire incompetence of those who control our coinage, and the stern necessity which exists for a change; and those whose duty it is to attend to such matters, if they can find time to do so without neglecting their Party, may usefully employ themselves in finding some one who can count five, and some one who can make a decent Roman letter, to take the place of the authors of this most recent, official, numismatic abortion.

H. B. D.

## XII.—BOOKS WANTED.

The following Eulogies, Orations, &c., published on the occasion of the Death of Washington. To save space, the Names and Places of Delivery only are given:

D. Adams, Leominster; J. Allen, Western; R. Allen, Phila.; P. Allison, Baltimore; C. H. Atherton, Amherst; D. Austin, Elizabeth; H. Ball, Rutland; J. Bartlett, Charlestown; T. T. Barton, Tuksbury; Bascom, Greenfield; S. Bayard, New Rochelle; G. Bedford, Wilmington; W. P. Beers, Albany; J. Belden, Winthrop; J. D. Blair, Richmond; S. Blakeslee, East Haddam; J. G. Brainard, New London; Oliver Bray, New Haven; J. Buckminster, 4 Sermons at Portsmouth; G. R. Burrill, Providence; P. Burroughs, Tiverton; C. Caldwell, Phila.; Churchills, Lebanon; A. L. Clarke, Providence; M. Cleaveland, Windham; J. Coe, Troy; E. Coffin, Brunswick; A. Collins, Middletown; I. Condict, New Brunswick; T. Condie, Biographical Memoirs,

Phila.; J. Covey, Haerlem; E. Davenport, Stamford; T. Dehon, Newport; A. Dickens, Phila. J. F. Dubroca, Paris; T. Dwight, New Haven L. E. A. Eigenbrodt, Jamaica; Elegiac Poem Phila., 1800; J. Elliott, Guilford; J. Ellis, Topsam; 'Eloges Funèbres de Washington, [Paris 1835; N. Emmons, Franklin; P. Folsom, Gilmanton; L. Fontanes, Paris; Dutch translation of *saine*; W. C. Frazer, Lancaster; F. Frelinghuysen, New Brunswick; R. Furman, Charleston; S. Gano, Providence; E. Gay, Suffield; E. Gillet, Hollowell; B. Gleason, Wrentham; L. Glezen, Lexington; W. Griffith, Burlington Griswolds, New Milford; W. Halsey, Newark T. M. Harris (Masonic), Dorchester; L. Hart Preston; M. Hemmenway, Wells; F. W. Hotchkiss, Saybrook, two discourses, one Masonic; M. G. Houdin, Albany; E. Huntington, Middletown J. Huntington, Fort Trumbull; J. Huse, Warren Hymns and Odes, Portsmouth; J. Isham, Colchester; I. S. Keith, Charleston; J. Kemp, Cambridge; W. King, Chelsea; J. Kinker (Dutch) C. Langdon, Castleton; J. Larzelere, Northampton; L. Law, Fort Trumbull; I. Ledyard, New town; E. Lee, Sheffield; D. A. Leonard, New York; E. Lewis, Lenox; J. B. Linn, Phila.; H. M. Lisle, Hingham; C. Love, Alexandria; J. Lovett, Troy; S. MacClintock, Greenland; D. McClure, East Windsor; J. McGaw, Merrimack A. MacWhorter, Newark; J. Madison, Williamsburgh; S. Magaw, Phila.; P. Merrick Brookfield; Message by President on Death of Washington; N. Miles, Temple; A. Miller Greenbush; W. Morison, Londonderry; T. Morrell, Baltimore; J. Morris, South Farms; J. O. Moseley, East Haddam; Music, Phila. and Boston; S. Niles, Abington; M. O'Brien, Albany Orations (Masonic, anonymous), Hanover; Oration, Lovett's Hotel; Sketch of a Discourse, Dublin; B. Orr, Bedford; S. Paine (Masonic), Charleston; Thomas Paine, Newburyport; I. Parker, Portland; W. Patten, Newport; P. Peirce, Greenfield; C. Phillips, Killarney; D. Porter, two discourses, Spencertown; D. Ramsay, Charlestown G. Richards, hymns, Portsmouth; J. Richardson Tewksbury; T. Robbins, Danbury; I. Roberdeau Johnsonbury; E. Roche, Wilmington; W. Rogers, Phila.; J. M. Russell, Boston; Sacred Dirges, Boston; D. C. Sanders, Burlington; D. Sewall, Kittery; J. Smith, All Saints'; E. Sterns Tolland; J. Strong, Norwich; E. Terry, sketch of life, Palmer; F. A. Vander Kemp (Dutch), Oldenbarneveld; Washingtoniana, Petersburg; N. Waterman, Bozrah; S. White, Scotch Plains; S. Williston, Scipio; A. Wood, Boston; H. Woodruff, Stonington; W. Woodward, Hanover; M. L. Woolsey, Plattsburg; S. Worcester, Fitchburg.

Farmer & Moore's Historical Collections of New Hampshire, Vol. III.

# SUPPLEMENT. No. IV.

## I. TRIAL OF JOSHUA HETT SMITH, FOR COMPLICITY IN THE CON- SPIRACY OF BENEDICT ARNOLD AND MAJOR ANDRE.—CONTINUED.

SIXTH DAY, Oct. 5th.

The Court met according to adjournment, and resumed the trial of Mr. Smith.

Colonel TILGHMAN was produced on the part of the Prosecution; and was sworn.

The papers that were shown to Mr. John Pawling were shown to Colonel Tilghman; and he was asked whether from the knowledge he had of Benedict Arnold's (late Major-General in our service) writing, he believed these papers were written by him?

A. The Pass was certainly written by Benedict Arnold, late Major-General in our service. The body of the paper indorsed "Artillery Orders, Sept. 5, 1780," containing Artillery Orders at West Point, and the endorsements, were certainly written by him. The name at the bottom I am not certain of, though he appears to have endeavored to have written like Major Bowman, as people often do, when they are copying. The paper, being an Estimate of the Force at West Point and its Dependencies, was written by General Arnold, as well as the indorsement: the paper being an Estimate of men to man the works at West Point, and in the vicinity, and the indorsement were also written by him. The paper containing a Return of Ordnance at West Point and its dependencies, was also written by him; the paper containing Remarks on Works at West Point was also written by him; the paper indorsed "Copy of Council of War, held September 6, 1780," containing a state of matters said before a Council of War, September 6, 1780, by His Excellency General Washington, was also written by him; the paper containing the names of sundry persons was written by him.

The MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE was next produced on the part of the Prosecution, and sworn:

Q. TO THE MARQUIS. Were you present at Robinson's House, when the Prisoner, Mr. Smith, confessed that he was on board the *Vulture*, sloop-of-war, belonging to the enemy, and brought a person who passed under the name of John Ander-

son, on shore from that vessel, on an interview with General Arnold? If you were, please to relate what you know of the matter, to the Court.

A. When Mr. Smith was put in the room at Robinson's House, it was in the morning, the day after Arnold had escaped to the enemy; there were present General Washington, General Knox, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, Colonel Harrison, and myself; he began by making strong assurances of his candor, and other assurances which were not necessary to the relation of what had passed and what was asked from him, at that time; but being pleased to go on with his story, he said that he had been sent by General Arnold on board the *Vulture*, British man-of-war, with a flag, in the night, in order to bring on shore Colonel Robinson; that being on board the *Vulture*, he was roughly used by the crew of that ship; that instead of Robinson, one Mr. Anderson, whom, as far as I remember, he said he did not know before, came with him in the boat, and on being arrived on shore they met, on the beach, General Arnold; that *General Arnold, Anderson and himself, came to Mr. Smith's house*; that Anderson was to return, on board the *Vulture*, but it was designed afterwards, between them, that he should stop in the house, where he was kept in a private room, and that Mr. Smith sent up to him his breakfast and dinner; that, towards the evening, Mr. Smith, in order to disguise Anderson, who had, until then, been in a British uniform, gave him one of his own coats, and crossed with him King's Ferry, and accompanied him some distance—a pretty great distance; I do not recollect the place where he said he accompanied him, on the east side of the North River. The question being put to Mr. Smith, why he had undertook that business; he said he thought he was serving his country, as he was led to believe that General Arnold had opened very important correspondence with Colonel Robinson. He was then asked if he thought that it was a good way to serve his country, to go on board a British ship to get intelligence; to which he answered that he did not believe Arnold was a traitor. Being asked if he thought himself under the sanction of a flag, in the darkness of the night, he answered, "Yes." The question being put to him, why he did not return by water, on board of the *Vulture*, he said it was on account of his

bad state of health; and upon our observing that the ill state of his health had not prevented his riding many miles, he attributed that land journey to another reason; and said *that the boatmen were tired or unwilling to return*. Being asked why he took so much pains to disguise Mr. Anderson, he said that he thought such a secret ought not to be known by the people, and repeated his assurances that he had no other idea, but that of rendering an important service to his country; and being pressed to discover the truth, as the only way of saving himself, he said he had nothing else to relate.

Q. Did Mr. Smith mention the day of the week, or day of the month he was on board of the *Vulture*?

A. He did; and it corresponded with the time we had heard, but the day I do not recollect.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith say that Anderson had on a British uniform at the time he came to his house?

A. He said, I think, that he had something over him, in coming from the *Vulture*; but on telling him that he had given him another coat to disguise himself, I think he did acknowledge that he had a British uniform on, in his house.

Q. Did Mr. Smith say that he went from the beach, after landing, with General Arnold and Anderson, to his house?

A. I think he did; but, however, as far as I can remember, he told that a private conference had taken place between the General and Anderson, when Anderson arrived on shore.

Q. Did he say that he was present at any conference that had passed between Anderson and the General, at his house?

A. He said he was not present at any of their conferences; and he did not know the contents of them.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith appear embarrassed in the course of his examination?

A. From the length of his protestations, before entering into the relation of the account he gave of his conduct, I apprehended that he was embarrassed.

Q. BY COURT. Do you recollect whether Mr. Smith mentioned about returning to his house with Anderson and Arnold, after he had landed Anderson, or whether he said he returned by land or water?

A. I do not remember exactly, but I thought he did accompany them by land.

Q. Did you understand Mr. Smith that he crossed King's Ferry with Anderson, the evening after he had landed him from the *Vulture*, on an interview with General Arnold?

A. I did.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith appear to keep back any of the business he was employed in, by General Arnold?

A. He really told the whole of the story himself, freely, except the changing of the coat; and *I thought he was not candid in relating the reasons which prevented his returning on board the Vulture*.

Q. Did Mr. Smith say that General Arnold asked him for a coat to disguise this Mr. Anderson?

A. I rather think that he did; but, however, do not recollect it clearly.

Q. BY COURT. Had you any reason to think that Mr. Smith was acquainted that General Washington was informed with the part he had acted, until General Washington intimated it to him himself?

A. From the manner in which Mr. Smith was taken up, and brought to Robinson's House, I did not believe that he could have any doubts on that matter; but nothing appeared which could confirm or destroy that opinion of mine.

Q. Do you recollect whether Mr. Smith mentioned the time General Arnold left his house?

A. It seems to me Mr. Smith spoke of the time that General Arnold left his house, but I do not recollect it.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Did I not say, when I said that General Arnold asked me for a coat for this Mr. Anderson, that General Arnold said he was only a merchant, and from false pride had borrowed a British uniform coat?

A. You may have said so; but I don't recollect it; it is true I was not attending during the whole time, there being many questions asked which I do not remember.

Q. BY DO. *Did you not hear me expostulate with his Excellency about the manner in which I was taken and brought down to Robinson's House?*

A. I did.

Q. BY DO. Did you not see me the Sunday evening at General Scott's, at Fishkill, preceding the Tuesday morning I was brought to Robinson's House?

A. I was told by his Excellency's family, or some other officer, that you had been there; but do not recollect to have seen you myself.

Q. BY DO. Did you think from the whole of my conduct when before General Washington, when interrogated, I discovered a disposition to declare all I knew about this matter?

A. Your omitting the circumstance of the changing of the coat, and the reasons you gave for not returning on board the *Vulture* by water, in the same way that you came, led me to believe that you did not mean to be candid; I made you that observation at the time.

Q. BY COURT. Do you recollect, in the course of the examination, that Mr. Smith was asked how he could reconcile Mr. Anderson's coming on shore in the room of Robinson, from the *Vulture*, to treat of matters relative to Robinson's

estate; if you do, what was Mr. Smith's answer?

A. I recollect the question, except that part which relates to the estate; I don't recollect the answer.

Brigadier General KNOX was next produced on the part of the Prosecution, and sworn.

The same question was asked him as the first that was asked the Marquis de la Fayette.

A. I was present at Robinson's House, the morning of the twenty-sixth of September last, with his Excellency, when Mr. Smith was brought in. The General prefaced the matter with a short narrative of what had happened, which was, that General Arnold had gone off to the enemy; and that Major Andre, the British Adjutant-general, was taken; and that they had had a meeting or interview at Mr. Smith's house; and that there were strong reasons to induce a belief that Mr. Smith knew the substance of the conversation, that had passed between General Arnold and Major Andre; and he exhorted Mr. Smith to make a full confession of all that he knew respecting the matter. Mr. Smith made great protestations of his attachment to the liberties of America; and that what he had done he conceived to be for the public good; and that he should, in a candid manner, relate every circumstance, that he was master of. Mr. Smith said he had been employed by General Arnold, to procure intelligence; and that he conceived a design, which General Arnold informed him of, was in pursuance of that purpose. The design was to go on board the *Vulture*, man-of-war, and bring from thence a person who, General Arnold informed him, could give very material intelligence, and put things in such a train, that in future he should be at no loss for intelligence of the enemy's movements; that the last Thursday evening, the twenty-first of September, he with two other persons went from a place, which Mr. Smith called, I think, "Hay's Creek," in a boat, on board of the *Vulture*; that when he came near the *Vulture*, he was hailed, and told to come on board in very violent and abusive language; that he went on board, was ushered into the cabin, where he saw Colonel Robinson and the person whom he brought on shore, whom he was informed was Mr. John Anderson; that he had conceived that he was to have brought Colonel Robinson on shore, but that he declined coming; and assured Mr. Smith that Mr. Anderson would answer all purposes; that they came on shore to a place a little below Haverstraw Landing, where he met General Arnold who was upon the beach; that he left Mr. Anderson and General Arnold together, and, with the two men, carried the boat into the creek from which he had taken it; and that by the time he got into the creek with the boat, day began to appear;

that upon his return to his house, he found General Arnold and Mr. Anderson there; that Mr. Anderson staid there the whole of the twenty-second of September; and that on the evening of that day he went with him across King's Ferry, as far as Crompond, where they lodged, and in the morning proceeded with him about a mile beyond that place, where he left him; and that he came to General Arnold's that day, at Robinson's House, and dined with him. Mr. Smith, on being asked how the person he brought on shore was dressed, said that he had on a blue overcoat, and that he did not see his under-clothes, but that when he saw him, in his house afterwards, he found that he had on the uniform of a British officer. On being asked whether Mr. Anderson was public in the house, and seen by the servants; he said "No;" that he was in an upper apartment; and that he, himself, Mr. Smith, had carried him his breakfast and dinner. On being asked where Mr. Anderson had changed his clothes, he answered, at his house; and that he had lent him one of his own coats. On being asked, whether he knew Mr. Anderson's rank and connection with the British army, or the conversation that passed between General Arnold and him, he declared he did not; but that he thought it was intelligence that General Arnold was receiving, of the greatest importance for the good of America. This was the idea, which Mr. Smith constantly held up, and declared that nothing should have induced him to have been acting in the matter, but a perfect conviction of its being a matter of the greatest importance to the good of his country. Mr. Smith was asked, whether he did not advert to the impropriety of going on board a King's ship to obtain intelligence? He replied, he did not at the time. He was strongly exhorted by the General, and other persons present, to make an ample confession of all the circumstances that he knew, which he declared he had done, and I do not recollect anything of importance more passing. There were present at this examination his Excellency, the Marquis de la Fayette, Colonel Harrison, Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, and myself.

Q. BY COURT. When his Excellency informed Mr. Smith that Major Andre, Adjutant-general of the British army, was taken, did Mr. Smith say that he knew such a person?

A. Mr. Smith answered he did not.

Q. BY COURT. Did he discover any marks of surprise, when he was informed that John Anderson, whom he had brought on shore from the *Vulture*, was Adjutant-general of the British army?

A. I did not discover any marks or change in his features or complexion.

Q. BY COURT. The last that was asked the Marquis de la Fayette by the Court.

A. I do not, for I conceived that Mr. Smith thought the intention of Robinson coming on shore, was to give intelligence as well as Anderson.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith say that he gave Mr. Anderson a coat of his own to change his dress at the instance of General Arnold?

A. I do not recollect, that it was at the instance of General Arnold; but that it appeared a matter of evident propriety to conceal him from the country people, who, Mr. Smith observed, ought not to be acquainted with these things; by "these things" he meant the mode of obtaining intelligence.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith mention where Mr. Anderson was going, at the time he left him?

A. Mr. Smith conveyed the idea to us, that he fully understood Mr. Anderson, when he left him, was going to New York, for which purpose he had General Arnold's Pass.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith mention any information that General Arnold had received from this Mr. Anderson, or that General Arnold told him that he had received from him?

A. *Not a word.* He said the conversation was totally unknown to him. I don't remember that the question was asked him, whether General Arnold had informed him of the intelligence he had received.

Q. BY COURT. Whether Mr. Smith said General Arnold gave him the character of this person as being a private person, or acting in a public capacity?

A. I don't remember that Mr. Smith said that General Arnold gave him a description of the person; but that General Arnold said the person would give him, General Arnold, material intelligence.

Q. BY COURT. Was this confession from Mr. Smith easily obtained from him; or did he discover a backwardness to make any?

A. I think easily, as to the general matter, the particulars of the coat, the carrying the breakfast and dinner, the being obliged to lodge at Crompond, were drawn from him by questions: the answers to these questions were readily made.

Q. Had Mr. Smith gone through his account of his conduct in this affair on the general matter, previous to these questions being asked?

A. I think he had.

Q. BY COURT. Did General Washington, or either of the gentlemen who were present at Mr. Smith's examination, inform Mr. Smith that they were acquainted with his conduct before he had an opportunity of giving this relation?

A. Yes.

Q. BY COURT. Did he appear to be much embarrassed when his Excellency, or one of the gentlemen present, acquainted him that he was acquainted with his conduct?

A. There was an embarrassment, but I knew not to what cause to attribute it.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith, previous to his entering on his confession, make solemn protestations and appeals to Heaven of his innocence and ignorance of General Arnold's criminal designs or intentions?

A. In the course of Mr. Smith's examination he made very solemn protestations, that he believed General Arnold was acting for the good of the country, or he should not have assisted him.

Q. BY COURT. Can you inform the Court the time General Arnold went off to the enemy, and the time Mr. Smith was taken up?

A. General Arnold went off to the enemy about *ten o'clock* in the morning of Monday, the twenty-fifth of September last; but General Washington did not know it until *four o'clock* in the afternoon of that day. Colonel Govion was sent from Robinson's House to Fishkill, where it was understood Mr. Smith was, about ten o'clock that evening, to apprehend Mr. Smith; Colonel Govion returned before day, and Mr. Smith arrived between seven and eight o'clock on Tuesday morning, under guard.

Q. BY Mr. SMITH. Did you see me at Fishkill the Sunday evening preceding the Tuesday I was brought to Robinson's House?

A. I saw you there that evening, at General Scott's house, in company with Colonel Hawk Hay; General Washington was in company no part of the time I was with you, though he was in the house.

Q. BY Mr. SMITH. Did my behaviour that evening indicate a knowledge of any transaction that was injurious to my country?

A. No: you related a circumstance of the *Vulture's* being removed by some of our artillery firing on her; and that *General Arnold was at your house*, and was looking out of the window at the time, which circumstance, combined with others, was the cause of your being apprehended afterwards. The firing, it appeared, was just at day-light of the twenty-second of September last, the morning succeeding the night you were on board the *Vulture*.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith mention the names of the persons who carried him on board?

A. He did not. The question, I believe, was not asked, as it was expected that the names would have been found by the person superintending the boatmen at the ferry, as it was known that an order had been given by General Arnold to that person to supply Mr. Smith with a boat, at any time he should call for it.

Q. BY COURT. Was General Washington at Fishkill when he heard of General Arnold's going off to the enemy?

A. No: he was at Robinson's House, and the

matter was not generally divulged until the evening.

The papers shown John Pawling and Colonel Tilghman were shown to General Knox; and he was asked whether they were written by Benedict Arnold, late Major General in our service.

A. I fully believe they were all written by Benedict Arnold, late Major General in our service.

Captain CEARNS was next produced on the part of the Prosecution, and sworn.

An open letter was shown to Mr. Smith, the Prisoner, dated "Robinson's House, September 25<sup>th</sup>, "1780," signed "Joshua H. Smith," and addressed to Thomas Smith, Esq., which letter Mr. Smith, the Prisoner, acknowledges was written by him. It is annexed.\*

Q. TO CAPTAIN CEARNS. Did you find the coat, mentioned in this letter, at Mr. Smith, the Prisoner's, house, in the place mentioned in the letter?

A. I did.

Q. What distance is Mr. Smith's house, where you found this coat, from Stoney Point?

A. About two miles and a half.

Q. What distance is Stoney Point from our garrison at West Point?

A. I believe sixteen miles by water to West Point.

Mr. Smith, the prisoner, admits the distance from Stoney Point to his house at Haverstraw is about two miles and three quarters; and says that the distance from Stoney Point to West Point is generally estimated to be sixteen miles.

The Court postponed further proceedings on Mr. Smith's trial until Monday next; unless evidence is sooner prepared which will enable them to resume it. And they adjourned until to-morrow, nine o'clock, A. M.

#### SEVENTH DAY, Oct. 6.

The Court met according to adjournment, and resumed the trial of Mr. Smith.

Colonel ANN. HAWKS HAY was produced on the part of the Prosecution, and sworn.

QUESTION TO HIM. Did any conversation pass between you and the Prisoner, Mr. Smith, respecting a person under the name of John Anderson? If any did, please to inform the Court of it, and the time and place.

A. A little after Mr. Smith was apprehended at my house at Fishkill—he was apprehended between twelve and one o'clock in the night on Monday—I got Colonel Govion to consent to Mr. Smith's coming out of the cold room, and set in the common room, where we had a fire. At the

fire-side, I sat next to Mr. Smith; and in a low voice, Mr. Smith told me what he imagined was the cause of his being apprehended, and begged my opinion on the affair. He told me he had been on board of the *Vulture*, sloop-of-war, at the earnest solicitation of General Arnold, to procure an interview with Colonel Robinson, who Arnold told him wanted to see him, Arnold, and that he had some terms to propose for the advantage of the States, but as far as Arnold could learn, Robinson came out with an intention to know from Arnold, that if he, Robinson, quitted the British service and returned to his allegiance to the State of New York, if he could obtain a pardon and his estate be restored to him. On these considerations, Mr. Smith consented to go on board; for which purpose Arnold ordered a boat to my landing for Mr. Smith's use; that on Thursday night, yesterday fortnight, he got two of the inhabitants at Haverstraw to row him on board; that when he had come near the ship, he was hailed; and he answered that he was going on board, or to Dobbs' Ferry, I don't recollect which, though I think it was on board, that he told them; they damned him, and asked him what business he had there, that time of the night; but after he got on board, and was led down into the cabin, there he saw, as I understood Mr. Smith, three gentlemen, who he afterwards understood were Captain Sutherland, Colonel Robinson, and John Anderson; that he knew neither of them; that he asked for Colonel Robinson, who was pointed out to him; he then delivered him Arnold's letter; after Robinson had read the letter, he told him, either that this Mr. Anderson would do the business that he, Robinson, was to have done, or that he could not go on shore, but that Anderson would, I do not recollect which; upon that John Anderson came on shore with Mr. Smith; that Mr. Smith landed him at the point of the Long Clove, where Arnold was waiting to receive him; there this John Anderson had a long private conversation with Arnold, Mr. Smith remaining in the boat, or barge, or whatever it was; after Arnold and Anderson had a long conversation together, Arnold then came to Mr. Smith and desired him to return Anderson on board; Mr. Smith objected to it, and said that it was impossible to do it, for that the hands that rowed him on board were tired, and that one of them had been up the whole of the night before; upon which Arnold desired Mr. Smith to return the boat from whence he got her, and if the hands were not able to do that, he might leave the boat any where he pleased; Mr. Smith said he set out in the boat with the two men, and left Arnold and this Anderson on the shore, and returned the boat to the place he found her at; when Mr. Smith got home to his own house, he found Arnold and

\* Appendix, ix.

Anderson there; the same morning, Arnold came to Mr. Smith, and told him that the folly and pride of Anderson had made him come out with British regimentals, and that there was an absolute necessity for his changing his clothes, and asked Mr. Smith if he could not furnish him with a coat, which Mr. Smith said he did; and he was kept in the second story of the house, that day, which was Friday; I think Mr. Smith said he got a Pass or Passes for himself and this Anderson to cross King's Ferry, and proceed down to White Plains; that he, Mr. Smith, crossed King's Ferry with him, and proceeded down to, at or near Pine's Bridge; there receiving intelligence that the Cow Boys were out, he thought proper to put up that night, and parted with Anderson, next morning, which was Saturday; and that evening arrived at my house; this was all that Mr. Smith informed me of, the night he was taken by Colonel Govion; the preceding circumstances Mr. Smith told me for me to give him my opinion of them, which I freely gave in the presence of the officers.

Q. Did any conversation pass between you and Mr. Smith respecting this person, who passed under the name of John Anderson, on the road from Fishkill to Robinson's House? If there did, please to relate it.

A. Mr. Smith, in going down from Fishkill to Robinson's House, related the same story to me that I have before mentioned, and asked my opinion again of it. With that, I told him it all depended on the honor of Arnold, for says I, perhaps that John Anderson is taken, and he has told that you were on board the man-of-war; on that Mr. Smith said, "*I hope he is not taken,*" and immediately said, however, he depended so much upon Arnold's honor, who he was sure would set the matter in its true light, and that it was by his desire he went on board, to bring this Anderson on shore, and return him as far as the White Plains; and protested, most solemnly, before the Almighty God, that the only views he had in going on board and bringing Anderson on shore, was to gain intelligence of importance and serve his country.

Q. Had you any reason to suppose that Mr. Smith knew that Arnold was gone off to the enemy, before he arrived at Robinson's House?

A. I had not, for I did not know it myself until I got within a quarter of a mile of Robinson's House, where I was informed of it by a soldier's boy.

Q. Had you any reason to suppose, from what Mr. Smith said, that he knew this John Anderson to be Major Andre, Adjutant-general of the British Army, or a British officer?

A. I had none. Mr. Smith has all along told me, from the night of his being apprehended to

the last night when I had a conversation with him, that Arnold told him he was a citizen.

Q. BY COURT. When Mr. Smith said he hoped Anderson was not taken, did you understand that he meant by our party?

A. I did.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith give you the reason for his supposing the circumstances which he informed you of, and you have related, were the causes of his being apprehended?

A. He gave me no other reason but saying that he was sure there was nothing else could appear against him but the going on board the *Vulture* man-of-war.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith give you the reasons for his saying he hoped that John Anderson was not taken?

A. He did not.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith inform you that he made any objections to the proposal General Arnold made him of going on board the *Vulture*?

A. I think he did say he objected to going on board, because these people's tempers must be much ruffled on account of the firing upon the ship, which, I understood, was the firing that took place at the ship, the day of the night he went on board.

Q. BY COURT. In the course of the conversation, Mr. Smith had with you, did he appear then to be suspicious that General Arnold and this Mr. John Anderson had been concerting something that was bad?

A. No. He did not appear so to me, for until Mr. Smith and myself had that conversation, I was an entire stranger to the cause of his being apprehended; and could not imagine what he could be apprehended for. Then I suspected this to be the cause.

Q. Did Colonel Govion inform Mr. Smith of the cause of his being apprehended?

A. He did not, which I am almost certain of, from this circumstance. At the house, I asked him if he would let me know for what Mr. Smith was apprehended. He told me he would if I would promise not to tell Mr. Smith. I promised him I would not; he then told me that some persons had been taken up, who could prove that Mr. Smith had been carrying on a traitorous correspondence with the enemy. Then my suspicions began to arise about the transactions on board of the *Vulture*.

Q. BY COURT. Did you ask Mr. Smith why he hoped that John Anderson was not taken?

A. I did not.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Did you suppose that when I said I hoped that Anderson was not taken, I had referred to what you said of his informing that I was on board the man-of-war, or that I had a knowledge of any designs which might be injurious to the country?

A. I supposed that you were afraid of its being known that you had been aboard of the man-of-war; not of any other thing injurious to the country.

Q. Was the conversation in which Mr. Smith said he hoped John Anderson was not taken, private between you and Mr. Smith, or not?

A. It took place when Mr. Smith was marching down, under guard, on the road. I walked with Mr. Smith between the two platoons, and there was a soldier on each side of us. We spoke so loud as we might have been heard.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Do you recollect of my ever mentioning to you my anxiety that my assistance to General Howe and General Arnold, for procuring intelligence, should be known generally; as it might be prejudicial to me, in my exposed situation, if the enemy came up?

A. I do. It was previous to your being apprehended.

Q. BY DO. Can you inform the Court where I was, from the evening of the Saturday I came to your house, until I was taken? If you can, please do it.

A. Saturday evening you arrived at my house, went into the bed room, where I supposed you staid all night. Next morning, which was Sunday, I was up before you, had occasion to go into the room where you slept, and saw you in bed. Sunday, all day, I think you were at my house. Sunday evening we took a walk down to the post-rider's house to hear the news. We returned to my door, but did not go in; went from there to Doctor M'Knight's house, the same house where General Scott lives, to *pay our respects to General Washington*. We supped together at Doctor M'Knight's, in company with General Knox. General Washington did not come out to supper. After supper, General Washington came out; and staid a few minutes with us. We staid at Doctor M'Knight's, until between ten and eleven o'clock that night, and returned to my house. After sitting some little time by the fire, we parted; and each went to our rooms. Next morning, which was Monday, the family met as usual, and you were in the house. After breakfast you went out with your wife and sister in a phaeton; some little time after that, your wife and sister returned on foot, and you were absent for two or three hours. I asked you where you had been; and told you, you had hindered me from going to Poughkeepsie as early as I could wish; and you said you had been to the blacksmith's to get some iron work done to the pole of the phaeton, which I saw. We then went from my house to Poughkeepsie; we dined at Colonel Bostwick's; I left you there, in the afternoon, and took a walk up to town to the Governor's; you came to the Governor's, some little time after me, in the phaeton; and you had a private con-

versation with the Governor; from thence we returned to Colonel Bostwick's, staid a few minutes there, and returned to my house. You felt exceedingly sleepy and drowsy, and went to bed, long before any of the family; and between twelve and one that night, was apprehended by Colonel Govion.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith, after he arrived at your house, on Saturday evening, or between that time and the time he was taken, mention any particular intelligence he had received from the enemy, or of any movements he expected would be made by them?

A. *He did not*. He was asked by his wife, what kept him away so long; he said that he had been transacting a piece of important business for Arnold. She asked him what it was; he said *it was not for women to know*, or some such expression.

Q. BY DO. Did any conversation pass between you and Mr. Smith, on the propriety or impropriety of his going on board the vessel, in the night?

A. I asked him what time he went on board; he told me that it was in the night; I told him I thought it exceeding imprudent, his going on board at night, under the sanction of a flag; he told me that it was General Arnold's desire that it should be done at night, for he (Arnold) wanted it to be kept as secret as possible.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Did I mention to you any reasons that Arnold told me why he chose it should be done secretly?

A. I do not recollect that you gave me the reasons.

The Court postponed farther proceedings on Mr. Smith's trial until Monday, and adjourned until that day at nine o'clock, A. M.

#### EIGHTH DAY, Oct. 11th, 1780.

The Court met agreeable to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief.

The Judge Advocate General being indisposed with a fever, Mr. Edwards, the Deputy Judge Advocate, attended in his stead.

Mr. Smith, the Prisoner, being unable to attend, owing to his indisposition, the Court adjourned till to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

#### NINTH DAY, Oct. 12th, 1780.

The Court met according to adjournment and proceeded in the trial of Mr. Smith.

The Judge Advocate laid before the Court the annexed papers marked Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, which Mr. Smith admits were papers he has had in his possession.\*

\* Appendix x, xi, xii, and xiii.

Mr. JONA. LAWRENCE, produced by Mr. Smith, was sworn.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Do you recollect my political conduct in New York, previous to our leaving it?

A. I know but little of your political conduct while in New York; but it appeared to me your general character was in favor of the country.

Q. BY DO. What has been my general conduct in the country, since leaving New York?

A. At Dobbs' Ferry I remember seeing you pass and repass as one of the Convention of the State of New York. The Convention was then sitting at Harlem. I was one who then guarded the Ferry to examine passengers; and on examining you, you produced your credentials of being one of the Convention.

Q. BY DO. What has been my general character in the country, since leaving New York?

A. Your general character was, that you was a friend to the country; and from several conversations I have had with you, within this twelve months, you appeared to me to be so.

Mr. JONATHAN HOLCOMB, produced by Mr. Smith, was sworn.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Please to relate to the Court my conversation with you, near my house on Friday, the twenty-second of September last.

A. Mr. Smith having desired me to purchase him two cattle in New England; on my return with the cattle, which was on Friday, the twenty-second of September last, about four or five o'clock in the afternoon, I called upon Mr. Smith at his house, and told him I had in the droves, back, his beeves coming on; and desired him to go into the road and see them. He told me that I might turn them into the pasture; that he would take them as I had purchased them, and not look at them. I insisted he should go and look at them, and that if he was not pleased with them, I would drive them on and receipt them. Mr. Smith declined going with me and gave me for reasons, that he had been up, the last night, with a gentleman from New York, at General Arnold's desire, to endeavor to procure a line of communication from New York to General Arnold, as we had had no news from there for some time; and the gentleman was then in his house; and Mr. Smith told me he expected, the next morning, to go with him to General Arnold's, and from there, if he went with him,—for he appeared not determined to go,—to Fishkill to his wife. The reason of his going to Fishkill, was to get the keys from his wife to get money to pay me for the beef.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith tell you by what means that gentleman came to his house?

A. He did not.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Did I make a secret of

having a gentleman from New York at my house?

A. You did not: you spoke of it frankly to me.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith inform you that General Arnold had had an interview with this gentleman at his house?

A. They had an interview there, the night before, as I understood Mr. Smith.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Do you recollect my calling to my servant to get up my horse?

A. I do.

Q. BY COURT. Did you understand from Mr. Smith that he was present at the interview of General Arnold, with the gentleman from New York?

A. From what he said, I understood he was present; and that they had been in council together, to procure a line of intelligence.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Did I tell you I was present at the interview?

A. No; but from what you said, I conjectured so.

Q. BY DO. Was what I informed you of, unasked by you?

A. I do not recollect asking you a single question about it.

Q. BY MR. SMITH TO COLONEL HAY. Do you remember asking me, on the road from Fishkill to Robinson's House, if I had ever wrote any treasonable letters to New York?

A. I did ask you if you had wrote any treasonable or any other letters, privately, to New York: you said you had not.

Q. BY DO. What was your reason for asking me this?

A. Colonel Govion informing me that there were persons taken up that would prove you held a traitorous correspondence with the enemy.

Q. BY DO. Did I not, on the road, complain much of my being taken in such a manner as I was, as I was conscious of no evil design against the country?

A. You did complain of the manner of your being taken and carried down; and said you thought yourself exceedingly ill used after all your services to the country, and thanked God you was conscious of having done nothing that could deserve such treatment; and when you got to Head Quarters, you said, you would be very high about your treatment.

Q. BY DO. Is it not double the distance from the point of the Long Clove to Curn's Island, than from the point of the Clove to Taller's Point, in the North River?

A. I think it is nearly double the distance.

Q. BY DO. Could you recollect from my conduct, when first apprehended, at Fishkill, any behavior in me which conveyed to you an idea of my having done any thing of a criminal nature?

A. I did not; for you ordered your boy to follow you with a horse down to Robinson's, for you said you expected to return the next morning.

Q. BY Do. Was you present at a conversation which passed between Colonel Hamilton and myself at Robinson's House, after my examination before General Washington?

A. I was present at a conversation between you and Colonel Hamilton; but I do not know whether before or after your examination before General Washington.

Q. BY Do. Don't you recollect my telling Colonel Hamilton, when pressed by him to inform of all I knew of Arnold's designs, that I had already told General Washington all I knew?

A. I do recollect you was pressed by Colonel Hamilton to tell all that you knew; and you said you had already told all that you knew; but I do not recollect you said, to General Washington. Colonel Hamilton, to induce you to tell all you knew and to bring out the accomplices, promised to make use of his influence to get you a discharge; but said he was unauthorized to make such a promise, but he did it of his own accord.

Q. BY Do. Do you think, from the confidential manner in which I related my transactions with General Arnold to you, on the road, in order to obtain your opinion, that if there had been any thing more in the compass of my knowledge, as far as my agency in this business extended, I should not have informed you of it, in order to obtain your advice?

A. I must confess I had some doubts about me, that you had *not told me the whole affair*; but after I was permitted to see you in Robinson's House, my begging of you, for God's sake, for your wife's sake, and children's sake, to accept of Colonel Hamilton's promise, and divulge the whole secret, by your solemn appeals to the Almighty that you had told all you knew, and knew no more, I then believed that you had told the whole, and if you had known any thing else I certainly should have got it out of you then.

Q. BY Do. Do you recollect my telling Governor Clinton that Sir George Rodney had detached six ships of the line as a reinforcement to Admiral Greaves?

A. I do; and also recollect your mentioning it at Dr. McKnight's, the night we supped in company with General Knox. This circumstance I forgot in my former examination.

Q. BY Do. Please to relate to the Court all you know of my political conduct in New York, before our leaving it, and since, to this time; and what offices I filled in the State.

A. Your character at New York stood *very high as a Whig*. I have often heard you blamed for being too warm, and your running yourself into many imprudencies by your intemperate

zeal. I remember on the sixth of March, 1775, when the Whigs and Tories turned out, that you was extremely active on the Whig side, and was the first person that introduced the bludgeons to the Whigs, to knock the Tories in the head, when they opposed a measure the Whigs wanted to prosecute. Ever since your living in the country, you have been active in the American cause; and I had never reason to doubt your attachment. I always found you willing to turn out with the militia, and do every thing in your power to promote the public good. You have been a member of the sub-committee of the County, and member of the Provincial Convention, at the time Independence was declared. In July, 1776, two ships and three tenders came up to Haverstraw, and attempted to land some men to carry off some stores. They came so much on a surprise that the militia could not be collected. Only thirteen, you being one of the thirteen, went down to the landing; and notwithstanding the three tenders kept up a continual firing, the thirteen men beat off five or six boats, crowded with men, and saved the stores.

The Court adjourned till to-morrow at ten o'clock.

## II. SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

LETTER FROM GEORGE H. MOORE, ESQ., TO THE EDITOR.

*To the Editor of The Historical Magazine:*

I have read the communication in the September number of your Magazine (*Ante, Supplement, p. 81*), from GEORGE T. DAVIS, ESQ., expressing his dissatisfaction with the manner in which I have referred, in my *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, to the case of Samuel Smith, of Sandwich. I am disappointed to learn that Mr. DAVIS's knowledge of the case is so limited, although I have long since abandoned the hope of finding family traditions, or even "uniform local traditions" of much positive value in history. On some subjects they are positively worthless. Whether there is an exception to be noted in this instance is yet to be decided. The facts in this case, so far as I have been able to gather them, are as follows.

The affair which led to legal proceedings against Samuel Smith, of Sandwich, occurred on the 16th day of June, 1719. The decease of a negro slave belonging to him, took place under circumstances that excited suspicion and led to public inquiry.

I have found no particulars of the case as to the discovery of the dead negro, and the arrest of the master, or the preliminary examination before the magistrates. It is certain, however, that he was so arrested and fully committed to

prison, to await his trial on the charge of murder. Of course "under the well-known powers of the Courts [and magistrates] as they then existed," there must have been some evidence seriously compromising the master, or he could never have been subjected to the pain and ignominy of being held to answer, with the prospect of nearly a year's imprisonment before trial, for "killing his negro."

He addressed a petition to his Excellency the Governor and Council, "shewing, that he is imprisoned for the Murder of his Negro Servant, which he is not guilty of, praying that a special Court of Oyer and Terminer, may be constituted for his Tryal, it being near a Twelve-month before the Court of Assize will set in that County."

On the 30th of June, 1719, the Governor sent the petition down to the House, with a message that he, with the Council, were ready to appoint Judges in answer to the petition, if the General Court thought it proper "to bear their charge in attending the service. The Question being put, whether the charge of such Court shall be defrayed out of the Publick Treasury, It pass'd in the Negative."—*Journal H. of R.*, p. 33.

Judge Sewall refers to this in a note written by him in his Almanack for 1719, as follows:

"June 30. The Representatives sent a Message by Mr. Tay, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> declined y<sup>e</sup> Charge of a Special Court to Try S. Smith."—*MS. Letter of Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, March 9, 1866.*

I am unable to state whether Mr. Smith or his friends volunteered to provide the necessary funds to defray the charge of the Court, but a Commission was issued for a Special Court to try Samuel Smith in the following month.

It was at this stage of the proceedings that Chief-Justice Sewall's solemn counsels and admonitions were addressed to the first-named of the judges in the commission for the trial. Judge Davenport seems to have desired the aid and counsel of the Chief-Justice in his preparations for the case, and Sewall's Letter-Book preserves the following memoranda of what he communicated:

"The poorest Boys and Girls in this Province, such as are of the lowest Condition; whether they be English, or Indians, or Ethiopians: They have the same right to Religion and Life, that the Richest Heirs have.

"And they who go about to deprive them of this Right, they attempt the bombarding of HEAVEN, and the Shells they throw, will fall down upon their own heads.

"Mr. Justice Davenport, Sir, upon your desire, I have sent you these *Quotations*, and my own *Sentiments*. I pray GOD, the Giver and Guardian of Life, to give his gracious Direction to you, and the other Justices; and take leave,

"who am your brother and most humble servant,"

"SAMUEL SEWALL.

"BOSTON, July 20, 1719.

"I inclosed also the *Selling of Joseph*, and my extract out of the *Athenian Oracle*.

"To Addington Davenport, Esq., etc., going to Judge Sam<sup>l</sup>. Smith, of Sandwich, for Killing his Negro."

There is no mistaking the drift of Sewall's argument, or the state of public sentiment, and condition of Indian and negro slaves, which it indicates. Massachusetts was not at that time so far "in advance of every other nation in Christendom,"\* or Heathendom either, as to apply those legal restraints to the power of the master which, in a later day, gradually and almost imperceptibly undermined the foundations of slavery itself. Here is the great error of all the writers on this subject, especially in Massachusetts. As they survey their historic Past, they fail to realize how slow and gradual was the amelioration of the conditions of servitude. Impatient at the sluggish movement of humanity, they seem determined to bridge over the long valleys, the deep chasms and perilous gulfs through which their fathers actually struggled to reach the heights of Liberty and Equality. In their historical picture of the Pilgrim's Progress, they paint out all the Sloughs of Despond, and Valleys of Humiliation, even the Dark River itself, resenting it as an outrage upon their Saints in glory to suppose that they ever existed in any but a sort of glorified Flesh on the earth.

But public opinion in Massachusetts as to the status of the negro and Indian slave in 1719, was widely different from what it came to be even half a century later. And it is to the record of facts, and not theories or opinions, that the historian must appeal. What gives historical interest to this very case of Smith, is that it is the only instance (within my knowledge) of an indictment for murder under such circumstances.†

\* Addison, in his *Spectator*, No. 215, November 6, 1711, has a passage which illustrates English opinion at the time: "What colour of excuse can there be for the contempt with which we treat this part of our species, that we should not put them upon the common foot of humanity, that we should only set 'an insignificant fine upon the man who murders them; pay, that we should, as much as in us lies, cut them off from the prospect of happiness in another world, as well as in this, and deny them that which we look upon as the proper means for attaining it?'"

A writer in the *Athenian Oracle*, a few years earlier, in an elaborate argument for a change in the penalty for certain capital crimes, urges that "Slavery is a better and more effectual Punishment than Death." Among other reasons, he refers to the master's "absolute power of Life and Death over these Slaves," as a recognized feature of his authority not to be questioned.—*Athenian Oracle*, Vol. iii., 554-5.

† On the 16th of May, 1695, before the Superior Court of Judicature, for the Province of Maine, Nathaniel Cane was tried and convicted of cruelty to his negro woman Rachel, deceased "by cruel beating and hard usage." He was fined five pounds

A full report of the proceedings would throw a flood of light upon the subject. The evidence for the Crown, the defense especially, and, above all, the charge and instructions from the Judges to the Jury would show the state of the law and the status of the slave.

Smith was tried at a "Special Court of Assize and General Goal Delivery," held at Plymouth on Wednesday, the 22d of July, 1719, by Commission or Precept from the Governor and Council. The Justices were Addington Davenport, Paul Dudley, and Edmund Quincy. The principal portion of the record follows:

"The Jurors for our Sovereign Lord the King upon their Oaths present That Samuel Smith of Sandwich in the County of Barnstable, "Cooper the sixteenth day of June last by Force and Armes and of his malice forethought upon one Fortin a Negro Man Servant to him the said Samuel Smith aforesaid in the said County of Barnstable (at that time and there in the peace of God and of our Lord the King being) did make an Assault and the aforesaid Fortin with a Leather horsewhip of the value of two pence which the said Samuel Smith in his right hand at that time and there held him the said Fortin named all over his naked body voluntarily and feloniously at that time and there did strike, giving him the said Fortin several blows, Stripes and bruises of which the said Fortin then and there instantly or within the Space of an hour after dyed and so the Jurors aforesaid say that the said Samuel Smith the said 16th day of June at Sandwich aforesaid the aforesaid Fortin in manner and form aforesaid of his malice forethought voluntarily

for the use of the County, to be paid to the Treasurer of York, but not to be levied till further Order of the Court. Also, five pounds ten shillings for Costs of Court, and committed till paid. *Records Sup. Court*: 1692-95, p. 179. I am unable to say whether in this case the death was caused directly by the cruelty of the master. This is the only additional case in Massachusetts which has come to my knowledge. The following extracts from early travels in other parts of America may be interesting to the reader in this connection. The Swedish traveler, Kalm, writing of Pennsylvania, in 1748, says: "A man who kills his negro must suffer death for it: there is not however an example here of a white man's having been executed on this account. A few years ago it happened that a master killed his slave; his friends and even the magistrates secretly advised him to leave the country, as otherwise they could not avoid taking him prisoner, and then he would be condemned to die according to the laws of the country, without any hopes of saving him. This lenity was employed towards him, that the negroes might not have the satisfaction of seeing a master executed for killing his slave; for this would lead them to all sorts of dangerous designs against their masters, and to value themselves too much." *Pinkerton*, iii., 501.

Burnaby, who traveled in America in 1759-60, illustrates the prevailing prejudices of the Virginians, "especially in regard to Indians and negroes, whom they scarcely consider as of the human species; so that it is almost impossible, in cases of violence, or even murder, committed upon any of those unhappy people by any of the planters, to have the delinquents brought to justice: for either the grand jury refuse to find the bill, or the petit jury bring in their verdict, not guilty." *Travels*, 18-19.

"and feloniously did kill and murder, against the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King that now is his Crown and Dignity, Unto which said presentment or Indictment the said Samuel Smith pleaded not guilty and for tryal put himself on God and the country. The jury being sworn to try the issue after a full hearing of the Evidences for the King with the prisoner's defence, went out to consider thereof and returning did in open Court Declare and Say That the said Samuel Smith is not Guilty. Whereupon he was discharged, paying Fees of Court taxed at Five Pounds one shilling and sixpence, And the Court adjourned without day. Attest Benjamin Rolf, Secretary."—*Superior Court Records*: 1719-21, fol. 25.

Thus—"the uniform local tradition" is confirmed, so far as Mr. Davis gives it. But this is not all. Mr. Davis ought also to have added that "the family tradition" was that Samuel Smith, the cooper, defended himself eloquently and effectively, and that the evidence went to show that the Negro perished by suicide!

The story of this remarkable suicide is stated by one of my correspondents in Massachusetts, as follows:

"The slave died, and the master being charged with crime, acknowledged having punished the Negro, but averred that the flogging was not the cause of death. An examination was had, and the verdict was that the slave died by suffocation having in yielding to his own ungovernable temper, or in sleep subsequent upon it, SWALLOWED HIS TONGUE. I think it was established to the satisfaction of the investigators, that infants are liable to suffocation in their sleep, by drawing the tongue into, or upon, the trachea, and that adults have been known to suffer from the same cause. The *frænum*, or thin membrane under the tongue, which is sometimes so broad as to denominate an infant *tongue-tied*, requiring its division oftentimes, it was said may be incautiously destroyed by inordinate cutting, and that some persons are born with a defect of the membrane. The Negro was suffocated, and his tongue was in the larynx. Hence, the accused was acquitted."

Comment is unnecessary. These are all the facts and traditions which I have been able to gather on the subject—and I do not anticipate any further complaint from Mr. Davis, intimating a want of diligence in reference to authorities, or undue reserve in that "knowing all this" I have simply stated as much."

The substance of Mr. Davis's complaint is, 1st, that I stated the killing as a fact, and 2d, that I failed to state the fact of acquittal. As to the first point, I entertain no doubt whatever in my own mind. I am unable to infer that Mr. Smith was innocent, from all the evidence as heretofore

presented. He was acquitted on the charge of murder, but this does not show that he was not guilty of cruelty to his slave which resulted in the death of its victim. It only shows that a jury of his fellow-citizens would not convict him of murder—although there had been evidence enough to cause an indictment for murder, in consequence of the death of his slave following hard upon a terrible flogging which he had inflicted. In those days there is reason to believe that such "killing was no murder," even in Massachusetts.

For the second point, that I left it an open question whether Smith was hung or not, by failing to state the fact of acquittal, I have to reply, that when I wrote the passage referred to, I did not know the result of the proceedings against him, although I felt very certain that neither he nor anybody else was ever hung in Massachusetts for the murder of a negro slave.

Up to the printing of the last sheet of my book, I entertained the expectation of adding in the Appendix a note on this case embracing the particulars which I sought from various sources to which I addressed myself in order to obtain every possible material of evidence.

But no man who reads my book will infer that Samuel Smith was hung—the tenor of the entire passage forbids that supposition. The direction of the argument in all that portion of my work is absolutely inconsistent with any intention on my part to mislead my readers to that conclusion.

As to the reference to the valuable *History of Cape Cod*, from which Mr. Davis thinks I ought to have learned that Smith was the father of "twelve children, born to him from 1720 to 1741," my critic seems to be ignorant of the fact that no allusion whatever is made in that work to this transaction, and that there is no index reference whatever to the Samuel Smith concerned in it. Mr. Davis's own article is (so far as I know) the only public statement which would enable the historical student or curious reader to identify the subject of this discussion with the Samuel Smith mentioned in a genealogical note concerning the family of Mr. Thomas Smith, town treasurer of Sandwich, in *Freeman's History of Cape Cod*, Vol. ii., pp. 83-4, note.

I have also been informed that his family was one of much prominence and high respectability, and that among his descendants are some of the most influential and prominent men of the present day. Mr. Davis favors us with a sketch of the eldest son of Samuel Smith, honored and respected as a citizen and a magistrate. But to what purpose? I have not summoned the Smith family to the bar of history! Suppose that Samuel Smith had another son, born a few months after he was tried and bearing the same name, who lived to become a would-be assassin in a later

generation and to confess it—would that affect the historical question whether his father escaped punishment justly or not in 1719? Still less would it concern the argument of my book, or this defense, in which I am not conscious of any desire or intention to injure the memory of the departed or the feelings of their descendants, by unnecessary personal reflections on either. If any greater publicity has been given to the family history of Samuel Smith, the cooper of Sandwich, than the original occasion would seem to demand, Mr. Davis may charge it to his own untimely sensitiveness in regard to the honor of his ancestry or his native State.

GEORGE H. MOORE.

New York, Oct. 5, 1866.

### III. OLD NEW YORK REVIVED.— CONTINUED.

#### 11. THE FRIENDLY FIRE COMPANY.

[From the original Manuscript.]

We whose names are hereunto Subscribed having constituted THE FRIENDLY FIRE COMPANY do promise to each other that incase a fire shall break out in this city, We will assist each other to the utmost of our power in preserving the property of such of the Members of this Company as may be in danger and of those first who may be most exposed (not restricting our selves however from performing the duties we owe to our fellow Citizens in similar distress provided the property of all the Members of this company is out of danger) Therefore that our intentions may be effectually carried in execution we agree to the following

#### RULES.

1. That This Company do not exceed in number Thirty persons; That they shall meet on the second Tewsday in November, January, March & July at Seven oClock P. M in the Three first mentioned meetings and Eight oClock in July, every Member not present when the list is call'd over (which shall be in half an hour after the time fix't for Meeting) shall pay a fine of Fifty cents and if absent the whole evening One Dollar, unless he shall make it appear he was indisposed or out of Town.

2. That the officers of this Company shall be a President Vice President & Secretary to be elected at the annual Meeting in November by Ballot, and five Wardens to be taken in Rotation by the Secretary from the list of Members twice a year, That is at the the annual Meeting in November, & the Statod Meeting in March.

3. That it shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Several Meetings of the Company and to maintain order in transacting the

business of the evening. In his absence the same duties devolves on the vice President. In case of the absence of either of these two officers, the one so absenting himself, shall be fined Two Dollars & The Company shall elect a President Pro. Tem.

4. That the duty of the Secretary shall be to receive and account for all fines. To settle all reckonings at each meeting, To give three days previous notice of all meetings, To warn four of the members to walk with him at each Stated meeting by rotation as they stand on the list, so that each member may be made acquainted with the dwellings of one another, and in their rounds to inspect the necessary articles particularized in the sixth rule. To keep a fair account of his and the companys proceedings & incase of his absence at any meeting of the company to be fined Two Dollars, any member refusing to visite in his turn when notified by the

5. That the duties of the five Wardens shall be, That incase of fire which threatens any individual of this company The two first at the place of danger shall remain their, & (with the concurrence of the owner if present) direct the rest of the Wardens, or incase of their absence any three members they think proper to an appointed place of deposite—pay particular attention to the best mode of arrangement and give the necessary directions for assisting the members present for saving the most valuable articles and carrying them to the conserted place of deposite, where it shall be the duty of the other three wardens to take their station and keep the goods in custody untill relieved, Under the penalty of Ten Dollars, That it shall be the duty of every member on alarm of fire to repair with his bags & hat to the House or Store of the person belonging to the Company who may be in the greatest danger, and endeavour to the utmost of his abilities, to save the property, Whoever shall neglect giving personal attendance in such cases, or appear without his hat, bags, & book containing the Rules of association shall be subject to a fine of Four Dollars, unless he shall make it appear he was indisposed or out of Town.

6. That each Member shall provide himself with two bags made of Sheeting, one Yard wide, and one Yard & a half long, to be numbered 1 and 2, and Marked with the first letters in the owners christian name and his surname at length and F. F. Co. the initials of the Company—Also with a round hat the crown to be painted White on which F. F. Co. shall be painted black in as large letters as the Crown will admit of and this hat is to be considered as the mark by which the members are to know one another, The same to be kept hanging in the most convenient place of

each members house or Store never to be removed except on alarm of fire under the penalty of Two Dollars.

7. That the members of this company may have a distinct understanding among themselves there shall be a Watchword without which no person is to be admitted by the Wardens or Such other Members as may be centinels at the place in danger unless his admittance be requested by the own—The Watchword to be altered by consent of the Company and any member not being able to tell it at each meeting time of alarm or when demanded by the secretary, shall pay a fine of Fifty cents—and if any member shall disclose thesame to one Who is not a member shall be for ever expelled.

8. That every member shall call on the Secretary for a copy of these Rules, who must have a sufficient number printed at the expence of the company containing also the names of the different members, and the several places of their abode. When any member shall remove to another dwelling stores &c. he shall inform the secretary thereof, under the penalty of one Dollar in case of neglect, This the Secretary shall insert that removal in his Copy of the Rules before next meeting on penalty of twenty five cents and each member shall then conform his thereto, and produce the corrected copy before the close of thesame meeting on penalty of fifty cents.

9. That whoever absents himself from three Stated meetings successively shall be considered as having quited the company paying his fines nevertheless for noneattendance &c. and shall not be readmitted without the usual ceremony of Election unless he make it appear that he was prevented by indisposition or absence from home.

10. When the Society appears to be in arrears to the Secretary for monies advanced on their account, The deficiency shall be immediately made up by an equal contribution from each Member.

11. Each Warden to be furnished by the Secretary with a Staff of distinction 3 feet in Length, to be carried by each of them, in all cases of alarm under the penalty of Two Dollars, and be transfered from the senior to the Junior Wardens in rotation.

12. That every Member after the Extinction of fire where property belonging to any individual of the company has been removed to a place of deposite, shall immediately assemble at said place for the purpose of removing the same to a place of Security, under the penalty of One Dollar.

13. The hats may be dispenced with by the members in case of alarm between sun rise and Sun Set.

14. That every candidate must be proposed at the meeting previous to that on which he shall

be balloted for, and one dissenting vote shall exclude the candidate, every new Member to pay an admysion fee of Five Dollars.

15. No member to leave the room during business without leave of the presiding officer, nor interrupt the necessary business of the Company when call'd to order by the President, under the penalty of One Dollar.

16. Members refusing to adhere to these Rules explicitly, to be expelled, But any circumstances occurring which is not provided for in the Articles of Association, to be determined by a Majority of the Company present.

17. That no alterations, amendments, or additions to these Rules shall take place unless proposed at one previous Meeting and two thirds of the Members present concur.

New York

2<sup>d</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> 1800

HECTOR SCOTT,  
SAMUEL CAMPBELL,  
JNO. TURNBULL,  
JOHN MACGREGOR,  
J. W. KNOX,  
COLIN GILLESPIE,  
HENRY MCFARLAN,  
BENJ<sup>r</sup>. PAGE,  
JN<sup>d</sup> MUNRO,  
ALEX MACGREGOR,  
JAMES TYNE,  
ALEXANDER S. GLASS,  
HUGH MACLEAN,  
JOHN K. BANCKER,  
WILLIAM BLACKSTOCK,  
A J ADRIANCE,  
LEWIS C HAMERSLEY,  
ARCH<sup>d</sup> SOMERVILLE,  
THOMAS MORTON,  
W<sup>m</sup>. CUNNINGHAM,  
ALEX<sup>r</sup> : SOMERVILLE  
JOHN HATHORN,  
DIVIE BETHUNE,  
THO<sup>s</sup>. S. ARDEN,  
AND<sup>w</sup> NAPIER,  
PETER MORISON,

DAVID AUCHINVOLE,  
PETER A. MESIER,  
THOS. T. RUMSEY,  
JOHN GRAHAM,  
THO<sup>s</sup> SHEDDEN,  
JOHN HYSLOP,  
JACOB P GIRAUD,  
JN<sup>d</sup>. L. BROOME,  
ROB<sup>t</sup> CURTIS,  
ROB. BACH,  
AUG<sup>s</sup>. WYNKOOP,  
JOHN RONALDS,  
CALEB B. BANNING,  
FRAS. FAIRBAIRN,  
JOHN A. FORT,  
THOMAS FRADGLEY,  
W<sup>m</sup>. CUMMING,  
BENJ. BAKENELL,  
RICH<sup>d</sup>. J. TUCKER,  
PETER CLARKE.  
JOHN KING, Jr.  
WILLIAM GIBSON,  
PETER M KINLEY  
NATH. COSKRY,  
GEORGE LAURIE,  
JOHN LANG.

## 12.—NEW YORK, IN APRIL, 1776.

1. *Extract of a letter from Peter Elting to Captain Varick.\**

NEW YORK, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1776

Dear Brother

\* \* \* \*

This day came to town five or six Betalions of Cont troops from Boston, I Reecon the Army in & about the town must now Consist of near twelve thousand men, they are fortifying on every side, night before last they begun at Noten

Island,\* I hear they are Bussy at Staten Island, & the Asia is moved down as low as Robens Reef, the menwarr have allowed No Boats to pass of late, tho I think they Donte feel Quite so bold as heretofore, and would be glad of moving out of the way of our two & thirty pounders, Our Continantial fleet has been verry succesfull of late but cannot acquaint you of the perticulers.

\* \* \* \*

Your Verry Affectionate  
Brother & Humble Servt.

PETER ELTING.

To Capt. Varick.

2. *Extract from a letter of Jno. Cozine, Jun., to Captain Richard Varick.†*

NEW YORK, April 10, 1776.

\* \* \* \*

If Military Preparations are the fore-runners of War, I can tell you it is likely, we shall have Engagements in this Quarter. There is scarcely a Street leading from either River that is not secured in some Manner, by way of preventive to the Regulars possessing themselves of our City. And as to Forts and Batteries we have plenty of them. I think the Ministerial Gentry will suffer Considerably should they attempt to land here, before they can carry any important point. I know not how many men we have here at present, from different parts, I suppose at least 12 or 14,000.

\* \* \* \*

3. *Extract of a letter from Colonel Rudolph Ritzema to Captain Richard Varick.*

NEW YORK ye 11<sup>th</sup> April 1776

Dr Sir

\* \* \* \*

Since my last I have accepted of the Command of the third Regiment of Yorkers, in which I have none of the old Officers save Weisenfels, this is extreemly disagreeable to me, but as I have done all in my Power to serve them & Mr Hancock did inform me, that the Continental Congress had instructed the commanding officer in Canada, to provide for the old officers there not provided for in the new levies, I could not with any Propriety decline the Service, especially as my chief objection to continuing in the Service was removed, by the Soldiers being enlisted & engaged during the war, so that there is a Probability in Time of having a good & usefull Corps. I shall do my utmost to effect it. If I can't I'll decline. As yet there is little of the Gentleman amongst the Majority of the Continental officers, a low cunning & insidious interested Conduct is too prevalent, & must be broke, otherwise

\* From the Tomlinson Manuscripts, Mercantile Library, New York.

\* NUTTEN, now Governor's, Island.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† From the Tomlinson Manuscripts.

the Army will become & continue to be the greatest Torment on Earth. Those who have the good & Honor of their Country at Heart must coincide in opinion with me & it behoves them much to cherish a noble & disinterested Spirit, those that think otherwise should be far removed out of the Midst of us. \* \* \* A large army is collecting here, General Washington is expected here to Morrow, I shall be happy in being under his Command as He thinks & acts like a Gentleman & a Soldier. My Regiment will be here the latter End of next Week compleat But who my Officers are & how the Men will be I can't tell, you shall soon hear from me on that Head. The Fortifications are nearly compleated & I doubt not the Enemy if they intend coming here will meet with a warm Reception.

I am

Your Friend & humbl<sup>e</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

RUD RITZEMA.

ADDRESSED—To Capt Richard Varick, Albany.

4. *Extract of a letter from New York.\**

New-York, April 12, 1776.

"If you have any idea of our situation, you must be solicitous to hear from us. When you are informed that New-York is deserted by its old inhabitants, and filled with soldiers from New-England, Philadelphia, and Jersey—you will naturally conclude, the *Environs* of it are not very safe from so undisciplined a multitude, as our Provincials are represented to be; but I do believe, there are few instances of so great a number of men together, with so little mischief done by them; they have all the simplicity of ploughmen in their manners, and seem quite strangers to the vices of older soldiers. They have been employed in erecting fortifications, in every part of the town; and it would make you sorry to see the place so changed: the old fort walls, are demolished in part, although that is an advantage to the Broadway. There is a Battery carried across the street, erected partly at Lord Abingdon's expense, for the Fascines, were cut out of the wood that belonged to the Warren estate: it was a beautiful wood,—Oliver De Lancey, had been nursing it these forty years; it looks in a piteous state now: Mr. D. hoped to have it somewhat spared, by telling the New-England men, who were cutting it, that a third part belonged to one of the *Protesting Lords*. One of them answered, 'Well, and if he be such a great liberty boy, and so great a friend to our country, he will be quite happy, that his wood, was so happy for our use.' You remember Bayard's Mount, covered with cedars? it commanded a prospect exceedingly

"extensive! The top of it is so cut away, that there is room enough for a house and garden; a fortification is there erected, as well as round the *Hospital*:—in short, every place that can be employed in that way, is or will be, so used. You may recollect a sweet situation at Horn's Hook, that Jacob Walton purchased, built an elegant house, and greatly and beautifully improved the place; he was obliged to quit the place; the troops took possession, and fortified there. Oh, the houses in New-York, if you could but see the insides of them! Kennedy's house, Mallet's, and the next to it, had six hundred men in them. If the owners ever get possession, I am sure they must be years in cleaning them. The merchants have raised their goods to an enormous price; many articles are scarce indeed; and there is quite a hue and cry about *pins*. Common rum, 6 to 7 shillings per gallon; poor sugar, 4*l*. a hundred; molasses, none; cotton 4*s* per lb."

5. *Extract of a letter from John Varick, Junior, to Captain Richard Varick.\**

NEW YORK, April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1776.

Dear Brother

\* \* \* \* \*  
On Friday the 12<sup>th</sup> inst The Comp<sup>y</sup> of Fusiliers, which is divided in three Parties, commenced their Guard at Mr. Byards (where Records are deposited for the Sake of Safety) by a small Detachment consisting of 12 Men exclusive of Officers, under the Command of Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Livingston—who were the next Day relieved by a second party consisting of the same Number of Men, under the Command of Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Fish, amongst whom I have the Honor of being included; & we were relieved by a third Detachment under Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Wilcocks, which compleated the round of the Company,—so that our Party come on every third Day. We are to receive 9 Dollars at the Expiration of our Months Duty.

\* \* \* \* \*  
from your affectionate Brother & humble serv<sup>t</sup>

JOHN VARICK Jun.

Capt. Richard Varick  
Albany.

13.—JONATHAN LAWRENCE AND HIS FAMILY.

*By the late Abraham R. Lawrence.*

Jonathan Lawrence was married to Ruth Riker, on the 7th of Augt, 1768; was elected by the town meeting of New Town, a member of the committee of safety at the beginning of the revolutionary movements in 1775, and of the Provincial Congress in 1776; was also appointed an

\* Copied from an old number of *The New York American*.

\* From the Tomlinson Manuscripts.

officer in the militia and aid to Gen'l Nath'l Woodhull, who fell in the battle of Long Island in 1776. The British army, after the defeat and retreat of General Washington on Long Island, took possession of such dwellings as were occupied by persons disaffected to the Government, and Mrs. Lawrence (wife of Jon'n Lawrence), in the absence of her husband on publick service, in the month of Augt, eluded the guard which had invested his house, and with her son Jonathan, aged nine years, and daughter Judith, aged seven years, her daughter Margaret, aged five years, her son Samuel, aged three years, and Andrew, aged fifteen months, under the care and by the assistance of her faithful slave Jack, crossed over to Barn Island. Mrs. Margaret Riker, wife of Abraham Riker, a captain in the American army, and their daughter, with a Mrs. Reimsen, their aunt, and two Miss Rapelyes, their neighbors, accompanied Mrs. Lawrence in her retreat; some articles of furniture were taken over to the island in the boat, but after a short stay upon the island they returned with the furniture to the house, upon hearing that the British army had left the town. This rumor proved to be falacious, for immediately after their return the soldiers returned, and after a few hours, in which they had robbed the inmates of money and other articles, they repaired to a neighboring house, when Mrs. Lawrence and all the rest, excepting the Miss Rapelyes, availing themselves of their momentary absence, packed up some articles of family silver and again retreated to the Island, which they crossed and proceeded to Harlem. They there met Captain Riker, who had procured a furlough for the purpose of escorting his wife up the North River, for which route they obtained a conveyance to Mr. Martine's a relation of the Rikers at Tappan. Thence they embarked for Rhinebeck and took a part of the house owned by a Mr. Turk opposite the town of Esopus, where they resided during the following winter. Then they removed to Dr. Cooper's (M.D.) about a mile from the village easterly—in a Brick two story House. In the fall when the British burned Kingston (Esopus) the family were removed to a place called *New City* about 20 miles back of Rhinebeck; they remained there about two months—when the British having returned (from their incursion) to the city of New York, they removed back to Doctor Cooper's. At that House in the following January, Richard (now Richard M. Lawrence) was born. In the spring they removed to a house hired them by a Mr. Conbath about a quarter of a mile from the village of Rhinebeck, where they remained one year; after which they removed to New Hackensac in Dutchess county to a house belonging to a Mr. Atwater (who, being an active supporter of the British Government, abandoned his property and went

over to the enemy. This house was tenanted conjointly by Mrs. Lawrence's family, who occupied the lower part, and by Mrs. Atwater, who occupied the upper, and who was permitted to remain in possession in the absence of her Husband. The family continued in this House two years, in the second winter of which Abraham R. Lawrence was born. After the expiration of the second year they removed to the house of a Mr. Frenell in the town of Dover (Dover Hollow) in Dutchess county. Here they continued two years and a half, in the second year of which (1783) Joseph Lawrence was born. In October following, peace having been agreed upon between Great Britain and the United States, the family removed to the city of New York *via* Fishkill, where they embarked on board of a sloop commanded by Captain Bogardus, which was full of passengers who had been exiled from the southern district of the State. The passage was boisterous, especially in Tappan sea, where there was some danger of foundering, in consequence of the violence of the gale and storm; but all arrived safe in New York in about twenty-four hours. On their arrival they repaired to their relations, Mr. Bradfords, (who kept the coffee house, S. E. corner of Wall and Water streets). They stayed there a few days, during which they hired a house, corner of Water street and Burling slip, belonging to (Mrs. Remsen) aunt Remsen who had accompanied them from their house at Hellgate upon their retreat at the commencement of the revolution. There they resided (and opened a store) for about two years and a half, and removed in 1786 to a house in Water street fronting on Beekman slip (now Fulton slip), which property is now a part of the site of Holt's Marble Hotel. After residing and continuing the store in this house for six years, Mr. Lawrence purchased a house at the corner of Broad and Princess street, fronting Beaver street, as it leads to the Bowling Green on Broadway. This house has since been taken into the street by the enlargement and extension of Beaver to Pearl street. In the corner house of Burling slip and Water street, John (now John L.) Lawrence was born; and in the house fronting Beekman slip William Thomas was born. The family resided in the house in Broad street between seventeen and eighteen years, and removed to the house on Pearl street, fronting Coenties slip, in 1809. This house had been the property of John Lawrence, brother of Jonathan, and had been occupied by him and his widow since the year 1758, until the death of his widow about the year 1804 or 5, and it was purchased and repaired by Jonathan Lawrence in 1808. The family occupied this house during the life of Jonathan Lawrence, which terminated in 1812, and during the life of his widow, who died in 1818, and untill the month of May,

1819, when John L., who had purchased this house at the sale of the family estate, took possession of his property, and the three brothers, William T., Richard M., and A. R. Lawrence, with their sister Margaret, hired Wood's house, No. — Broadway, and removed there. In May, 1820, they removed to Weyman's House, corner of Broadway and Catharine lane (S. West corner), and continued there five years. There William T. Lawrence was married and left the concern. They then removed to Rapelye's house, N. Easterly corner of Broadway and Franklin street, and resided there two years. The remaining brothers and their sister then bought of Francis Depau their present residence, No. 351 Broadway, where they have ever since remained. Oct. 22nd, 1837.

#### IV.—THE FIRST CLASSICAL SCHOOL IN WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA.

BY PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL, OF DAVIDSON COLLEGE.

It is both important in itself as a matter of history, and it is due to the Pioneers who, more than a century ago, emigrated to this then wilderness, and founded institutions, the benefits of which we now enjoy, to make some permanent record of their efforts to promote Learning and Science, as well as Religion.

If we survey the history of this State, from its first settlement, we shall find certain districts that have taken the lead in this matter. Certain Counties have been radiating points of light to the surrounding regions; and by their example, as well as by direct influence, have incited others to make improvements. And very probably the records of the University of the State, if examined, would show that it has received its greatest number of students from those Counties in which good schools have been coeval with the settlement of the country.

Aged persons, in this region, say, "Our Grand-fathers would have good schools." And it is to be feared, with all the modern improvements, and with all "the short and easy methods" of teaching every Science in a few lectures, the cause of Education has not advanced beyond the state in which our forefathers left it. That "royal road to learning," in which any child, at any age, can be prepared, in a few lessons, for any business or profession, "to order," is yet to be discovered.

Our ancestors, whether Scotch-Irish or Puritans, took a wiser course: they had more judicious views on this subject. It was their object to diffuse intelligence through the whole community. Their zeal for education was not limited

by a narrow, or sectarian spirit; but they labored and made sacrifices for the public good. The renowned John Elliot, the Apostle to the Indians, "would always have a Grammar School in the town where he lived, whatever it cost him; and he importuned all other places to have the like." In a Synod at Boston, he prayed; "Lord, for Schools everywhere among us! That our Schools may flourish! That every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good School to be encouraged in the town where he lives! That before we die, we may be so happy as to see a good School encouraged in every plantation of the country."

He gave property to the town of Roxbury, Massachusetts, to support a School there, which, in 1840, amounted to \$9,700, together with real estate which yielded an annual income of \$381.

Cotton Mather said that that town, "has afforded more scholars, first for the College, and then for the public, than any town of its bigness in all New England." And he adds: "I hope, or at least, I wish, that the ministers of New England may be as ungainsayingly importunate with their people, as Mr. Elliot was with his, for Schools which may seasonably tinge the souls of the rising generation. A want of education for them, is the blackest and saddest of all the bad omens that are upon us."

The writer of this, a few years ago, was informed of a small township in one of the New England States, scarcely ten miles in diameter, where from the earliest times there was a good Classical School; and in which one teacher continued more than thirty years. In this township, in the course of time, there had been educated, in all denominations, about *nine hundred* Ministers of the Gospel. Such in general, shall we find to be the case; according as the foundations of society are laid, so they will remain. Wherever our ancestors went, their first thought was, after erecting their own tents, "to found a Tabernacle for the God of Jacob;" the next was to place the Academy beside it; the next was to establish a College. "When New England was poor, and they were few in number, there was a spirit to encourage learning," as Bancroft says. "And once at least, every family in each of the Colonies gave to the College at Cambridge, twelve pence, or a peck of corn, or its value in wampumpeag."

And we may go back still farther, and point to a fact in English History, that has a bearing on this subject; for Macaulay, speaking of the session of the Parliament of Scotland, 1696, says, "By far the most important event of this short session, was the passing of the Act for the settling of Schools. By this memorable law it was, in the Scotch phrase, 'statuted, and ordained that every parish in the realm should provide a

"commodious School-house, and should pay a 'moderate stipend to a School-master.' The effect could not be immediately felt. But before 'one generation had passed away, it began to be 'evident that the common people of Scotland 'were superior in intelligence to the common 'people of any other country in Europe. To 'whatever land the Scotchman might wander; to 'whatever calling he might betake himself, in 'America or in India, in trade or in war, the advantage which he derived from his early training raised him above his competitors."

And this shows us how it was, that the Scotch-Irish who came here a little more than one hundred years ago,—even when they were few and scattered abroad in the wilderness, through which they found their way by Indian trails and blazed trees,—would not let learning suffer; they would have good Schools; and not only where the common English branches were taught, but scientific and classical Seminaries.

The first one of this class, of which we have any knowledge, in the western part of North Carolina, was in the lower part of Iredell, then Rowan, County, near the line of Mecklenburg, about two miles east of Davidson College. It was near the residence, at that time, of Colonel Alexander Osborne, the grand-father of the present Hon. James W. Osborne, of Charlotte, N. C. The place is now uninhabited, and familiarly known in the country as "*The Red House*," near Dr. Stinson's. Some say that the School was commenced at Thyatira church, in Rowan County, about twenty miles east of this locality, and soon removed to this spot. It was in the bounds of Centre Congregation, which is one of the oldest Churches in this part of the State; and the Church edifice at that time was within about half a mile of this School. It was known as "*THE CROW-FIELD ACADEMY*." It is not known who were most active in establishing it; nor exactly when it began. That it began, however, very early after the first settlement of the country will appear from a variety of considerations.

From Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina*, (page 434,) we learn that "there was a *flourishing* 'Classical School in the bounds of Centre Congregation, which after continuing *about twenty years*, was broken up by the invasion." But no invasion can be alluded to but that of the British army under Cornwallis, in February, 1781; when there was a skirmish at Cowan's Ford, on the Catawba River, a few miles off, in which General Davidson was killed, after whom Davidson College was named, which in one sense may be regarded as the successor of the School we speak of. This army in pursuit of General Greene, on what is called "*The old Salisbury Road*," from Beattie's Ford on the Catawba River to that place, passed within a mile of the Acad-

emy.\* If we reckon back twenty years from 1781, we shall come to about the same date as before.

The first missionary that settled in the State, was Rev. Hugh McAdden. He kept a Journal of his travels through various parts of the State. In September, 1755, he passed along here: "On 'Tuesday he returned to David Templeton's, and 'on Wednesday, a day appointed for fasting and 'prayer, rode to the Meeting-house and preached. "After Sermon he went home with Captain Osborne, about six miles; here he remained till 'Sabbath the 28th, when he preached at the 'new Meeting-house" [*which has since been removed, but the site is known*] "about three miles 'off: and again on Wednesday."

Being at the house several days, from 22d to 28th of Oct., near which was the Academy—and in the vicinity two or three weeks—and noting every thing of interest where he passed, if this School had been going on at that time he would most certainly have noticed it, as so important in a new settlement. And besides, he returned on the same route, in the December following; and on the 14th "he preached in the new Meeting-house near Mr. Osborne's;" but he said not a word of any School: it had not then begun in 1755.

Another thing that shows its early origin is, that several men, who acted a conspicuous part in the Revolution, then in the prime of life, received their early training there. Some of them had graduated at Princeton College; and had entered on professional life. Dr. James McKee, before mentioned, finished his course at that institution in 1775; and was licensed to preach the Gospel, in 1778. Rev. Andrew King

\* At, perhaps, the nearest point, and where the road from the north, towards Charlotte, crossed the Salisbury road, was a skirmish, spoken of by historians in very different ways: *Botta* says: "A single corps of militia \* \* \* made a stand at the post 'of Tarrant; Colonel Tarleton charged them vigorously &c." *John Frost*, "A small party which collected about ten miles 'from the ford was attacked and dispersed by Lt. Col. Tarleton." In *Life of Andrew Jackson*, he has it: "Tarleton 'then surprised and dispersed a body of Militia assembled at a 'neighboring inn." The place intended was a tavern kept by a widow named Terrence, at an intersection of the roads, ten miles from Cowan's Ford. Very few would know what the foreigner, *Botta*, meant by "*the post of Tarrant*." The Americans were eating and drinking here when the British army suddenly came upon them; one of the officers seized a piggin full of liquor and rode off, holding it up in his hand, and calling upon the others to follow. The men rushed out of the house in such haste and fright, that they left their guns behind where they had stacked them in the house.

One man, however, who skulked behind the house with his gun, shot one of the British from his horse as they came up; and escaped into a thicket of bushes, and got off unseen. They in a rage immediately rushed into the house, and seeing no one but the woman, charged her with the shooting; and though of course she protested her innocence, they were about to hang her. But one of the party of more consideration, pointing to the stack of muskets left behind by the militia, told them first to examine whether any of the guns was unloaded, for if not she could not be guilty; and not finding any one empty, but all loaded, they released her.

from the same County, was graduated at the same College in 1773; entered the ministry; and settled in the State of New York.

Rev. S. E. McCorcle, D.D., came into this part of the country at ten years of age, in 1756; and finished his course at Princeton, in 1772; and as this School was not very remote from his father's house, it is altogether probable that his early training was gained at it. The same is true of Rev. James Hall, D.D., who spent his life in the same County, and was graduated at the College so generously patronized in this region, in 1774. In the same year, Colonel Adlai Osborne, son of the Captain Osborne mentioned above, was a member of the Committee of Safety in that same County, (Rowan), a post of some importance. Dr. Ephraim Brevard, had entered on the practice of Medicine, and gained a character, and had acquired the confidence of his fellow citizens. He acted an important part in the exciting scenes which took place at Charlotte, connected with the famous Mecklenburg Declaration, May 20, 1775, which he drew up. If we allow these men time to go through all their course of preparation for public life, and then to enter on their respective professions, we shall carry back the beginning of this School to the same date as before, 1760, at least.

Some others, well known in the country, who are said to have laid the foundation for their college course, or for usefulness without it, at this school, were Dr. Alexander Osborne, E. J. Osborne, Dr. William Houston, (Professor in Princeton College;) Adam Springs, Dr. Charles Harris, Rev. James McElhenry, of South Carolina; Rev. James McKnight, and Rev. James Lewis. It had sufficient reputation to attract students from the neighboring Counties; and it is said that the sons of a wealthy Spaniard, in the West Indies, attended here at the same time with some of the Polk family.

We have called this the *first* Classical School in this part of the State; Mr. Foote, however, in his *Sketches*, (p. 513), claims that honor for the one in Sugar Creek Congregation, near Charlotte, and about twenty miles from this locality.

He says of it, "The time of its commencement is not certainly known; but it appears to have been in successful operation under Mr. Joseph Alexander, who for a time supplied the Congregation after the death of Mr. Craighead in 1766." This was the School, elevated to the rank of a College by the State Legislature, in 1770, by the name of "Queen's Museum;" the Charter amended and granted again in 1771; but the second time annulled by the King. When the author spoke of this, beginning in 1766, and Dr. David Caldwell's School, in Guilford County, which did not begin till the next year, as the second institution of the kind in this part of the

State, he must have forgotten what he had said about our School being in existence *twenty years* before the invasion of 1781. After this interruption of about six years, and at the close of "The Clio School," in the upper end of the same county in 1787, it was revived again, it is said, by the last teacher there, Dr. Charles Caldwell,\* afterwards a celebrated Professor in a Medical College, in Philadelphia; and subsequently "the Pioneer of Medical Schools in the West," in Kentucky. But how long it continued after that we are not informed. We learn, however, from an old lady, a member of the Osborne family, and born near the spot,† that Dr. C. continued two years: after him was a Rev. Mr. Kerr, who preached at Centre Church, one year. Other old people speak of a teacher by the name of Benedict; and another, called McElhenry.

The building has altogether vanished from sight, and an "old field," a term better understood here than in some parts of the country, occupies that seat of learning; and where, a hundred years ago, might have been heard the sounds of reading and spelling; where the measures of Virgil, the muse of Horace, the eloquence of Cicero, resounded, literally the cawing of crows, is in all probability, the most familiar sound in "Crowfield."

The locality is about ten miles from the south line of the *old map* of the central parts of Iredell County, published in 1847; and about two miles from the seat of "THE CLIIO SCHOOL."

Davidson College, N. C., August, 1866.

## V.—PAPERS CONCERNING THE PROVINCE AND STATE OF MAINE. —CONTINUED.

### II.—NOTES ON THE LOCAL HISTORY OF MAINE— CONCLUDED.

#### IX.

CAPE NEDDOCK. [1.] *Piscataqua*, Octob. 26. On Saturday the 20th Currant, about 20 *Indians* appeared at Cape Nidduck, and carried away 4 Sons of John Stover, who were at a little distance from the Garrison, several others that were out of the Garrison, retired to it with all speed; on which the Enemy fired about an hour, then drew up the Children in sight of the Garrison, and marched off. At York 4 or 5 *Indians* were also discovered: Major Walton with a Company of men is gone in pursuit of the Enemy.

Capt. Broune at Wells hearing of the Enemy's unhappy Enterprize in Carrying away the 4

\* Charles C., in Foote's *Sketches*, p. 512.

† Mrs. Margaret Davidson, now dead.

Children from 3 to 12 years of Age, went with his Company in pursuit of the Enemy with utmost Expedition; but there being 2 places over a little River lying near *Sacho*, about 2 miles distant which they usually pass, and not knowing which of the two they would take, Capt. *Browne* very prudently divided his Company into 2 parts, whereof one half went with Lieut. *James March*, who happened to discover the Enemy (without the least observation) as they were passing over a little Bridge, being within 15 rod of them; some few with the poor Captives were got over a minute or 2 before; and our men discovering several behind & on the Bridge, fir'd several Shot upon them, which being an unexpected surprisal, caus'd a most dismal Consternation among them, inasmuch that some fell forwards, others backwards, and some into the River which was 10 foot deep, some throwing away their Plunder, others their Blankets & Snapsacks, till at last some few of the Enemy on the other side of the River fired at our men, killed one & wounded another: By this time Capt. *Browne* (hearing the Guns) came up to the rest of his Company, who drove the Enemy off, and pursued them; but they scattering among the Thickets, our men were made incapable of making any further discovery of what damage we did them, but most probably several of them were slain and wounded. *The Boston News-Letter*, 80, Monday, October 29, 1705.

[2.] *York*, Aug. 12. On Lords-Day the 10th curreant, some Persons living at *Cape Nidduck*, in their return home-ward, after the Evening Service, were way-laid by a party of Indians, suppos'd to be about Fifty in number; who kill'd three men, & one other man and woman are missing. *The Boston News-Letter*, 174, Monday, August 18, 1707.

## X.

NEWICHAWANNOCK RIVER. *Piscataqua*, Octob. 2. We are still infested with the Sculking Indian Enemy, who, on Sabbath Day Evening last at *Nichawanock* way-laid *Nicholas Smith*, *James Ferguson* and his Wife as they were Riding home from the Publick Worship, and fired upon them, the former they wounded, but he made his escape; the two latter they kill'd and scalp't: Four of the Inhabitants well knowing the Enemy's walk, way-laid them in their drawing off, & firing at the first they could discern, making him to fall, so terrified the rest, tho' ten in number, that 7 of them dropt their Packs and fled; in which were found 20 Beaver Skins and 3 dry Scalps, supposed to be some of those lately taken at *Oyster-River*. *The Boston News-Letter*, 181, Monday, October 6, 1707.

## XI.

NORTH YARMOUTH. *BOSTON*, June 27. \* \* Monday last the Indians killed 2 Men and mortally wounded another at North Yarmouth, close to the Fort. During the Action, an English Lad who had been captivated by the Indians, made his Escape into the Fort. *The New-York Gazette*, revived in the *Weekly Post-boy*, 285, July 4, 1748.

## XII.

PEMAQUID. [1.] *BOSTON*. His Excellency our Governour (with the Gentlemen that attended him in the *Scarborough* Man of War to the Eastward) returned hither in good health on Wednesday the 31st of last Month, and was received with great Joy, Respect and Honour. His Excellency visited all the Eastern Coast of this Province (which he had not seen before) as far as *St. Croix*, where the Ship lay at Anchor three Days, and the Governour with Capt. *Durell*, Commander of His Majesty's Ship *Scarborough*, went on Shoar, but discovered no Inhabitants; from thence the Governor proceeded Homewards, to *Machias Bay*, and thence to *Pemaquid*, taking a View of that and *John's* River, and of *Fort Fredrick*, at the Conflux of those Rivers, being in the spot where a Fort was first of all built by Sir *William Phipps*, formerly Governor of this Province; after this his Excellency went to *Damaras Cotty* and *Sheepscot Rivers*, and for taking a better View of the Nature and Growth of the Soil, and of the situation of the Country thereabouts, the Governor took with him six Musquetiers, and walk'd thro' the Woods from the Head of *John's* River to *Sheepscot*, (about 15 Miles) then the Man of War's Pinnace met him and brought him back to *Pemaquid*, being by Water near 40 Miles: Where a considerable Number of the Eastern Indians waited on his Excellency, expressing a great desire for a long continuance of Peace; the Governor entertain'd them in the kindest manner, and they returned to their several Tribes with great Satisfaction. *The New-York Weekly Journal*, 41, Munday, August 12th, 1734.

[2.] *BOSTON*, June 1. \* \* But the most melancholly Account is from *Pemaquid*, as follows. Two fishing Vessels having put in there to get Bait, on the 22d past, their Crews, consisting of 11 Men and a Boy, with 3 Men from the *Garrison*, went up to the Falls to catch Alewives, where they were surpriz'd and attack'd by a Body of 50 or 60 Indians, who killed all the Men, and the Boy very narrowly escaped, by running into the Bushes, from whence he afterwards got to the *Garrison*. *The New-York Gazette*, revived in the *Weekly Post-boy*, [PARKER'S] 229, June 8, 1747.

[3.] *BOSTON*, September 14. And from Pema-

quid we hear, that a Body of about 60 French and Indians lately attack'd the Fort there, but were beat off. They shot down and scalp'd two Men at some Distance from the Fort, who were soon after found by our People, one of them was dead, but the other had so much Life in him as to declare, that he was scalp'd by a Frenchman, and that in such a Place they might find two dead Indians, who were kill'd from the Fort; but when our Men came to the Place, they only found a large Quantity of Blood, the Dead Bodies being carried off. The poor wounded Man was got into the Fort alive, but died soon after. *The New-York Gazette, revived in the Weekly Post-boy*, 244, September 21, 1747.

## XIII.

PASSAMAQUODDY BAY. [1.] On Wednesday the 21. Arrived Mr. *Hart* in a Sloop from our Forces to the Eastward, with Letters from Col. *Church*, Chief Commander of the same, Dated at *Passamisquoddy*, the 13. Currant, acquainting His Excellency of their having laid wast & burnt all the French Settlements in those Parts, Kill'd and Captivated of French and Indians, to the number of Thirty-five Persons, since our last account. While our People were tearing up the Indian Corn, they fired on them from the other side of the River, and a fight at a distance continued about 3 hours, wherein we had one man Wounded, but a great noise was heard among the Indians, and 'tis supposed several of them were kill'd and wounded; the number of Indians are said to be between 30 & 40. Our Boats brought from the several Houses and Settlements, a considerable parcel of Plunder of Furs, Household Stuff, &c. The best we have got yet: We have also taken Monsieur *Chartier's* Shallop, formerly Mr. *Trevit's* of *Marblehead*, and several fine Cannoo's. Our Souldiers and Mariners on board Her Majesties Ships the *Gosport* and *Jearsy*, the Province Galley, and other several Vessels, were all in Health. The Prisoners are brought to Boston. *The Boston News-Letter*, 10, Monday, June 26, 1704.

## XIV.

SHEEPS-COT. [1.] BOSTON, September 28. \* \* We hear from the Eastward, that on the 19th Instant, the Indians kill'd three Men at Sheepscot, viz. Father, Son, and Son-in-Law, as they were crossing the River in a Canoe. *The New-York Gazette, revived in the Weekly Post-boy*, [PARKER'S] 246, October 5, 1747.

[2.] BOSTON, September 5. \* \* We have Advice from the Eastward, that on the 23d. of last Month, the Indians kill'd 2 Men at Sheepscot, and took another Captive. *The New-York Gazette, revived in the Weekly Post-boy*, [PARKER'S] 295, September 12, 1748.

## XV.

SACO. [1.] *Piscataqua*, Aug. 17. An Express coming from *Sacho*, the 14th Instant, advising of several great Guns, and Volleys of small Shot that they heard, and supposed to be at *Casco*; Her Majesty's Council of this Province forthwith ordered a Shallop with 13 men well armed, under the Command of Lieutenant *Cotton*, to go and make Discovery thereof, but are not yet returned. *The Boston News-Letter*, 70, Monday, August 20, 1705.

[2.] *Piscataqua*, Nov. 15. \* \* Last week also there was one *Nathaniel Wilfed* kill'd at *Sacho* (by some Skulking Indians,) who had been out some distance from the Fort. *The Boston News-Letter*, 135, Monday, November 18, 1706.

## XVI.

SEBAGO POND. [1.] *Piscataqua*, Octob. 9. \* \* The same night Capt. *Lane* and his Company Returned from *Sabegoog Pond*, which lies about 50 miles W. N. W. from *Casco*, but made no other discovery than a few deserted Wigwags: This Pond is 20 miles long, and about 7 miles wide, very remarkable for Fishing, where our men were refresh'd with variety of Fish, especially Salmon Trouts, some whereof 2 foot long. In their return they saw 2 Indians at *Black Point*, but being at a distance and they near a Swamp, made their escape; one thing remarkable is, That in their march they did not discover any wild creature excepting a Squirrel or the like, by which means the Enemy cannot get any manner of Subsistence in the woods near to us, which we hope will starve them. *The Boston News-Letter*, 79, Monday, October 22, 1705.

## XVII.

TOPSHAM. BOSTON, September 7. \* \* We also hear from Topsham at the Eastward, that last Wednesday was se'enight four Men were kill'd and scalp'd in a Corn Field, about 20 Rod from the Garrison, by 12 Indians: One of the Men had 7 Bullets shot thro' his Body. *The New-York Gazette, revived in the Weekly Post-boy*, [PARKER'S] 243, September 14, 1747.

## XVIII.

WELLS. [1.] *Piscataqua*, Aug. 1. \* \* On the same day [Tuesday, July 30] at evening there was a man kill'd at *Wells*, & another wounded by the skulking Indians, pursuit was made after the Enemy but could not be found. *The Boston News-Letter*, 120, Monday, August 5, 1706.

[2.] Boston. On Wednesday last the 12th Currant, Colonel *Hilton*, Commander of our Forces,

sent forth on an Expedition to the *Eastward*, attended his Excellency, and acquainted him of his proceeding, being obstructed in his March as designed for want of Ice; and that in their return betwixt *Casco Bay* and *Wells*, they discovered a Track which they followed until they came to a Wigwam, wherein were two Indian Men of the *Eastern* Rebels, viz. one called Capt. *Sam*, the other *Alexander*, both known Notorious Rogues, with two Squaw's and two Children, the two men and one of the Squaws were kill'd, the other Squaw and two Children they took Prisoners. There was another young Fellow that belonged to the Wigwam who was not within it, that took to his Heels upon seeing our people, and they ran after him for two days, at last they came up with one of the Two Doggs he had with him and kill'd it, the other Dogg they heard squeel in the night, and our people suppos'd he also kill'd that for fear of discovering him; in our people's pursuing him he threw away his Blanket, Breeches and Powder Horn, to further his flight; and that night a Snow falling, and being stark naked, 'tis judg'd he could not live. *The Boston News-Letter*, 148, Monday, February 17, 1706.

[3.] *Wells*, Octob. 25, 1707. *William Wakefield*, *James Wakefield*, *Joseph Storer junior*, *Job Littlefield*, and *Moses Littlefield*, junior, went out a Fishing this morning, in a small Sloop; the Sea being very high and rough upon the Bar, and Wind scant; the Sloop was fill'd with Water, and another Sea overset her, and threw out the Anchor which held her there; Essays were made to save the men from drowning, but no Canoo could approach them, by reason of the Rage of the Sea. Four are since taken up and buried with great Lamentations. *The Boston News-Letter*, 185, Monday, November 3, 1707.

## XIX.

WINTER HARBOR. *Piscataqua*, Sept. 26. An Express coming from *Wells* which was forwarded to his Excellency, giving an Account of 300 Indians seen last Sabbath-day at Winter Harbour, and of their taking a Fishing Shallop, wherein *Benjamin Daniel* was slain, hath occasioned the Governour to order the several Troops of Capt. *Turner*, Capt. *Sumersby*, Capt. *Herrick*, Capt. *Wadley*, and Capt. *Pearson*, besides Col. *Wilson* with 100 men from hence to visit the Eastern Parts, with the Forces in the Province of *Main*, to receive and repel the Enemy in case of any Insult from them: And 'tis probable the Enemy being discover'd has diverted their first design. Those in the other Shallop who made their escape when *Daniel* was slain do affirm, that they kill'd 4 or 5 Indians, besides several whom they wounded. Capt. *Lane* came

from *Wells* on Wednesday last, but no Indians seen; the firing of the great Guns there was to alarm the people about those parts. *The Boston News-Letter*, 80, Monday, September 29, 1707.

## XX.

WISCASSET. [1.] *BOSTON*, Dec. 8. By an Express from the *Eastward*, we have an Account of a most unhappy and Imprudent Action that happen'd at *Wiscasset* on the second Instant, and which may prove of bad Consequence to this Province, viz. That six Men of that Place, being in the Woods with their Guns, came upon 3 Indians in the Night, whose Names they knew, or pretended to know, and on Pretence of their having kill'd some of their Relations in the late War, determin'd to lay them to sleep: Accordingly they fired and kill'd one dead, and wounded the other two, one of 'em mortally. The Name of the Indian kill'd was *Saracy Harry*, and those wounded are the Captains *Job* and *Andrew*. Upon Complaint made to Mr. Justice *Denny*, by the Squaw of the murdered Indian, he issued out a Warrant for apprehending the Murderers, five of whom were taken and committed to Goal, but the Head of the Gang was not taken when the Express came away, which was the 7th Instant. (Since taken.) *The New-York Gazette*, revived in the *Weekly Post-boy*, 364, January 8, 1749-50.

[2.] *BOSTON*, January 8. We have an Account from the *Eastward*, that as two of the Men concern'd in the Murder of the Indian at *Wiscasset*, (as lately mentioned) were going to *York* Goal under a Guard, they were met by a great Number of Men disguised and armed, who released the Prisoners, and help'd them to make their Escape.

We also hear, that *Madockawando*, with twenty young Men belonging to the *Norridgewalk* Tribe, lately came to the *Garrison* at *Richmond*, in the name of *Toxus* their Chief, desiring to know what will be done with the Blood spilt, and how it is to be covered, that thereby their young Men may be satisfied; expressing their Desire always to live in Peace with us, according to the late Agreement; which by a Letter in their Names sent by the Commanding Officer of that *Garrison*, has been particularly represented to the Government here. *The New-York Gazette*, revived in the *Weekly Post-boy*, [PARKER'S] 366, January 22, 1749-50.

## XXI.

*YORK*. [1.] *Piscataqua*, July 6. On Tuesday last eight Indians were seen at *York*, who had almost Surpriz'd one *Shaw*, that was at some distance from the *Garrison*: The Indians were within Pistol Shot, and might have kill'd him,

but striving still to surround & take him alive, (as supposed for Intelligence) he by that means, being a nimble active man, made his escape. Capt. *Heath* & Lieutenant *March* immediately went in pursuit of them 6. or 7 Mils, but no discovery. *The Boston News-Letter*, 12, Monday, July 10, 1704.

[2.] *Boston*. We are told Capt. *Harmon's* Wife of *York*, within this Province, was taken in a Fit and fell into the Fire, whereby she was burnt to that degree she died soon after. *The New-York Gazette*, [BRADFORD'S] 590, Tuesday, March 1, 1736.

## XXII.

VARIOUS TOWNS. [1.] *Piscataqua*, April 28. By Letters, thence acquainted, That on the 18<sup>th</sup>. Marched Forty-one English and Indians from *Salmon-Falls* unto *Winnopiscog* Ponds, and at the same time from thence (being the Seat of War) about 90 more *Eastward*, under the Conduct of Capt. *Brown*, having 8 days Provision, who Travell'd thro' *Well's* round *Mowsum* River, and 20 Miles up *Saco*, being the most reputed places for Fishing, they returned last *Wednesday*, but could not discover any Foot-steps of the Enemy, excepting one Canoo. *The Boston News-Letter*, 2, Monday, May 1, 1704.

[2.] *Piscataqua*, April 9. We have had here an extraordinary Deluge occasioned by the late Rains, which raised our fresh rivers at least 4 foot beyond what was ever known; Its rapid motion has caus'd a general convulsion among our Mills, that there are not three damms left standing, but are either broken down or shattered, unless it be on some small Brooks, several Mills, Barns, and Bridges removed, and at least 7000 Logs carried away; *Almsbury*, *Hampton* and *Wells* are affected with the like Deluge, but the greatest impression was on *Nichewanock*, *Cachecho*, *Greenland*, *Lampy Eal* and *Exeter*, where more Timber is cut then by all the Mills in the Country besides. The real Loss by moderate Computation is between 3 and 4000 pounds damage. *The Boston News-Letter*, 208, Monday, April 12, 1708.

## VI.—BOSTON, OLD AND NEW.—CONTINUED.

4.—BOSTON, IN 1709.

By Captain *N. Uring*.

*Boston* is the chief Town in the Province of *Massachusetts Bay*, it stands upon a *Peninsula*, at the bottom of a Bay, which run in about eight Miles, and is fenced with Islands, Rocks, and Sands, which makes it a very secure Harbour; the entrance into it is narrow, and some Shoals

lie on the South Side; Some small rocky Islands, which are called the *Brewsters*, makes the North Side of it, on one of which Islands stands a Light-House, to give Notice to Ships who may arrive on that Coast in the Night, and be a Guide to them; where might be also built a Fortification, which would command the Mouth of that Harbour, when the Inhabitants think it proper; but at present their Fort stands upon an Island, two Miles and an Half below the Town; the Channel for Ships lies very near it, so that no Ships can pass by it but what the Fort is able to command: It is a strong, regular, well built Fort, mounted with about 100 Pieces of Cannon, where they keep a Garrison, who are paid by the Country. The Situation of the Town is such, that it is capable of being fortify'd, and made as strong as any in *Europe*, there being only a narrow *Isthmus* or Neck of Land of about 40 Yards broad, which has a Communication with the Country, and is so low, that the Spring Tides sometimes washes the Road; which with little Charge might be fortified and made so strong, that it would be impossible to force it, and no way of coming at it by Land, but over that Neck. The Town is near two Miles in length, and in some Places three Quarters of a Mile broad, in which are reckoned 4000 Houses; most of them are built with Brick, and have about 18000 Inhabitants; the Streets are broad and regular, some of the richest Merchants have very stately, well built, convenient Houses: The Ground on which the Town stands is moderately high, and very good Water is found all over it. It is much the largest of any in *America*, under the *British* Government; they have built several Wharfs, which jut into the Harbour for the Convenience of Shipping; one of which goes by the Name of the *Long Wharf*, and may well be called so, it running about 800 Foot into the Harbour, where large Ships, with great Ease, may both lade and unlade: On one side of which are Warehouses, almost the whole Length of the Wharf, where the Merchants store their Goods which they unlade and those they Ship off, and where more than 50 Sail of Vessels may lade or unlade at the same Time with great Convenience; and the Town altogether is most excellently situated for Trade and Navigation: It is very populous, and has in it Eight or Nine large Meeting Houses, and a *French* Church, and but one *English*, and that build of Wood; but I am informed, since I was in that Country, they have another building with Brick. I need say nothing of the Religion of this Country, by Reason it is so well known. This Town, and *Charles Town*, are marts for most of the Commodities which the Country produces.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Town of *Boston* is plentifully supply'd with good and wholesome Provisions of all

sorts, not inferior to those in *England*, and have Plenty of several sorts of good Fish, very cheap; but though the Town is so large and populous, they could never be brought to establish a Market in it, notwithstanding several of their Governours have taken great Pains to convince the Inhabitants how useful and beneficial it would be to 'em; but the Country People always opposed it, so that it could not be settled: The Reason they give for it is, if Market Days were appointed, all the Country People coming in at the same Time would glut it, and the Towns-People would buy their Provisions for what they pleased, so rather chuse to send them as they think fit; and sometimes a tall Fellow brings a Turkey or Goose to sell, and will travel through the whole Town to see who will give most for it, and is at last sold for 3s. 6d. or 4s. and if he had stay'd at Home, he could have earned a Crown by his Labour, which is the customary Price for a Day's Work; So that any one may judge of the Stupidity of the Country People. The Inhabitants are very industrious, and carry on a very considerable Trade to the Southern Plantations, viz. to all the *Carribee* Islands and *Jamaica*, which they supply with Lumber, as Plank, Boards, Joyce, and Shingles for building Houses, dried Fish and Salted Mackerel, some Beef and Pork, Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine; Tallow and Bay Berry, Wax, Candles; which last is made of Wax extracted from a Berry that grows in Plenty in that Country. They send also several Ships to the Bay of *Honduras* to load Logwood, and have some Trade to *Carolina*, *Virginia* and *Maryland*, *Pensilvania* and *New-York*; they likewise send many Ships to *Portugal* and the *Straights*, with dry'd Cod-Fish, which is commonly called *Poor Jack*, or *Baccalaw*; and have a very good Trade to the Isles of *Azores* and *Madera*, whom they furnish with Pipe Staves, dry'd Fish, salted Mackerel and Bees-Wax; for which they purchase Wines, and return to *New England*. All the Country of *New England* takes off great Quantities of the *British* Manufactures, and in return build us Ships, and send us Whale Oyl and Bone, great Quantities of Turpentine, Pitch, and Tar; some Furrs and Deer Skins; besides which many Ships from *England* laden with dry'd Fish for the *Straights* and *Portugal*.

##### 5.—CHRIST CHURCH.

This Church, the second Episcopalian Society in Boston, was organized at a meeting holden at King's-Chapel, on Wednesday, the fifth of September, 1722, when Mr. John Barnes was chosen Treasurer, and Messrs. Thomas Greaves, George Craddock, Anthony Blount, John Gibbins, Thomas Selby, and George Monk, a Committee "to

"receive subscriptions and build a Church," on ground which had been previously purchased by some gentlemen, for that purpose, "at the north end of Boston."\*

This Committee secured a subscription of £727 18s. sterling, from two hundred and fourteen persons; and on the fifteenth of April, 1723, the corner-stone of the projected edifice was laid by Rev. Samuel Byles, Minister of King's Chapel.†

In the meantime, a serious defection was rapidly spreading among the Congregational clergy, in the vicinity of New Haven; and, in the summer of 1722, the Reverend Timothy Cutler, D.D., President of Yale College, Rev. John Hart of East Guilford, Rev. Samuel Whittlesey, of Wallingford, Rev. Jared Eliot of Killingworth, Rev. Samuel Johnson of West Haven, Rev. James Wetmore of North Haven, and Mr. Daniel Brown, a tutor in the College, declared for Episcopacy‡—Messrs. Cutler, Johnson and Wetmore, another proceeding to England, soon after, for Episcopal Ordination.§

With rare good judgment, the newly-formed Society invited Doctor Cutler to become its Pastor, in advance of his Ordination; and the Records of that period show that he accepted the call, conditionally, while he was in the same state of uncertainty respecting his Ordination and his means of support.¶ At length, on a *Representation* which he made to the Honorable Society for the Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and with the earnest co-operation of Governor Nicholson of South Carolina, he was appointed a *Missionary of the Society*, with a yearly salary of Sixty Pounds, sterling, and assigned "To the New Church at Boston in New England."¶ He returned to New England, soon after; and, on the twenty-ninth of December of the same year, he formally dedicated the new Meeting-house to Almighty God, on which occasion he preached before an audience of four hundred persons, from *Isaiah* lvi. 7—"For mine house shall be called an house of prayer, for all people."\*\*

From that time, until his death in 1765, Doctor Cutler remained in the service of the Venerable Society, as its *Missionary*; rendering to its Secretary, regularly, Reports of his labors; and receiving from it, his Salary for his Services.

In 1724, the second year of his Pastorate, he reported to the Society, "That the Building is "yet unfinish'd, so that he cannot attend the Du-

\* *MS. Minutes of the Church*, quoted by Dr. SNOW.

† *Snow's History of Boston*, 220.

‡ Rev. Mr. Pigot to the Secretary of the Society, Stratford, Conn., August 20, 1722; the same to the same, October 3, 1722; Rev. Joseph Webb to Rev. Doctor Mather, October 2, 1722.

§ Abstract of Proceedings of the Venerable Society, in 1723, 43.

¶ His *Representation* to the Society.

¶ Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society in 1723, 43.

\*\* *Snow's History of Boston*, 220.

"ties of Catechizing, and Prayers on Week-Days, as he intends when it is done; that there is belonging to them, of that and a Neighbouring Town, at least eighty Families; which, with the Strangers, make up a full Congregation; and that he has between forty and fifty Communicants."\*

In 1725, the third year of his connection with that Church, Doctor Cutler reported, "That he hath a numerous and increasing Congregation, who are very constant at Publick Worship; that the Number of his Communicants is seventy five, seventeen whereof live out of Town; that last Year he baptized twenty two Persons, two of which were Negroes, one of them an Adult."†

No report was recorded in 1726; but in 1727, Doctor Cutler reported, "That his Church increases, notwithstanding the Death of several of the principal Members of it: That he has constantly a full Audience, and a great Number of People very devout in their Worship, and conscientious in their Lives: That he hath baptized four Adults, and forty Infants, and received Seventeen to the Communion."‡

In 1728, the sixth year of his Pastorate, Doctor Cutler reported to the Society's Secretary, "That from the 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1727, to the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1728, he had baptiz'd 46 Children and 9 Adults, and had received 31 Persons to the Communion; one of whom, Mr. Samuel Freeman, is since dead, and has left 130*l.* to that Church; and after the Death of his Mother, the Residue of his Estate, which will be near a 1000*l.* that Money, is to be equally divided between Harvard College there and his Church."§

In 1729, he reported, "That he has baptized near 30 Infants and two Adults, and has received 8 Persons to the Communion, of Sobriety and unspotted Character; and that his People generally attend publick Worship every Sunday with good Order and Devotion."||

In 1730, Doctor Cutler reported, "That his Congregation increases; that besides Children he hath Baptized some grown Persons, and hath received to the Communion several Persons of good Sobriety and Reputation, endued with a serious Sense of Religion, and a just value of the Church of England."¶

In the following year, his Reports assumed new Importance.

"In his Letter dated April 5, he writes, That he had lately baptized 33 Children, 1 Adult, and 1 Slave; and had received 9 new Communicants, all Persons of blameless Lives; that he had lately, at the Desire of some of the Inhabitants, preached twice on 2 Sundays at Ded-

ham, a Town about 14 Miles from Boston, and that he had a very large and attentive Audience. He writes afterwards, that he had since this, baptized 43 Children, 1 Adult Person, being a Woman of a sober Character, and 3 Children Slaves, and had admitted 3 Persons more of serious Dispositions and regular Lives to the Holy Communion, and that his whole Congregation is in good Order and Harmony."\*

In 1732, the tenth year of his connection with the Church, he wrote that "His Congregation increases; that within the last half Year, he hath baptized 26 Infants, and 2 Negroe Slaves;" and during the same year, his salary was raised from Sixty to Seventy Pounds, sterling.†

In 1733, Doctor Cutler reported, in a letter dated "Boston, New England, 3d of December 1733," "That since the first of May last, he hath baptized 32 Infants, and 2 Adults; that his Congregation increases; that he continues his services at Dedham; that he more readily undergoes these Fatigues, because his Labours prove successful, and the People are so zealous, that several of them ride between ten and sixteen Miles to the Monthly Communion."‡

In his Letter dated May 7, in the following year, [1734] he acquainted the Society, "That he had from December 3, to the foregoing Date, baptised 15 Infants 2 Adult English and 1 Adult Indian female of the Natives among them, who had left the Barbarity of her Kindred in which she was educated, and very seriously embraced the Christian Revelation. He hath also admitted several Persons to the Holy Communion, whose Lives have been, and he hopes will continue, agreeable to the Profession. At Christmas last he had about 100 Communicants, and at Easter 94 belonging to Boston, and other adjacent Towns."

In a Letter dated November 9, 1734, he also reported "That he had since the Date of his foregoing Letter, baptised 30 Infants, of which one was a Negroe; and one English Person, and one Negroe, both Adults; and that 8 Persons had been added to the Church: That when he performs Divine Service, he is seldom without some Dissenters who attend the Worship with Decency and Composure: That he hath preached at Dedham, where he baptised 5 Children of a Man and his Wife, sober Persons: That he hath also preached twice upon Invitation, in a Town called Mendon, about 38 Miles more inland than any in New England, where the Service of the Church of England had been performed; He baptised there 1 Child, and had an Audience of about

\* Abstract, etc., in 1724, 45.

† Abstract, etc., in 1725, 40.

‡ Abstract, etc., in 1727, 43.

§ Abstract, etc., in 1728, 38.

|| Abstract, etc., in 1729, 46.

¶ Abstract, etc., in 1730, 93.

\* Abstract, etc., in 1731, 55. † Abstract, etc., in 1732, 61, 65.

‡ Abstract, etc., in 1733, 51.

"100 grown Persons; among whom were several of Distinction, and Quakers as well as others, who gave them the Liberty of assembling for Worship in their House, and treated them (himself in particular) with remarkable Civility and Respect afterwards." \*

In 1735, Doctor Cutler, "Missionary at Boston," wrote to the Venerable Society, "that since his last Letters he hath baptized 48 Infants and 4 Adult Persons; that he hath received 7 Persons more to the Communion. That on *Ascension-Day*, and the *Sunday* after, he preach'd at *Portsmouth* in *New-Hampshire* to a considerable Congregation; that his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of that Province was present; and that he and 20 other Persons receiv'd the Holy Sacrament on the *Sunday*. That there is a great Prospect of a numerous Congregation there." †

In the following year, [1736] he reported by Letter dated the 6th of September, 1736, that the Number of Baptisms from the 23d of *February* last, to the 6th of *September* following, was 37, one whereof was an Infant *Negro*, another an *English* Woman, and another a *Negro* Man-slave; the Woman bore a worthy Character, and the *Negro* Man-slave had discovered a long time the Impressions of Religion, in the Reformation of his Temper, Carriage, and Fidelity in his Business; and that he hath received four Persons more to the Holy Communion." ‡

On the eleventh of April, 1737, Doctor Cutler reported, "That from the 6th of *September* last, he hath baptized 41 Infants and five Adults, whereof four were *Negro* Slaves, and hath received to the Holy Communion seven Persons. He writes, it is with great Satisfaction, he observes, that his own Church is free from Ferments and Uneasiness, but observes, notwithstanding Sorrow, the Advance of Infidelity and loose Principles in Parts about them, and Books which promote and cherish them, are imported in greater Number than those excellent Writings, which God hath enabled great and good Men to write, as Antidotes against them." §

On the nineteenth of December, in the same year, Doctor Cutler reported, "That from the 5th of *May* preceding he had baptized forty-eight Persons, two of whom were of full Age, soberly and seriously desirous of that Sacrament, one a White, the other a female *Negro* Slave; and that among forty-six Children are included two young *Negroes*, Slaves in the Country, twenty-seven Miles from *Boston*, at whose Baptism there was a great Concourse of People, who at-

tended with Reverence; and that he hath seven new Communicants, in which Number he hath the Satisfaction to include three of his own Children, and an *Indian* Woman, whom he baptized some time ago. He adds, that he hath the Pleasure sometimes to behold Persons resorting to our Worship and Communion in his Church, from the Distance of sixteen, twenty, and even thirty Miles." \*

By a Letter dated *July* 24, 1738, in answer to one from the Society's Secretary, dated *March* 28, 1738, the Doctor stated "That it is scarce possible for him to give the exact Number of his Parishioners, there being no Parochial Bounds; but his Flock is intermingled with perhaps twenty thousand Persons; he thinks he may Pronounce his adult Hearers to be about six hundred besides Strangers, and the Number of Communicants to be about an hundred and twenty. He hath baptized thirty-four Persons since the 19th of *December* 1737, of whom two were of full Age, and one a *Negro* Infant. He adds, that among the twenty thousand People mentioned, there are three Congregations of the Church of *England*, nine large Congregations of Independents, one Congregation of Presbyterians not very large, a small one of Anabaptists, and a smaller yet of Quakers: and he fears Infidelity spreads among them by a Denial, or Corruption of the great Principles of Christianity, and by a Disregard to Revelation, with too much of a wilful Captiousness, and Criticism upon the sacred Text, cherished in private Cabals, and by the use of bad Books, in great Numbers brought over to them. But he thanks God, he can yet speak of a good Harmony between himself and his Parishioners, and some worthy Order and Decency in their Publick Worship." †

On the fifth of February, 1738-9, Doctor Cutler, still styled, "Missionary at *Christ-Church* in *Boston*," reported to the Society, "That his Congregation continues to consist of about 600 Persons, besides Strangers, and that he had baptized since his last Letter of *July* 24th, 1738, twenty five white Infants and one *Negro*, also an adult Person, a Criminal condemned and executed at length for House-breaking and Theft, whom at his own Request he visited several times in the Goal; and having brought him to a Sense of the Heinousness of his Crimes, and instructed him in the first Principles of Christianity, Dr. Cutler baptiz'd him in the Presence of a great Number of Persons, after his making a publick Confession of his Crimes, and professing his most hearty Desire to be baptized in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ for the Remission of his Sins; and some

\* Abstract, etc., in 1734, 61, 62. † Abstract, etc., in 1736, 48, 49.  
‡ Abstract, etc., in 1735, 40, 41. § Abstract, etc., in 1737, 39, 40.

\* Abstract, etc., in 1738, 38, 39. † Abstract, etc., in 1738, 39, 40.

"Days after, at the Man's earnest Request, Dr. *Cutler* gave him the holy Communion, which "he received as became a true Penitent in his "Condition, and with these good Appearances "left the World." \*

Doctor *Cutler* wrote further, by a Letter dated *July* 28th 1739, "that he had baptized twenty "four more Infants, and had 6 new Communi- "cants; that the whole Number of them amount- "ed to 130. He adds, that the Seeds of Infidel- "ity are sowing in those Parts by many, who "secretly countenance corrupt Principles, and "that observing Men do much fear a plentiful "Harvest from the bad Books in great Numbers "imported among them; but he thanks God he "hath the Pleasure of beholding Peace and some "Edification among his own People; and hopes "he shall ever make it appear, that he is devoted "to the true Service of God under the Conduct "and Influence of the Society, whose Commands "and Instructions he obediently attends." †

On the twenty-eighth of January, 1739-40, the Rector, still styled "Missionary at *Christ-Church* "in *Boston*," reported, "That his Account of his "Parish must differ but little from that of *July* "the 28th preceeding; that his Congregation "consists of more than 600, and he had baptized "fifty Persons; of whom two were Adults, the one "a White, the other a Negroe; and they both "most heartily desired to be received into *Christ's* "Church by that holy Sacrament. And among "the Infants, there was one Negroe Slave. And "his Communicants are likewise increased." ‡

The Reverend Mr. Commissary *Price*, by a Letter dated "*Boston*, *August* 9, 1741," acquainted the Society with "the Satisfaction, "which the Episcopal Churches there have in "their new Governor; and with their Hopes, that "thro' his Excellency's Probity and Justice, they "shall be eased from some Grievances, they "have laboured under; but yet, that it is the "Society which they must depend upon for their "Life and Vigour; and that he receiveth con- "tinual Applications for Episcopal Ministers in "several Country Places; but he hath not dared "to give them encouragement to Petition the So- "ciety in its present low Circumstances thro' the "great Increase of Missions. Mr. *Price* writes "further, that they have been in some Confusion "in that Country by the means of Enthusiasts; "but, God be praised, the Church hath stood "steady in that Storm, which hath Considerably "shaken the Dissenters." §

In 1742, the Society thus reported the intelli- gence received from *Boston*:

"*New-England*. The Letters from this Coun- try abound with the wild Doings of Enthusiasm. "The Reverend Mr. Commissary *Price*, by a Let-

ter dated *Boston*, *Jan.* 29, 1741-2, acquaints the "Society, that their whole Attention at that time "was taken up with the strange Effects produced "by the Doctrines of Mr. *Whitefield* and his "Followers, who prevailed chiefly in Country "Towns, tho' they were not wanting in their "Endeavours in that City, but the Church of "*England* had escaped beyond Expectation; "which is confirmed by the Reverend Dr. *Cutler*, "who writes further, That many illiterate "Tradesmen, pretending a Call to the pub- "lick Exercise of their Gifts of Praying and "Preaching, were helping forward the strange "Work begun, while, thro' the Divine Goodness, "our Churches, tho' not free from Trouble, are "comparatively in a good degree of Quiet, inso- "much that many Dissenters have observed our "Happiness in it, and we hope will see reason to "come in to us; and both the Commissary and "the Doctor return their thanks to the Society "for the Books which they had most seasonably "sent them. Dr. *Cutler*, from the 11th of June "1741 to the 30th of June 1742, had baptized "one and sixty Persons, of whom four were adult "Whites, five adult *Negroes*, and one a *Negro* "Infant; and received nineteen new Communi- "cants, many of whom had been lately Dissenters "from our established Worship. And the So- ciety hath the Pleasure of being further in- "formed by a second Letter from the Commis- "sary, that the Assembly of the Province of "*Massachusetts's Bay*, of which *Boston* is the "Capital, hath at length (under the Influence of "their new Governor, *William Shirley Esq;* a "worthy Member of the Society) past a Law, "which frees the Members of the Church of "*England*, in that Province from paying to the "Support of what the Independents there call "the Established Religion! \*

In 1743, no Report appears to have been made to the Society; but, in 1744, the following, in substance, was transmitted:

"*New-England*. The Letters from this Coun- try are filled with Accounts of large Accessions "of new Members to the Church, and with Peti- tions for new Missionaries. The Reverend Dr. "*Cutler*, Missionary to *Christ's-Church* in *Boston*, "acquaints the Society by a Letter dated *Dec.* 26, "1743, that the Church increases both in Num- ber and Reputation, but Endeavours were by no "means wanting for the spreading of Infidelity; "and so large a Cargo of Books for that Purpose "had been lately imported to *Boston* from *Lon- don*, that the Freight of them came to 45*l.* that "Currency." †

In the following year, [1745,] The Reverend Dr. *Cutler* acquainted the Society, "that his "Church in *Boston* on *Christmas-day* 1744, was

\* Abstract, etc., in 1739, 44, 45. † Ibid, 45.

‡ Abstract, etc., in 1740, 52. § Abstract, etc., in 1741, 39, 40.

\* Abstract, etc., in 1742, 40, 41. † Abstract, etc., in 1744, 43.

"thronged among others by some Hundreds of Dissenters; and that scarce a *Sunday* passeth without the Company of some of them, Multitudes being now inclined to examine, and look into both Sides of a Question, which few comparatively could be persuaded to do heretofore, till the late Revival of Enthusiasm among them; and some Hundreds have thereupon been added to the Church, insomuch that in many Places, where *Error, Confusion, and every evil Work did abound, Grace through God's Mercy doth now much more abound.*" \*

In 1746 and 1747, no Reports appear from the Missionary Rector, at Boston, to his patrons in London, although he received his salary of Seventy pounds, sterling, per annum, from its Treasurer, as is shown in the reports of that officer. In the following year, [1748] however, the Society had the Pleasure to hear from Doctor Cutler, "that the People having seen the Rage of Enthusiasm, are now grown so cool that they can attend to Truth; that there is Peace and Harmony in his Congregation; that he is oblig'd to not a few of the Dissenters for respectful Treatment and kind Offices; that he had lately officiated at *Bellericay*, a Town at about twenty Miles Distance from *Boston*, at the Desire of many Dissenters as well as Churchmen, to an Audience of 200 Adult Persons, who attended with great Decency, and treated Dr. Cutler with much Civility, and conferr'd with him on Religious Subjects, which gave him an Opportunity of introducing the Church of *England* more to their Knowledge and Esteem." †

No Reports from Dr. Cutler were noticed in 1749 or 1750; but in 1751 he wrote from *Boston*, "that as unhappy as the Times make them from the abounding Dissentions and Frenzies, they prove Awakenings to many, a great many Country People in the Parts adjacent having join'd themselves to the Church, which hath the second Place in Esteem with all the Sects, and he had received lately eight new Communicants." ‡

Again, in 1752, 1753, 1754 and 1755, no Reports appear to have been made; although the same yearly stipend of Seventy Pounds, sterling, was received by the venerable Rector, from the Parent Society in London.

By Letter, dated *January 5, 1756*, the Reverend Doctor Cutler, "the Society's Missionary at *Christ-church in Boston*," acquainted that body "that from the 5th Day of *July* preceding, he had baptized 38 Infants, and one *Negro* Slave of an exceeding good Character, and that there are three large Episcopal Congregations in *Boston*, ten Independent ones, one small Congregation of Methodists, two small Anap-

"tist ones, which sensibly diminish; the Papists keep much out of sight, nor do they encrease; and the Church hath Accessions from Dissenters of all Denominations."

To this Report, the following important statement is appended, in the Society's *Abstract*:

"This, it is too probable, is the last Account which the Society will receive from this very worthy Divine, who was struck with the Palsy on his right Side in the latter End of *April* following, and for some time his Death was daily expected; but by the last Accounts from *Boston* he appears to be yet living, and somewhat better, and his Church is taken Care of by the 'Neighboring Clergy.'"

The venerable Rector, still supported by the Society in England, lingered for several months; and he is thus alluded to, in the *Abstract* for 1757:

"The Rev. Dr. Cutler, the Society's worthy Missionary at *Christ Church in Boston*, was yet living when the last Accounts came from thence, and had been several Times at Church, but there are little or no Hopes of his so far recovering from the Palsy as to be able to officiate in the Church any more; and therefore the Society hath given Orders to their Missionaries in the Neighbourhood to afford what Assistance they can, consistent with the more immediate Care of their own Missions, to *Christ Church* (Dr. Cutler's Mission) which hath been for some Time past served by the Rev. Mr. *Caner*, and Mr. *Troutbeck*, the officiating Ministers at the King's Chapel at *Boston*; but they find this additional Service to their own proper Duty rather too heavy for them." †

Again, in the *Abstract* for 1758, he is alluded to, in these words:

"The Rev. Dr. Cutler, the Society's Missionary at *Christ Church*, in *Boston* was living when the last Accounts came from thence, but quite disabled by the Palsy from officiating to his Congregation, which therefore continues to be administered to by the Episcopal Clergy in *Boston*, with the additional Help of the Society's Missionaries, as far as is consistent with their respective Duties." ‡

In December, 1759, Doctor Cutler signed a recommendation of Jacob Bailey, subsequently the Frontier Missionary, to the favor of the Society; and in the *Abstract* of the Report of that body, for 1759, he is thus alluded to, in connection with the Recommendation referred to:

"It appears from the preceding Paragraph, that Dr. Cutler was living at *Boston* on the 15th day of *December* last, but he hath been for some Time past so much broken with Age and

\* Abstract, etc., in 1745, 40. † Abstract, etc., in 1748, 40.

‡ Abstract, etc., in 1751, 36, 37.

\* Abstract, etc., in 1756, 43, 44. † Abstract, etc., in 1757, 57.

‡ Abstract, etc., in 1758, 53.

"Infirmities, as to be rendered incapable of performing the publick Duties of his sacred Office, and therefore the worthy Members of his Church have thought proper to recommend to the Lord Bishop of London Mr. James Greateon, a worthy young Candidate for the Ministry, for holy Orders, and to be appointed Curate to Dr. Cutler at Christ Church in Boston, in which they have happily succeeded; and Mr. Greateon is now on his Return to Boston with a moderate Stipend from that Congregation, and with the Promise of being taken into the Society's Service, if he shall be found worthy on the Demise of the good Rector of that Church." \*

No further Reports were made by Doctor Cutler; and with the exception of the payment to him, yearly, of the sum of Seventy Pounds, sterling, the Society seems to have known little about him.

He died on the fifteenth of August, 1765, aged eighty-two years; † and Mr. Greateon, as Assistant Rector, continued to discharge the pastoral duties, until 1768, when Doctor Mather Byles, Jr., was called to the vacant Rectorship.

#### 6.—THE LORD'S DAY, IN 1705.

Boston. On Tuesday the 23d Currant, Complaint being made to Edward Bromfield Esq. One of Her Majesty's Council, and Justice of the Peace; of John Rogers & Son, of New-London in Connecticut-Colony for Profanation of the Sabbath, in Driving of Cattle through the Town of Dedham to Boston for a Market on the 21st Instant, being the Lord's-Day; And opprobriously answering those who dissuaded him therefrom; for which being brought before the said Justice, and legally Convicted, he was sentenced according to the Direction of the Law in that case, to pay the Fine of Twenty Shillings: He Appealed to the Quarter-Sessions of the Peace, but obstinately refused to give Security to prosecute his Appeal, and therefore is Committed to Prison.

It was thought meet at the Desire of several persons to Publish this as a Caveat to others, to let People know, That *Open Profanation of the LORDS-DAY, will not pass Unpunished*. As also, Because the man thus Fined, pretends himself to be a Sufferer for his *Conscience*, and has therefore even *courted* the Inconveniences that are come upon him. And whereas the *Quakers* have a while since endeavoured by their False Addresses at home in *England*, to misrepresent the Government of this Province, for Making and Executing *Several severe Laws, against their Friends, only for their Conscientious Dissent from the National Way, and not for any Evil Fact done by them*: The Publick may be

informed what kind of *Severe Laws* those are, and what kind of *Profanities* may pass for a *Conscientious Dissent*, among those that Clamour against the Country, for *Persecution*, in Executing the Laws of God and man, of our Nation of *England* and of this Province.—*The Boston News-Letter*, No. 80, Monday, Oct. 29, 1705.

### VII.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.

#### 1. JUDGE MORRIS TO LORD COLVILLE.\*

NEW YORK, 30<sup>th</sup> Decr 1763.

My Lord

Your Letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> Instant is really so strange and singular, So Injurious in its Insinuations and so disrespectful to the Commission which I have the Honour to hold, That I Fear I shall Confirm the low Opinion you seem to Entertain of me by troubling you with an Answer. I must nevertheless venture a Word or two because your Lordship appears to be as much a Stranger to the Rights of my Office as you are to my Charecter. You ask of me a quarter of a Moiety of all Seizures made by the Sea Officers and Condemned in my Court without knowing that I touch not a Farthing nor can I do it by Law. If you mean my Lord that I should pronounce Judgement for so much in your favour I will not Prejudge—I can go no farther than to Promise Justice to all as the Case shall appear And to that End I shall do more my Lord than you Expect from me for Instead of that single Statute and the proclamation you refer to I shall consider the whole Law as a Rule of duty and pronounce Judgement with all the Impartiality in my power Erring (if I Err and probably I may) unbiassed by any undue Influence.—Judges my Lord are unused to and Bound to Disobey the Word of Command He that Trembles at a Threat is unfit for his office—With Respect to your Request of copies of my proceedings the Register will give them to any person who asks and will pay for them—This is both his Duty and his Intrest and if he Refuses them I will readily Interpose and be the first to Complain of him to the Lords of the Admiralty who can give an Effectual Relief to the Injured party—Your Lordship will now permit me to Ask a favour in turn—Who is it that has Informed your Lordship that I prejudged my Cause? And that Reason in my Court Appears to have been lost in Law or Love of Money. The Credit of your Informer by the use you have made of his Information Seems to have been Considerable in your Lordships Eye and out of Respect to you I

\* Abstract, etc., in 1759, 44.

† Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, I., iii. 261.

\* From the collection of S. L. M. BARLOW, Esq.

must think him Worth my discovery. My Lord I am so Intent upon Supporting the Honourable Recommendation which procured the King's Favour to me (for my Office profit only Considered is of little or no value) That I Intend to Transmit a Copy of your Lordships Letter to the Board of Admiralty which I mention to Induce you to Name your Informer more freely because I have Such a Confidence in their Lordships Justice that they will if the Accuser holds any place under them Exact his proof or a Suitable Submission to or Vindication of my Lord your Lordships

much Inured

Hum Serv

R<sup>d</sup> MORRIS.

To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Lord Colville.

2. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS TO ISAAC VAN WART.\*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, NOV<sup>r</sup> 1781.

Sir,

Your Letter of the sixth Instant, to his Excellency the President of Congress, was yesterday delivered to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Superintendent of Finance in consequence thereof, he has directed me to inform you, that John Paulding and David Williams have received the Pension allowed them by Congress. You cannot be paid yours, unless you come here yourself; and bring with you a Certificate, signed by the Governor of the State to which you belong that you are one of the parties who took Major Andre prisoner; or give some person a power of Attorney to receive it for you, who will be paid the money on producing the power of Attorney, with a Certificate from a Magistrate of your Identity, as well of the due Execution, and also a Certificate from the Governor of the State of New York, or from his Secretary, under the great Seal, that the person so Certifying your Identity and Execution of the power of Attorney, is a Magistrate duly qualified &c.

I have the honor to be Sir,  
your most obedient and  
humble servant

GOUV<sup>r</sup>. MORRIS.

3. COMMODORE CHAUNCEY, U. S. N., TO GOVERNOR TOMPKINS OF NEW YORK.†

SACKETT HARBOR

17th Nov. 1812.

Dear Sir,

■ I presume that your Excellency will be pleased to learn that I have now the complete command of this Lake and that we can transport Ordnance Troops, and Stores to any part of it with Safety. ■ I proceeded from this place on the 8<sup>th</sup> inst

with The *Oneida* and 6 Small Schooners fitted as gunboats, in Search of the Enemy. On the 9<sup>th</sup> I fell in with the *Royal George* and chased her into the Bay of Quant and lost her in a Squall in the night. On the 10 in the morning took a Schooner, but finding that she would detain us having again got sight of the *Royal George*, burnt her. Continued our chase after the Ship and followed her into The harbor of Kingston and engaged her and the Batteries (which are much stronger than I expected) for one hour and 45 minutes. Night coming on, and a gale of wind blowing directly in, induced me to haul off & anchor until the morning when I intended to renew the attack, but it came on to blow so heavily that night from the Westward that I thought it imprudent to trust my little Fleet in the Harbour of an Enemy in a gale of Wind blowing directly on shore. I therefore at 7 a. m. on the 11<sup>th</sup> weighed and beat out. Soon after fell in with The *Simcoe* & gave chase; she being to windward and by running over a reef of Rocks, escaped, but not before she received so much injury from our Shot that she sunk before she got alongside of the Wharf.

On the evening of the 10<sup>th</sup> we took a large Schooner from Niagara bound in. The next morning I sent down the prize under convoy of the *Growler* past Kingston to induce the Ship to follow; but they were aware of my plan and remained under the guns of the Forts. On the night of the 11<sup>th</sup>, it became so boisterous that the Pilots refused to keep the Sea: in fact, the small vessels were really in much danger. I was therefore obliged to make a port.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> a severe Snow-Storm. On the 13<sup>th</sup> it continued to snow fast, but little wind. The *Growler* sent the Prize in and stood for the *Ducks* where he had orders to join me. Near the *Ducks* he fell in with The *Earl Moira* conveying the Sloop *Elizabeth* from York to Kingston. Sailing Master Mix who commanded The *Growler* run down in a very gallant manner and took possession of the *Elizabeth* within 2 miles of the Ship and brought her in. I immediately weighed and stood for Kingston in hopes to cut her off, but the Elements were again against me, for I Scarcely had left the harbor, before it blew agale of wind and snowed so thick that we frequently could not see a mile: we however persevered to the great danger of the Vessels and lives of the crews. On the 14<sup>th</sup> we got sight of the *Earl Moira* entering Kingston Harbour, but it blowing a gale of wind we could not follow her and after beating about all that day I made the signal for all the Squadron to bear up for this place where we arrived on the same evening.

During these two short cruises we captured 3 vessels. Two have arrived, one we burnt, a fourth was so injured that she sunk, and we

\* From the papers of ROBERT MORRIS.

† From the collection of the Editor.

earn from the people who came in the flag yesterday, that The *Royal George* was so much injured she had to haul on shore to keep from sinking, having received several Shot between wind and water, several of her guns disabled, and a number of her men killed and wounded besides considerable injury (though not intentional) done to the Town. Amongst the Prisoners is Cap<sup>t</sup>. Brock of the 49<sup>th</sup> reg<sup>t</sup> and a relation of the late Gen<sup>l</sup> Brock, who was returning from York with part of the baggage of his deceased friend.

Our loss was trifling, 1 man killed and 4 or 5 wounded, two of the latter by the bursting of a gun on board of The *Pert*, the commander of which Vessel (Mr Arundell) was knocked overboard and drowned. The damage done to the Rigging and Sails not much, and a few Shot in the Hulls of some of the Vessels but the injury from which was soon repaired.

The *Governor Tompkins*, *Hamilton*, *Conquest*, and *Grouler* are now blockading the Vessels in Kingston. I am taking on board guns and Stores for Niagara for which place I shall sail the first wind in company with The *Julia*, *Pert*, *Fair American*, *Ontario*, and *Scourge*, and I am in great hopes that I shall fall in with the *Prince Regent* or some other of the *Royal Family* which are cruising about York.

Had we been one month earlier we could have taken every Town on this Lake in three weeks, but the Season has now become so tempestuous that I am apprehensive we cannot do much more this winter. I am however ready to co-operate with The Army and our officers and men are anxious to be engaged.

I have the honor to be  
with great regard & Esteem

Your Excellency's  
much obliged M Ser<sup>t</sup>

ISAAC CHAUNCEY.

His Excellency

Dani. D. Tompkins

Governor of the State of  
Albany.

New York

#### 4.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO MR. MADISON.\*

PHILADELPHIA 6<sup>th</sup> March 1796.

Dear Sir

As you are knowing to the situation of young Mr. Fayette;—to the measures I have adopted in his behalf;—to my wishes towards him;—and to the restraints under which those wishes have been placed, from considerations of a public nature,—And as I am unacquainted with the ground work, or the tendency of the motion made by Mr. Livingston, relative to this young gentleman; I

flatter myself, that in the progress of the business before the house, that you will have the goodness, as far as proper representation will avail, to let the result of the motion be such, as it ought; both as it respects him, & myself.

The United States are much better able to make provision for this young gentleman, and his family, than I am; and I should be highly pleased & gratified to see it accomplished in that way; because it would be more honorable for them, and a relief to me:—but neither the one, nor the other shall want, while I have the means of administering to their relief.

My wish, as has been communicated to you on a former occasion, was, and still is, if circumstances would permit it, to take him, with his Tutor, into my family;—and in the absence of his father, to superintend his education and morals:—and this I am the more desirous of doing, as it is the impression under which he appears to have come to this country.

What form, the proceedings on Mr Livingston's motion will take, is not for me to say; but my ideas, and feelings on the subject, have led me to make these communications of my Sentiments to you; who alone, of the house of Representatives, has ever heard me lisp a word on this Subject.—With sincere Esteem & regard—

I am—Dear Sir—

Your affect serv<sup>t</sup>.

GO. WASHINGTON.

Mr. Madison.

## VIII.—BOOKS.

### 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Hamlet Travestie*, with Burlesque Annotations. By John Poole, Esq. New-York: Printed for Private Distribution 1866. Royal Octavo, (iv.) xviii. 110.

This volume, recently re-printed in *fac-simile* from the edition of 1811, at the Bradstreet Press, is one of the choicest specimens of the handiwork of that young establishment; and few of those which are older and more widely known can produce its equal in beauty.

Of the work itself, we need say little, as it is known to most of our readers. It is *not* by Shakespeare; and the Annotations were *not* by Pope, Johnson, Steevens, Warburton, Theobald, Collins, or Farmer, notwithstanding the style of each of them has been most ludicrously imitated and their names are appended, in due form.

This edition, a *fac-simile*, in old-style letter, and on tinted, laid paper, numbered one hundred copies, and was printed, for presents only, on the order of four well-known gentlemen of New York, who desire to remain unnamed, in this instance.

\* From the collection of F. S. Hoffman, Esqr., of New York.

2. *The Trip of the Steamer Oceanus to Fort Sumter and Charleston, S. C.* Comprising the Incidents of the Excursion, the Appearance, at that time, of the City, and the entire Programme of Exercises at the Re-raising of the Flag over the Ruins of Fort Sumter, April 14, 1865. By a Committee appointed by the Passengers of the *Oceanus*. Brooklyn: 1865. Octavo, iv, 172, 2.

The contents of this neatly-printed pamphlet may be generally understood from the words of the title-page, which we have quoted.

It is a record of the trip of a party from Brooklyn, to witness the re-raising of the Flag over the ruins of Fort Sumter; and the narrative is told in a gossipy style, with commendable particularity, and quite complete in its reproduction of addresses, prayers, music, etc.

It is illustrated with a series of so-so-ish wood-cuts; and were it not for some faulty proof-reading, and an occasional rhetorical extravagance in the narrative, it would be highly creditable to the book-makers in "the City of Churches."

3. *The Elements of Heraldry*: containing an explanation of the principles of the science and a Glossary of the technical terms employed. With an essay upon the use of Coat-armor in the United States. By William H. Whitmore. New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1866. Royal octavo, pp. [iv.] 106.

This volume contains, FIRST, The elements of Heraldry, illustrated with a great number of well-executed wood-cuts; SECOND, A Glossary of Heraldic terms, similarly illustrated; THIRD, An Essay on the Blazon and Marshalling of Arms, also illustrated; and FOURTH, A similar Essay on Heraldry in America, with numerous illustrations.

As Heraldry is exceedingly useful to the Genealogist and Historian, this volume will be welcomed by all who are thus employed; besides, it will enable the new-comers among the American aristocracy—army-contractors, bounty-brokers, and members of the several "rings"—to become learned concerning the ornaments to be painted on their carriage-doors or engraved on the thirty pieces of silver which many of them have obtained as the price of blood. It must, therefore, be successful, as it should be.

It is from the press of John Wilson & Son of Boston; and we need say no more.

## 2.—BOOKS IN PREPARATION.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—The General Court of this State, at its June Session, by Joint Resolution, ordered "that His Excellency, the Governor, be "authorized and empowered, with the advice and "consent of the Council, to employ some suitable "person, and fix his compensation, to be paid out "of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to collect, arrange, transcribe and "superintend the publication of such portions of "the early State and Provincial Records, and "other State Papers of New-Hampshire, as the "Governor may deem proper; and that eight "hundred copies of each volume of the same be

"printed by the State Printer, and distributed as "follows; namely, one copy to each city and "town in this State; one copy to such of the "public libraries of the State as the Governor "may designate; two hundred copies to the "New-Hampshire Historical Society, and the remainder placed in the custody of the State Librarian, who is hereby authorized to exchange "the same for similar publications issued by "other States."

MADAME REIDSESEL'S LETTERS.—We have seen some portions of a new translation of this interesting work, from the pen of our friend, William L. Stone, Esq., which that gentleman is preparing for the Munsell Press; and we are prepared to say that those who have not read the German original will scarcely recognize the well-known work, in this greatly improved version.

Indeed, so radical are some of the changes made by Mr. Stone, in order to express the fair Authoress's meaning, or that of her correspondents, with greater correctness, that we are surprised that so faulty a translation as the last, has been so long tolerated; and we congratulate students of American History, on the promise of what will doubtless be both a more correct as well as a more elegant version of one of the most interesting volumes of the Annals of the War of the Revolution.

CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., 654 Broadway, New York, announce for immediate publication, a new volume of Lange's *Commentary*—that on the Acts of the Apostles—Dr. P. Schaff's *History of the Christian Church*, in two volumes; *Studies in English*, by Schele De Vere, LL.D., Professor in the University of Virginia; and the seventh and eighth volumes of Froude's *History of England*.

## 3.—AUCTION SALES.

MESSRS. BANGS, MERWIN & Co. will sell a collection of English and Foreign Books, including some rare works on Free Masonry, on Wednesday, October 17th. On Thursday and Friday evenings, October 18 and 19, they will sell a very choice collection of Old and New Engravings, and other works of Art. On Tuesday evening, October 23, they will sell a choice private Library of works on America and Ireland, including numerous locals, privately-printed books, and tracts relating to the recent War. Early in November, they will sell the very choice collection of rare works on America, belonging to T. H. Morrell, Esq.

MESSRS. LEAVITT, STREBEIGH & Co. will sell, shortly, the fine collection of Mr. Corner, of Baltimore; and, in January, the well-known collection of Autographs belonging to the late J. K. Tefft, of Savannah. We shall notice these sales more fully, hereafter.

# THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. X.]

NOVEMBER, 1866.

[No. 11.]

## I.—THE CITIZEN GENET.

On the ninth of April, 1793, Edmond Charles Genet, who had been appointed to supersede Ternant as Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic to the United States, arrived at Charleston, S. C., bringing with him the Declaration, by France, of War against England.

The seventeenth Article of the Treaty of Commerce, between France and the United States, had guaranteed to the former the *exclusive* right of shelter, for her ships-of-war and privateers and for their prizes; and, in spirit if not in terms, it guaranteed the friendly offices of the Federal authorities, in case of a war arising between France and any other nation.

The Proclamation of Neutrality which was immediately issued by the President and the ill-feeling which it produced, the attempts made by the Minister to fit out cruisers from our ports and the determined opposition of the President thereto, are well known to our readers; and they are not ignorant of the charge which was made against M. Genet—since, duly repeated by the greater number of those who have assumed the duties of Historians—that he had said “the President was a misled man, wholly “under the influence of those inimical “to France,” that “he [*Genet*] was resolved to appeal from him [*the President*] “to the People, the real Sovereigns.”—HILDRETH'S *United States*, II., i., 427; etc.

This charge was first publicly made

through the press, in *The Diary; or, Loudon's Register*, 468, New-York, Monday evening, August 12, 1793, in the following letter:

FOR THE DIARY.

MESSRS. PRINTERS,

CERTAIN late publications render it proper for us to authorize you to inform the Public, that a report having reached this City from Philadelphia, that Mr. Genet, the French Minister, had said he would Appeal to the People from certain decisions of the President; we were asked, on our return from that place, whether he had made such a declaration—we answered, THAT HE HAD, and we also mentioned it to others, authorising them to say that we had so informed them.

JOHN JAY,

RUFUS KING.

New-York, August 12.

In the next number of *The Diary*, (August 13,) “the public [were] requested “to suspend their opinion,” on the subject matter of this letter, “until some “more explicit and definite communication [should] be made” by its authors; and, on the same day, the Citizen noticed the charge, in a letter to the President, of which the following is a translation which, with the original French version, appeared in *The New-York Journal, & Patriotic Register*, 2796, New-York, Saturday, August 24, 1793:

NEW-YORK, 13th August, 1793,  
2d year of the Republic.

Citizen GENET, Minister Plenipotentiary  
from the French Republic, to General  
WASHINGTON, President of the United  
States.

SIR,

INTRUSTED, in this part of the world, with the interests and rights of the French people, as you are with those of the citizens of America, I have sworn to my country and imposed it as a sacred duty on myself, never to permit private considerations or other motives foreign from the general weal, to impede me in what I conceived the line of duty. My conduct has, accordingly, been marked with all the energy and frankness which ever characterize a true Republican. To you alone, through the Secretary of State, have I complained of the principles you have adopted, and remonstrated against decisions which have resulted therefrom. To you, alone, have I declared that the Federal Government, far from manifesting any regard for our generous conduct towards this country, for the new advantages which we were offering to her commerce, or for the reiterated demonstrations of our real and disinterested friendship, were sacrificing our interests to those of our enemies, by their interpretation of the Treaties which exist between us. To you have I presented, without reserve, that this conduct did not appear to correspond with the views of the People of America, with their desire to observe with fidelity their public engagements, or with their affectionate regard for the cause of liberty, upon which their very existence and prosperity depends. Certain decisions of your tribunals and verdicts of your juries, added to the sentiments of your fellow-citizens, publicly expressed, might permit me, without a crime, to draw this inference.

Nevertheless, certain persons, actuated

by views which time will develope, despairing to attack my principles, have descended to personal abuse. In hopes of withdrawing from me that esteem which the public feel and avow for the representative of the French republic, they publish, with great warmth, that I have insulted you, and that I have threatened you with an appeal to the People; as if you would permit any one, with impunity, to treat you with disrespect; or as if the slightest hint of an appeal, which a magistrate deserving of his high office should ardently desire, was to you the greatest offence I could offer.

It has become necessary, Sir, to dissipate these dark calumnies by truth and publicity. I dare, therefore, to expect from your candor and probity an explicit declaration, that "I have never intimated to you an intention of appealing to the people; that it is not true that a difference in political sentiments has ever betrayed me to forget what was due to your character or to the exalted reputation you had acquired by humbling a tyrant, against whom you fought in the cause of liberty." A publication of your answer will be the only reply which shall be given to those party men, who never fail to confound the individual with affairs of state, which they too often make use of as a pretext for their zeal and a reason for dastardly appearing under anonymous signatures.

As to myself, I have always openly declared what I thought, and signed what I had written; and if others have supposed they could advance my views, by newspaper publications and paragraphs, they are much deceived. A good cause needs no advocate—time and truth will make it triumph; and ours must triumph in spite of its implacable enemies, and the present cold indifference of some who were its ancient friends.

I have the honour, &c.

GENET.

To this letter the President replied coldly, through the Secretary of State, in the following letter, which we copy from *The New-York Journal, & Patriotic Register*, 2796, New-York, Saturday, August 24, 1793:

PHILADELPHIA, August 16, 1793.

SIR,

THE President of the United States has received the letter which you addressed to him from New-York, on the 13th inst, and I am desired to observe to you, that it is not the established course for the diplomatic characters residing here, to have any direct correspondence with him. The Secretary of State is the organ through which their communications should pass.

The President does not conceive it to be within the line of propriety or duty for him to bear evidence against a declaration which, whether made to him or others, is perhaps immaterial: he therefore declines interfering in the case.

I have the honour to be with great respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

*The Minister Plenipotentiary }  
of the Republic of France. }*

No further notice seems to have been taken of this subject, until the fourteenth of November, 1793, when M. Genet addressed the following letter to the Attorney-general of the United States:

[From *The New-York Journal, & Patriotic Register*, 2823, New-York, Wednesday, November 27, 1793.]

NEW-YORK, 14th November, 1793.

2d year of the French Republic.

SIR,

More pressing avocations have hitherto prevented my applying to you on the subject of a public insult to my nation and to myself, which I understand, from gentlemen of the law here, you are the

person officially to be made acquainted with. I enclose you, Sir, a newspaper, printed in New-York, in which the Chief-justice of the United States, Mr. Jay, and a Senator of the United States, Mr. King, have certified to the Public, as a declaration of mine, what is utterly and totally false. To you, Sir, who are doubtless acquainted with the contemptible arts practised by party to hurt the characters supposed to obstruct their views, it is needless to enlarge upon the injury this certificate has done the cause of my country in the opinion of this, or the personal dilemma into which it has, or was intended, plunged myself. The lie having effected its purpose, I can, unfortunately for justice, but too slowly follow it with detection. It is, however, a duty I owe my own official character, to procure a public prosecution of a calumny, which nothing but their public situations, who are the authors of it, induces me to think more of, than the rest of the low newspaper abuse to which I have been so much accustomed.

As you are, as I am informed, from your official situation, the prosecutor of outrages committed by citizens of the United States, either against foreign nations or their representatives to the United States, I am satisfied that it is sufficient for me to acquaint you of the scandalous falsity of the charge against me, to induce you to take such steps, at the ensuing Federal Court, as the honor of your own country, as well as of mine, exact upon such an occasion. I shall attend you for this purpose, at any time and place you point out, and desire to be favored with your answer, when and where that must be.

Accept my respects,

GENET.

Edmund Randolph,  
Attorney-general of the  
United States of America.

On the same day, M. Genet wrote as

follows, to the Secretary of State, and enclosed a copy of his letter to the Attorney-general:

[From *The New-York Journal, & Patriotic Register*, 2823, New-York, Wednesday, November 27, 1793.]

NEW-YORK, November 14, 1793.

2d year of the French Republic.

SIR,

I believe I ought to communicate to you the copy of a letter which I have just written to the Attorney-general of the United States, to demand of him, that Messrs. Jay and King, the one Chief-justice and the other a Senator of the United States, who have published in the Newspapers a libel against me, should be prosecuted at the Federal Court. I have to this moment omitted nothing to ascertain the falsity of the perfidious imposture to which these gentlemen have not been ashamed to add their names. It is with this view, I ventured to write to the President of the United States; it is with this view, that my friends have called, in many papers, upon Mr. Jay and Mr. King, to produce the proofs of their assertion; but the answer which you were charged to make me, Sir, being as indecisive as the silence of these gentlemen was profound, a judicial enquiry alone remains for me to confound those who have traduced me, both as delegate of the French people and as an individual. This satisfaction will be the most agreeable I can obtain, for I have only wished for the esteem of a free and virtuous people, of whatsoever country they might be; it is doubtless grievous to see, at this day, calumny bent upon pursuing me, and the benevolence of a people whom I revere, surprised from me, as well as that of their first magistrate. But what will be my satisfaction, when truth alone shall force those who now misconstrue both my intentions and my principles, to do justice to my courage, my un-

shaken patriotism, and the purity of my conduct.

Accept my respects,

GENET.

Mr. Jefferson,

Secretary of State.

On the nineteenth of November, 1793, the Attorney-general answered the letter which M. Genet had addressed to him, on the fourteenth of the same month, as follows:

[From *The New-York Journal, & Patriotic Register*, 2823, New-York, Wednesday, November 27, 1793.]

GERMANTOWN, Nov. 19, 1793.

SIR,

I this moment received the letter which you did me the honor of writing to me on the 14th instant. Understanding that you purpose to return to Philadelphia shortly, and conceiving from this circumstance, that it will be the most convenient place for yourself, I shall be ready to have a personal interview with you there, on the subject of the letter, whenever you may think proper to signify to me the time which will best suit you.

I have the honor, &c.,

EDM. RANDOLPH.

We are not informed of the result of the visit of the Citizen Minister to the Attorney-general, if such a visit was made; but we find in *The New-York Journal, & Patriotic Register*, 2825, New-York, Wednesday, December 4, 1793, the following statement, by Messrs. Jay and King, who had become the public accusers of M. Genet:

TO THE PUBLIC.

Although well constituted free Governments only can give and preserve to men the enjoyment of rational liberty, yet no Government can liberate individuals from the impulse and domination

of their passions. Hence it is that the excesses of these passions so frequently produce parties in all communities, and that personal motives are so often found to be masked by patriotic professions.

While the People continue enlightened and watchful, they may experience inconveniences from such parties; but most alarming are the mischiefs they cause, whenever they become seduced, infected, and inflamed, by foreign influence.

The history of mankind has, in all ages, declared and proved, that foreign influence is the most subtle and fatal poison, that can be communicated to a Nation; for numerous and melancholy are the instances of great and powerful, and once happy, States, who under its operation have either expired in violent convulsions or been reduced to a deplorable state of debility and insignificance.

When at Philadelphia, in July last, we frequently heard that Mr. Genet, the French Minister, had on a certain occasion said "that he would appeal from the 'President to the People'—an appeal by a foreign Minister from the President to the People, appeared to us to be a serious and alarming measure: That a foreign Minister, finding it impossible to bend the Government to his purposes, should turn from it with disdain, to the citizens at large, and before them impeach the wisdom or virtue of the administration, would be a proceeding unprecedented and unpermitted in every well policed State; it would be a proceeding evidently and necessarily productive of parties, practices, and intrigues, highly detrimental to the peace and independence of the country; and in a variety of respects, offensive to the dignity and sovereignty of the Nation, as well as humiliating and injurious to its constituted authorities.

We left that city well convinced that Mr. Genet had made such a Declaration. On our return to New-York, we found a report of that Declaration had preceded

us, and that it had made the same impression upon others, that it had made upon us: We were asked whether it was true? We answered that it was. To many, a Declaration so extraordinary did not appear probable; and our having asserted it to be true, was questioned. We were called upon in the public papers to admit, or deny, that we had made such an assertion. That call merited attention, and we therefore made the following publication:

"FOR THE DIARY.

"*Messrs. Printers,*

"Certain late publications render it proper for us to authorise you to inform the public, that a report having reached this city from Philadelphia, that Mr. Genet, the French Minister, said that he would appeal to the People from certain decisions of the President, we were asked on our return from that place, whether he had made such a declaration; we answered that he had; and we also mentioned it to others, authorising them to say that we had so informed them.

"JOHN JAY,  
"RUFUS KING.

"NEW-YORK, August 21, 1793."

Of the time, place, occasion, and other circumstances relative to the transaction, we omitted to give any account; although we found it necessary for the reasons before mentioned, to avow our having mentioned that Declaration as having really been made; yet we had no desire or intention to come forward as the prosecutors of the French Minister before the tribunal of the public.

In common with other free citizens of a sovereign and independent Nation, we spoke our sentiments; but we were mindful, that to the Government, and not to us, belonged the task of taking such measures, relative to that Minister and

his conduct, as the interest and honor of the Nation might require: Nor did we deem it necessary to detail and explain the evidence on which we rested our assertion; for while that assertion remained undenied and uncontradicted by the minister, such a step could neither be requisite nor proper; to anonymous writers on the subject, in the public papers, we paid no attention; nor shall we in future pay any.

On the singular letter written by the Minister to the President, and the answer through the Secretary of State, we restrain ourselves to this remark, that it only denies his having made such a Declaration to the President; and that it leaves the question whether he had made it *at all*, entirely out of sight—it seems that this did not escape the discernment of the President; for he very justly observed, “that whether the Declaration was “made to him or others, was, perhaps, immaterial.” To whom the Declaration was made, was a question foreign to the inquiry; the true and only question being whether he had made such a Declaration to *anybody*? To this question the Minister gave no answer; and thereby left the credit of our assertion not only unimpeached, but also strengthened by his silence, and by his endeavors to elude the force of it, by his letter to the President.

He now denies having made such a Declaration; in what light this denial is to be viewed, will appear from the following statement of the evidence and circumstances relative to the transaction in question:

The President having given instructions to the Governors of the several States relative to the fitting out of armed vessels in our ports, by any of the beligerent powers, on Saturday, the 6th of July last, the Warden of the port of Philadelphia reported to Governor Mifflin, that the brig *Little Sarah*, since called the *Petit Democrat*, (an English merchant

vessel, mounting from two to four guns, taken off our coast, and carried into that port by the French frigate the *Ambuscade*), had materially augmented her military equipments; having then fourteen iron cannon and six swivels, mounted; and it being understood that her crew was to consist of (including officers, men and boys) one hundred and twenty.

Governor Mifflin, in consequence of this information, sent Mr. Secretary Dallas to Mr. Genet, to endeavor to prevail upon him to enter into an arrangement for detaining the vessel in port, without the necessity of employing military force for that purpose.

Mr. Dallas reported to Governor Mifflin, that Mr. Genet had absolutely refused to do what had been requested of him; that he had been angry, and intemperate; that he had complained of ill treatment from the Government, and had declared “that he would appeal from the President to the People;” and that he had also said, that he would not advise an attempt to take possession of the vessel, as it would be resisted.

The refusal was so peremptory that Governor Mifflin, in consequence of it, ordered out one hundred and twenty men for the purpose of taking possession of the vessel.

Mr. Dallas likewise communicated to Mr. Jefferson, that Mr. Genet had said, “That he would appeal from the President to the People.”

On Sunday, the 7th of July, Mr. Jefferson went to Mr. Genet, to endeavor to prevail upon him to detain the *Petit Democrat*, till the President (who was then absent) should return and decide upon the case; but he refused to give a promise, saying only that she would not probably be ready to depart before the succeeding Wednesday, the day of the President's expected return. This was considered by Mr. Jefferson as an intimation that she would remain. The

*Pelit Democrat*, instead of remaining as Mr. Jefferson had expected, fell down to Chester previous to the Wednesday referred to, and shortly after sailed out of the Delaware.

For the truth and accuracy of this statement we refer to Mr. Secretary Hamilton and Mr. Secretary Knox, from whom we derived the information, on which we relied, respecting the facts contained in it.

We forbear enlarging this publication by any strictures or remarks on this Minister's conduct; will only add, that we sincerely wish all the blessings of Peace, Liberty, and good government to *his* country; and that we shall always deprecate and oppose the interference of foreign powers or foreign agents in the politics and affairs of *our own*.

JOHN JAY,  
RUFUS KING.

NEW-YORK, Nov. 26, 1793.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 29, 1793.

We the subscribers, certify that we did severally communicate to the above mentioned John Jay and Rufus King, the particulars contained in the foregoing statement. That such of them as are therein mentioned to have been reported to Governor Mifflin by Mr. Dallas, were communicated by the Governor to each of us, as having been received by him from Mr. Dallas. That such of them as respect Mr. Jefferson, including the information to him from Mr. Dallas, of Mr. Genet's having said "*that he would appeal from the President to the People*" were communicated to us by Mr. Jefferson.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.  
H. KNOX.

This statement, which was widely copied, produced great surprise and indignation; and the newspapers of the day

teemed with articles on the subject. We copy one, to show the spirit in which the greater number were written:

[From *The New-York Journal, & Patriotic Register*, 2826, New-York, Saturday, December 7, 1793.]

For the *NEW-YORK JOURNAL, &c.*

To Messrs. J\*y, K\*\*g, H\*\*\*\*\*n, & K\*\*x.\*

THE mountain which has, since last August, been in labor, hath at last been delivered, and has brought forth a mouse. Well pushed, great, honest, and able patriots! The first of ye shall be crowned, and henceforth called K\*\*g j\*y†, prince of the Jesuits! Murder, they say, will come out at some time or other. The demure hypocrite in question, discovered the *blackness* of his heart, a few years ago, by persevering in his *design* to ruin the character of young L——e!‡ Those who read the newspaper publications concerning that *design*, felt sorry that so much *malignity* of disposition should be manifested by a person they before thought well of; they therefore let it pass off without severe remarks; and it had nearly reached oblivion. This last business, his *efforts* to injure the character of a foreign Minister, by, at least, a craftily contrived LIE, has established *his* fame in the *jesuitical* line! The second is a forward *adventurer* of no character, among us, worth writing about. The third and fourth shall be addressed in another letter; but the worst, and most to be regretted part of the whole business is, that the said K\*\*g j\*y, together with Pacificus,||

\* To Messrs. Jay, King, Hamilton, and Knox.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

† King Jay.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

‡ Referring to the case of Lewis Littlepage. "a young man" whom Mr. Jay, when in Spain, patronized and took into his "family."—Ed. HIST. MAG.

|| Referring to Colonel Hamilton, the author of the essays signed "PACIFICUS," which had appeared in 1793.

and the *Ball on*,\* should have been able to induce a great personage to give an evasive, or an equivocal answer! (An answer *inglorious* in every point of light) to a fair question, diplomatically put to him by a man as high in rank and authority as a Republic can place a man, without making him *Stadtholder*, who had been basely and wickedly *belied*! † Evasive did I say? Was it not something worse? Was it not something like *confederating* with those who had advanced a malicious falsehood? Will that same personage now, to save his sickening reputation for more than Roman integrity, dismiss the one and cause the other, in his place, to be impeached as wicked incendiaries, substituted or employed to create a misunderstanding, if not a rupture, between two Republics, whose freedom and happiness entirely depend upon a firm and lasting friendship for each other? No, he will not, and the reasons for declining it are obvious. "*Parcil Cognatis Maculis Similis fera.*"

## NOVA CÆSARIA.

The "statement" of Messrs. Jay and King having discovered no evidence of M. Genet's alleged threat, of which they had clearly accused him, in the columns of *The Diary*—the only fact having been elicited thereby, that they had received the story from Messrs. Hamilton and Knox, who said they had receive it from Governor Thomas Mifflin, who was said to have received it from Alexander James Dallas, who was said to have heard M. Genet make the threat referred to—they were necessarily exposed to the disagreeable charge of having originally made a public accusation against the French Ambassador, on insufficient evidence, and to the still more disagreeable

suspicion of having done so for improper partizan purposes. As we have seen, they were violently assailed by the opposite party; and the intensity of the feeling against them was increased, soon after, by the following Card from Mr. Dallas, whom they had endeavored to make the scape-goat of the parties implicated:

[From DUNLAP'S *American Daily Advertiser*, 4573, Philadelphia, Friday, December 6, 1793.]

*To the Printer of the American Daily Advertiser:*

SIR,

The appearance of a statement, under the signature of Mr. Jay and Mr. King; and of a Certificate, under the signatures of Mr. Hamilton and Mr. King, [*Knox*?] relative to Mr. Genet's conversation with me, in the case of the *Little Democrat*, obviously claims, on my part, a declaration of the facts. This declaration I will prepare and publish, in the course of a few days.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,  
A. J. DALLAS.

PHILADELPHIA, December 5, 1793.

This was followed, in DUNLAP and CLAYPOOLE'S *American Daily Advertiser*, 4575, Philadelphia, Monday, December 9, 1793, by the following:

## TO THE PUBLIC.

Agreeably to the promise that was published on the 6th instant, I shall now proceed to declare the facts, relative to Mr. Genet's conversation with me, in the case of the *Little Democrat*.

I feel, indeed, the indelicacy of disclosing, what may appear, in some respects, to be an official, and, in others, a private communication; but the anxiety, which the Public mind has experienced on the subject, the misapprehensions which have prevailed, and the example which is derived from the

\* It is not known to what circumstance these words refer; although there can be little doubt that General Knox was the person thus described.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† Referring to the President's reply to M. Genet's note.—ED. HIST. MAG.

conduct of all the other persons who have been involved in the discussion, will, I think, be deemed a sufficient justification of the liberty that I find it necessary to take.

Late in the evening of Saturday, the — day of July last, I was informed that the *Little Democrat* (whose war-like equipments, in opposition to the declared neutrality of the port, had before attracted the attention of Government) would sail in the course of the ensuing morning. Having immediately communicated this information to the Governor, I received instructions to prepare for calling out a party of the militia, to prevent, at all events, the departure of the vessel; but, on my suggesting, that the necessity of pursuing hostile measures, might, probably, be superseded, by an application to the discretion of the French Minister, I was directed to wait upon that gentleman, with an overture for an amicable arrangement, before the party should be summoned to parade.

It was about 11 o'clock at night, when I arrived at Mr. Genet's house. Mr. Paschall withdrew from the room into which I was introduced, soon after I entered it; but Mr. Bernonville and Mr. Dupont remained there, during the whole of my visit.

I apologized for so unseasonable an intrusion; and lamented that my errand was not of an agreeable import. I stated the nature, extent, and obligation of the instructions, which the Governor had received from the President, for the purpose of preserving the neutrality of the United States, within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania; and I described the circumstances, that rendered the *Little Democrat* an object of those instructions, as well as the recent intelligence of her intention to leave the port, which the Governor was bound to prevent. I mentioned, however, that the Governor was desirous to avoid the

use of any compulsory means on the occasion; and, therefore, as the allegation which had been made, that the vessel belonged to the Republic of France, and not to individuals, might produce an exception from the general rule, in her favor, he would cheerfully rely on the Minister's engagement that she should not depart, till there was an opportunity of consulting the President (who was then, I believe, on his way from Mount Vernon to the city of Philadelphia) upon the merits of this particular case.

This representation was scarcely delivered, when Mr. Genet exclaimed with great vehemence, "that the proceeding was very extraordinary, improper and unjust. He thought that his uniform acquiescence in the wishes of the Government (instanced in the surrender of the *Grange*, &c.) had not merited this return; which he said, however, should regulate his conduct in future. He expressed surprise that the first intimation which was given of the matter, should be accompanied with a threat. He complained in strong terms, and with many angry epithets, of the ill-treatment that he had received from some of the officers of the general Government, which he contrasted with the cordial attachment that was expressed by the People at large, for his Nation. He ascribed the conduct of those officers to principles inimical to the cause of France and liberty. He expressed apprehensions, that owing to their influence, even the President had, in that respect, been misled. He observed, with considerable emphasis, that the President was not the Sovereign of the country, for he could not legislate on general subjects, nor could he declare war, or make peace; that Congress, the depository of those powers, was the only constituted body, that could, on the part of the United States, give

"a Constitutional interpretation (possibly involving the question of War or Peace) to the terms of the Treaty; that it was, therefore, the duty of the President (a duty of which he had frequently pressed a performance) to have convened Congress, before he ventured to decide, by the Proclamation of Neutrality, upon the general relation between America and the belligerent powers; or to prohibit, by his instructions to the State Governors, the enjoyment of the particular rights, which France claimed under the express stipulations of the Treaty. He urged, that the powers which he had received from his constituents gave him no latitude upon the point now in controversy; that the privilege to arm and equip their vessels was deemed by them indisputable; founded upon the plain meaning of the 22d Article of the Treaty of Commerce; and that he could not therefore, enter into any arrangement, which might appear as a waiver of that privilege. He insisted that the President's construction was neither just, nor obligatory; that notwithstanding the existing causes, which would warrant an abrupt departure, his regard for the People of America would induce him to remain here, amidst the insults and disgusts that he daily suffered, in his official character, from the public officers, till the meeting of Congress. He spoke of publishing his correspondence with the officers of Government, together with a general narrative of his proceedings; and he said, that if Congress agreed in the opinions, and supported the measures, of the President, in relation to the Republic of France, he would certainly then withdraw, conscious of having discharged his duty, and leave the dispute to be finally adjusted by the two Nations themselves."

As soon as I could obtain an opportunity, I recalled Mr. Genet's attention

to the immediate object of my visit; but he peremptorily refused to enter into any engagement for suspending the departure of the *Little Democrat*; and added, in a manner which I thought intemperate, that "he hoped no attempt to seize her would be made: for, as she belonged to the Republic, she must defend the honor of her Flag, and would certainly repel force by force."

Such was Mr. Genet's conversation with me: and, it will be allowed, that, although I am responsible for the fidelity of the recital, I am not responsible for any inference which has been, or may be, drawn, from the facts that it contains.

My report to the Governor, on the same night, and to Mr. JEFFERSON, on the succeeding morning, corresponded, as precisely as I can repeat it, with the account which I have now given; and I well remember, that Mr. Jefferson's relation of the discourse, that passed in his subsequent interview with Mr. Genet, on the same occasion, so nearly corresponded with my report, that the similarity became a matter of remark with the Governor and Mr. Jefferson, as well as with me.

But it will be expected, perhaps, that I should give a more direct reply to the specific charge, which states, that I had reported to the Governor, and communicated to Mr. Jefferson, "that Mr. Genet had declared that he would appeal from the President to the People."

Upon enquiry, I find, that the Governor thinks that I made use of the word "appeal," towards the close of my report, in this manner:—"that, if, after the business was laid before Congress, Mr. Genet did not receive satisfaction, on behalf of his Nation, he would publish his appeal, withdraw, and leave the Governments themselves to settle the dispute." The word "*appeal*" appears, however, in my opinion, to be more

applicable to those facts which represent that Mr. Genet, controverting the justice and force of the President's decisions on the Treaty, &c., declared a determination to address Congress on the subject: but, in either place, if it is not construed necessarily to import, that I heard a declaration from Mr. Genet, "that he would appeal from the President to the People," I am content to admit the expression as mine.

But I am, likewise, apprised, that soon after the transaction—when, however, the report was circulating—that Mr. Genet had used the expression in question; when it was reported to have been used by him in his conversation with Mr. Jefferson; and when Mr. Jefferson thought it proper to remove impressions made by that circumstance in the report; he stated, in an official memorandum, that Mr. Genet's declaration of an intention to appeal from the President to the People was not expressed to him but to me. Whether Mr. Jefferson employed the language of his own inference from my recital, on the occasion or adopted the language of the current rumour, I will not attempt to discuss: but, if, in the same early stage of the business, I had also enjoyed the means of explanation, I, like Mr. Jefferson, should then have said, what I said the moment I heard the suggestion applied to me—what I have since taken every proper opportunity of saying; and what I now most solemnly say—that Mr. Genet never did, in his conversation with me, declare "that he would appeal from the President to the People," or that he would make any other appeal which conveyed to my mind the idea of exciting insurrection and tumult.

Upon the whole, as my communications to the Governor and Mr. Jefferson were of an official and confidential nature, I think that I have cause to complain, and the candor of others

will induce them to lament, that I was not personally consulted (which common courtesy, as well as common caution, might have dictated) before Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Knox, (who had daily opportunities of seeing me,) undertook to propagate the report connected with my name; or, at least, before Mr. Jay and Mr. King undertook to vouch for its authenticity. The most attentive hearer may sometimes misconceive the ideas of the person who addresses him: the most upright narrator can seldom adhere strictly to the language of his author: and I am not aware of any just purpose which could require that the sentiment which has been circulated should be immutably fixed; or that the form of words in which it is clothed should be irrevocably prescribed.

A. J. DALLAS.

PHILADELPHIA, 7th December, 1793.

This statement, from the pen of Mr. Dallas, was subsequently controverted by an anonymous writer, evidently one of the principals concerned in the discussion or a representative of them, in the following article which appeared in *DUNLAP and CLAYPOOLE'S American Daily Advertiser*, 4581, Philadelphia, Tuesday, December 17, 1793:

For the *American Daily Advertiser*.

The Printers of the AMERICAN DAILY ADVERTISER have received the following statement from an authentic source, with permission to make the source known to any party concerned, who may desire it:

Mr. Dallas having lately made a statement differing from that of Mr. Jay and Mr. King, with regard to the declaration alleged to have been made by Mr. Genet, namely, "*that he would appeal from the President to the People*," the following circumstances may serve to

assist the public judgment concerning the real nature of the transaction.

The information, which was certified by Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Knox to have been received from Governor Mifflin, was communicated by the Governor to those gentlemen *separately*; to the latter, *the day after the evening of the interview* between Mr. Genet and Mr. Dallas, at which the declaration is understood to have been made, (being Saturday, the 6th of July last); to the former, *the day following*, (that is, *the second day after the interview*.) Those gentlemen, deeming it a matter of public importance, immediately connected with an object upon which they had to act officially, *compared with each other at the time*, the information they had *severally* received from the Governor, and found it to agree as to the point in question, being precisely this, that Mr. Genet had said to Mr. Dallas, "*That he would appeal from the President to the People.*"

The same *second day after the interview between Mr. Genet and Mr. Dallas*, in an official conference between Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Knox, *having relation to the affair which gave rise to the above mentioned declaration*, Mr. Jefferson stated that Mr. Dallas had told him likewise, that Mr. Genet had said, "*he would appeal from the President to the People*"—the terms corresponding with those which had before been used by Governor Mifflin, in his separate communications to Mr. Knox and Mr. Hamilton.

The two last mentioned gentlemen, in an official paper, drawn up and signed by them on the 9th of the same July, a copy of which was then delivered to Mr. Jefferson, recited the information they had received in the following words—"*The Declaration of the Minister of France to Mr. Dallas, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as related by him to the Governor of that Commonwealth and to the Secretary of State, is a*

"*further confirmation of the same system. That Declaration, among other exceptionable things, expressed that he (the French Minister) would appeal from the President to the People.*"

Mr. Jefferson, in an official paper under his signature, dated the 10th of the same July, stated the same transaction in the following words—"*On repeating to him (the Governor) and Mr. Dallas what Mr. Genet had said, we found that it agreed in many particulars with what he had said to Mr. Dallas; but Mr. Dallas mentioned some things, which he had not said to me, and, particularly, his declaration that he would appeal from the President to the People.*" The conversation between Governor Mifflin, Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Dallas, at which this passed, is stated in the same paper, to have happened on Sunday, the 7th of July, the day after the evening of the interview between Mr. Genet and Mr. Dallas.

No comments will be made on these particulars. The public is left to draw its own inferences.

Those Printers who may have published Mr. Dallas's statement, are requested to insert the foregoing.

To this paper, on the next day, [December 18] the following brief reply was published, also in DUNLAP and CLAYPOOLE'S *American Daily Advertiser*:

FOR THE AMERICAN DAILY ADVERTISER.

TO THE PUBLIC.

A *supplementary certificate*, in aid of the statement, that has been furnished by Mr. Jay and Mr. King, relative to Mr. Genet's conversation with Mr. Dallas, in the case of the *Little Democrat*, has been published *without the names of its authors*; but a report has been raised, that this supplementary certificate, is published *by the Governor and Mr. Jefferson*.

A party concerned, has, therefore, enquired into the fact; and lest the circumstance reported may serve to mislead the public judgment concerning the real nature of the transaction, he thinks it proper to state, that he is informed by the Printers, that the *supplementary certificate* is composed and published by the same persons, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Knox, who composed and published the *original certificate* (of which, indeed, it is merely a verbal amplification) annexed to the statement of Mr. Jay and Mr. King.

No comments will be made on this particular: the public is left to draw its own inference.

Those printers who may publish the *Supplementary Certificate* of Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Knox, are requested to insert the foregoing.

While this public discussion of the subject was occupying the attention of the Public, M. Genet was engaged in a vigorous prosecution of the case before the Federal authorities.

On the sixteenth of December, 1793, he addressed the following letter to the Attorney-general of the United States:

[FROM DUNLAP and CLAYPOOLE'S *American Daily Advertiser*, 4590, Philadelphia, Friday, December 27, 1793.]

PHILADELPHIA, December 16, 1793.

2d. year of the French Republic.

Citizen Genet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, to Mr. Randolph, Attorney-general of the United States.

SIR,

A new publication of Messrs. Jay and King, of which I send you a copy, obliges me once more to have recourse to you in your official capacity. You will there see that those gentlemen have greatly

aggravated their offence to France and to her delegates: 1st, by their coalition with Messrs. Knox and Hamilton, the former Secretary at War, the latter Secretary of the Treasury, for the purpose of supporting their first libel against me: 2dly, by giving the Public to understand that we endeavored to interfere in the interior concerns of the United States; which is absolutely false. Such assertions from private citizens would not attract my attention; but proceeding from the Chief-justice and from a Senator of the United States, they deserve public censure; and I hope they will make part of the accusation which I again request of you to bring before the Supreme Court of the United States, against Messrs. Jay and King, as also against all those who have participated in the calumnies which have been perfidiously disseminated solely with a view of injuring the interest of France, under a republican Government, by attacking the person whose duty, and I will say, whose glory, it is to defend them, in spite of all the disgusting circumstances which are daily pressed upon him. You will much oblige me, Sir, by communicating to me in writing your intentions relative to my different requisitions; and by directing me by your professional knowledge in the course of this important prosecution. It is my intention to apply to the head of the Executive power of the United States, thro' the intervention of the Secretary of State, to recommend to you to carry on this business with all possible activity, as the honor of both our Republics requires that it be speedily decided.

Accept, Sir, my Respects,

GENET.

A copy of this letter was enclosed, with the following Note, by M. Genet, to the Secretary of State:

[From the same paper.]

PHILADELPHIA, December 16, 1793.

2d year of the French Republic.

Citizen Genet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, to Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State.

SIR,

I request of you to lay before the President the annexed requisition, which I have just sent to the Attorney-general of the United States, and to be so good as to prevail on him to direct that magistrate to commence, as speedily as possible, a suit in which the honor of France and my own are essentially concerned.

Accept my respects,

GENET.

To this letter, the Secretary of State thus replied; on the eighteenth of the same month:

[From the same paper.]

PHILADELPHIA, December 18, 1793.

SIR,

I have laid before the President your letter of the 16th instant, and in consequence thereof have written to the Attorney-general of the United States, a letter of which I have the honor to enclose you a copy, and to add assurances of the respect with which I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, and most humble servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

[ENCLOSURE.]

PHILADELPHIA, December 18, 1793.

SIR,

The Minister Plenipotentiary of France has enclosed to me the copy of a letter of the 16th inst, which he addressed to you, stating that some libellous publications had been made against him by

Mr. Jay, Chief-justice of the United States, and Mr. King, one of the Senators for the State of New York; and desiring that they might be prosecuted. This letter has been laid before the President, who, never doubting your readiness on all occasions to perform the functions of your office, yet thinks it incumbent on him to recommend it especially on the present occasion, as it concerns a public character peculiarly entitled to the protection of the laws; on the other hand, as our citizens ought not to be vexed with groundless prosecutions, duty to them requires it to be added, that if you judge the prosecution in question to be of that nature, you consider this recommendation as not extending to it; its only object being to engage you to proceed in this case according to the duties of your office, the laws of the land, and the privileges of the parties concerned.

I have the honor to be with great respect and esteem, Sir, Your most obedt. and most humble servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

The Attorney-general of the United States.

On the same day, the Attorney-general replied to M. Genet's letter of the sixteenth of December, as follows:

[From the same paper.]

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 18th, 1793.

SIR,

I had the honor of receiving yesterday the second communication which you purposed to make to me. When we conversed together on the evening of Friday, the 13th inst, I doubted for a moment, whether you did not mean, that I should wait for the instructions intended to be asked for me, from the President of the United States; but as I want no special order for the discharge of my

real duty, and the opinion which you request must be the result of my own conviction, I do not think it proper to delay my answer.

You apply, Sir, to me as the Attorney-general of the United States, to prosecute Mr. Jay and Mr. King, for their publication on the 12th of August and the 26th of November, 1793. The Act constituting my office declares my duty to be, "to prosecute and conduct all suits in the Supreme Court in which the United States shall be concerned," and I have sworn to its faithful execution. But while I admit it to be incumbent on me to prosecute, without distinction of persons, when the law will support me, I do not hold myself bound, nor do I conceive that I ought, to proceed against any man in opposition to my decided judgment. With these impressions, I must beg leave to decline the measures which you desire, persuaded, as I am, that this case will not sustain the prosecution which you meditate.

But, Sir, if it would not seem fortifying with an apology, this determination of mine, founded upon principles which need none, I would take the liberty of adding, that any other gentleman of the profession, who may approve and advise the attempt, will be at no loss to point out a mode which does not require my intervention.

I have the honor, Sir, to be, with sincere respect and attachment for the Nation whom you represent,

Your most obedient servant,

EDM. RANDOLPH.

Mr. Genet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

P. S. December 20<sup>th</sup>, 1793.

Since I wrote the above, I have received, Sir, a letter from the Secretary of State, on the subject of your request. As no change is rendered necessary in the foregoing sentiments, I do myself

the honor of sending my letter as it originally stood.

To the letter from the Secretary of State, M. Genet thus replied, on the twentieth of December:

[From the same paper.]

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 20, 1793.

2d year of the French Republic.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State of the United States.

SIR,

I have just received your letter of the 16th of this month, and have the honor to thank the President of the United States, through your channel, for the intention he manifests, by bringing to light an intrigue to the design which was to lead him into an error, to engage him in precipitate measures against the executor of the orders of the French nation, and by this means to destroy the good understanding which so happily subsists between our two Republics.

I cannot express to you the profound grief with which I see daily unraveled the thread of so black a plot; and I own to you that in qualifying my just prosecutions with the epithet "*groundless*," you seem to have forgotten that it is incumbent on me to avenge my Sovereign of the injury done to their interests by that monstrous series of lies, of fallacious certificates, and of absurd rumours, by means of which the public mind was for some time fascinated, and which have perhaps shaken the alliance of two Nations whom every thing invites to mutual love and union.

If there exists, Sir, a crime of lezennation, it is certainly this of which I complain, and of which the perpetrators ought to be given up to the law in whose eyes, I imagine, that with you, as with us, all men are equal.

GENET.

To the letter from the Attorney-general, M. Genet thus replied, on the twenty-first of December :

[From the same paper.]

PHILADELPHIA, 21st December, 1793.

2d year of the French Republic.

Citizen Genet &c. to Mr. Randolph,  
Attorney General of the United States.

SIR,

Since you refuse to cause to be rendered to my Nation, the ally of yours, the justice claimed by its representative, I will apply immediately to the Judges ; and should they refuse to admit my complaint, I will cover myself with the mantle of mourning, and will say America is no longer free.

Accept Sir, my profound respect for, and my attachment to, the United States, of which you are Attorney General.

GENET.

The suggestion of the Attorney-general, that the honor of the Minister and of France could be more properly protected by private counsel than by the Federal authorities, seems to have been followed by M. Genet, who retained Edward Livingston as his Counsel and commenced proceedings for Libel against Messrs. Jay and King.

Soon after, M. Genet, who was a Girondist, was superseded in office, without being recalled to France, by M. Fauchet, a Jacobin, who brought with him several letters from the mother and sisters of the former, together with an expression of the wishes of the party then in power in France, concerning the actions which he had instituted against the Chief-justice of the United States and the Senator from New York.

He informed M. Genet that the French Government would like to have these actions discontinued, as they might be prejudicial to the good feeling which France desired to maintain with the United States ; and, at the same time, he

informed M. Genet that under the existing laws of France, the estates and lives of the families of her Ministers were held accountable for their conduct, abroad.

Robespierre was at the head of the Government, and there was no alternative for M. Genet—he must either obey, and, for the supposed good of France, discontinue the actions, or, by continuing them, expose his defenceless family, in Europe, to the merciless vengeance of that relentless leader of the Jacobins, who was, also, his equally relentless political enemy. The Minister yielded to this unusual appeal, by reluctantly obeying the constituted authorities of his country ; discontinuing the actions which he had instituted against his traducers ; silently submitting to a perpetuation, as History, by them and their party, of the fiction of the intended “appeal from the President to the People ;” and, years after—still, through the machinations of party, in America, *without an official recall from his post of duty*—passing to the grave, the continued object of what seems to be an unmerited censure.

It is the province of History, to do justice both to the Minister and his accusers ; and, for the purpose of promoting that object, these facts are submitted.

H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, N. Y., October, 1866.

## II.—THE EARLY METHODISTS AND SLAVERY.

In our last Number, we referred, briefly, to the testimony borne by the Early Methodists against the sin of Intemperance : we propose in this, to pay our passing respects to that which the same persons bore against the practice of holding Slaves.

At the Conference held at Baltimore, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1780, the

following Minutes were made on the subject referred to:

"*Quest.* 16. Ought not this Conference to require those traveling Preachers who hold slaves, to give promises to set them free?

"*Answ.* Yes.

"*Quest.* 17. Does this Conference acknowledge that slave-keeping is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society, contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion, and doing that which we would not others should do to us and ours? Do we pass our disapprobation on all our friends who keep slaves, and advise their freedom?

"*Answ.* Yes."

At the same meeting, the Conference decided that "the Assistant ought to meet the Negroes himself, and appoint as helpers in his absence, proper white persons, and not suffer them to stay late and meet by themselves."

At the Conference holden at Ellis's Preaching-House, on the sixth of May, 1783, and at Baltimore on the twenty-seventh of the same month, the following Minutes were made:

"*Quest.* 10. What shall be done with our local Preachers who hold slaves, contrary to the laws which authorize their freedom, in any of the United States?

"*Answ.* We will try them another year. In the meantime, let every Assistant deal faithfully and plainly with every one, and report to the next Conference. It may then be necessary to suspend them."

At the next Conference, held at Ellis's, on the last day of April, 1784, and at Baltimore, on the twenty-eighth of May, the subject was again discussed and the result will be seen in the following Minute:

"*Quest.* 12. What shall we do with our friends that will buy and sell slaves?

"*Answ.* If they buy with no other de-

sign than to hold them as slaves, and have been previously warned, they shall be turned out; and permitted to sell on no condition.

"*Quest.* 13. What shall we do with our local Preachers who will not emancipate their slaves in the States where the laws admit it?

"*Answ.* Try those in Virginia another year, and suspend the preachers in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey."

"*Quest.* 22. What shall be done with our traveling Preachers that now are, or hereafter shall be, possessed of negroes, and refuse to manumit them where the law permits?

"*Answ.* Employ them no more."

At the next Conference, however—that which organized the first Methodist Episcopal Church in America, in January, 1785—there seems to have been some re-action on the subject, if not a compromise with the evil, which had been so emphatically denounced by the Conference of 1780, as "contrary to the laws of God, man and nature; hurtful to Society, contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion," etc.; and the following is the record of that movement, from the official *Minutes* of the Conference:

"It is recommended to all our brethren to suspend the execution of the Minute on Slavery, till the deliberations of a future Conference; and that an equal space of time be allowed all our members for consideration, when the Minute shall be put in force.

"N.B.—We do hold in the deepest abhorrence, the practice of Slavery; and shall not cease to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means."

We have not yet discovered any action which removed this suspension of the execution of the Minutes of 1780, 1783, 1784 and 1785; and, so far as the Conferences are concerned, if we are not mistaken, the Methodist Slaveholders of

Virginia were never subsequently annoyed by their immediate ecclesiastical superiors, either by threats of suspension from Church-fellowship or by suspension itself.

H. B. D.

### III.—QUERIES.

ROBERT COUCH.—I find in a list of books printed for, and sold by, John Lawrence, at the Angel in the Poultry, over against the Compter, London, which list is appended to the Works of Lord Delamer, 1694, the following title:

"*Praxis Catholica*; or, the Country-man's universal Remedy; Wherein is plainly and briefly laid down the nature, matter, manner, place and cure of most diseases incident to the body of Man, not hitherto discovered; whereby any one of an ordinary Capacity may apprehend the true cause of his distempers, wherein his Cure consists, and the means to effect it; together with rules how to order Children in the most violent disease of Vomiting and Looseness, &c., useful for Seamen and Travellers. Also an account of an Incomparable Powder for Wounds or Hurts, which cures any ordinary ones at once dressing. Written by Robert Couch, sometimes Practitioner in Physick and Chirurgery at Boston in New England. Now Published with divers useful Additions (for Publick Benefit) by Ch. Pack, Operator in Chymistry."

Is anything further known of Robert Couch, the author of this book?

BOSTON.

### IV.—REPLIES.

BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL.—(H. M. x. 292.)—The *Cerberus*, a thirty-six gun frigate, was the vessel that carried to England, General Gage's official account of the Battle of Bunker's Hill. She was commanded by Captain Chads; and took

out three thousand letters from the British Army to their friends at home. Gage's account was dated June 25th, eight days after the battle; the *Cerberus* no doubt sailed forthwith. She arrived at Portsmouth, England, on the twenty-fifth of July; and was immediately docked, repaired, and sent back to Boston, with letters of recall to General Gage, where she arrived on the twenty-sixth of September. The official account was at once published by Government, though news of the battle had reached Falmouth on the nineteenth of July, obtained by a news-boat of that place, which spoke a New-England vessel bound up the Channel. The Captain gave the boat an American newspaper of June 24th, containing a hurried account of the battle; some of the details were ridiculously incorrect, as for instance, "during the fight, Gen. Putnam was reinforced with 6,000 fresh troops and 27 field pieces." The London papers were filled, for weeks, with melancholy details of the sanguinary fight, taken from the letters of the survivors. The terrible slaughter of British officers, being greater, in proportion to the privates, than in any of their Continental campaigns, excited great comment. It was considered a victory too dearly purchased, even on Gage's statement. On the thirty-first of July, six days after the official account was published, a ship was cleared at the London Custom House for Boston, with two thousand coffins.

The *Cerberus* had arrived in Boston only a few weeks previous to the battle, with Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, as passengers.

R.  
Washington, D. C.

WINNISIMET FERRY.—(H. M. x. 292.)—Winnisimet was the Indian name for Chelsea, Mass. Winnisimet Ferry (one of the oldest in the country, having been established in 1631,) connected then, and

during the Revolution, Chelsea with the north part of Boston.  
Washington, D. C. R.

CONCERT HALL.—(H. M. x. 292.)—This Hall, at the corner of Court and Hanover streets, Boston, was built about the middle of the last century; but was not so designated in a deed of 1754, when it was sold for £2,000, lawful money. In 1769, it was again sold for £1,000 sterling; and was then termed "CONCERT HALL." The whole building was about forty-nine by sixty-nine feet. It was used for many years as a Tavern. The Hall was in the second story; was about sixty by thirty feet, and admired for its elegant proportions and general appearance. It was formerly used by the Masons, and, in the early years of the Revolution, by the Sons of Liberty; also, in later years for political meetings. The Society of Cincinnati held their meetings there for nearly half a century. The original building, I think, is still standing. Further particulars in regard to this and other ancient buildings, and the antiquities of Boston generally, can be found in DRAKE'S admirable History of the place.

Washington, D. C. R.

JOHN MORISON.—(H. M. x. 292.)—This gentleman was ordained as a preacher in Peterborough, N. H., (not Mass.,) in 1766. He left in a few years, and was in Charleston, S. C., in 1772. He returned North, and joined the American Army at Cambridge, Mass., in 1775, but went over to the British immediately after the battle of Bunker's Hill; and received a position in their Commissary Department. While in Boston, in September, 1775, as appears from DRAPER'S *Gazette*, he "received a call to the elegant new church in Brattle Square, vacated by the flight of Dr. COOPER. His first sermon was excellent, and delivered to a genteel audience;" and he designed "to show the fatal consequence of sow-

ing sedition and conspiracy amongst parishioners, which this pulpit has been most wickedly practising ever since the corner-stone was laid." In 1778, he was proscribed and banished from New Hampshire. He died at Charleston, S. C., at the close of 1782. His widow was living as late as 1822. These facts are gleaned from the new edition of SABINE'S *Lives of the Loyalists*.  
R.

Washington, D. C.

HARRY ROOKE.—(H. M. x. 291.)—I can find no evidence that such a person was an Aid-de-Camp to General Gage at the battle of Bunker's Hill. His name is not mentioned in the official account, nor in any other that I have seen. It was stated that every one of Gage's Aids were killed or wounded. Lieutenant Page, of the Engineers, was one of the badly wounded; was sent to England, and died ten months after the battle—the last survivor of the General's Aids, who were in the fight, so says *The London Chronicle* for that year. A "Capt. 'Rooke' was Aid to Sir Wm. Howe in 1776, who succeeded General Gage as Commander-in-Chief in North America, as will be seen in *The Royal Kalendar* for 1776.  
R.

Washington, D. C.

JOHN MORISON. (H. M. x. 292.)—We welcome to our columns the following careful "Reply" to the "Query" on this subject.—ED. HIST. MAG.

NASHUA, N. H., Oct. 29th, 1866.

MR. HENRY B. DAWSON:

My Dear Sir:—In the September number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is a query from "S. L. B.," of Augusta, Me., requesting "information in regard to 'Mr. Morrison, a preacher at Peterboro', 'Mass., before the Revolution, who was compelled to leave that place, and afterwards joined the American army, 'was engaged at the battle of Bunker's

"Hill, but deserted to the English soon after."

In reply I would say, that Rev. John Morison was ordained at Peterboro', N. H., (not Mass., there is no Peterboro' in Mass.) Nov. 26, 1766. He was born at Pathfoot, in Scotland, May 22, 1743, and graduated at Edinburgh, Feb. 17, 1765. He was a man of decided ability, but intemperate and licentious. He became so intoxicated at a social gathering, on one occasion, as to become unable to walk, but the matter was concealed from all but a few. Soon his habits, however, became notoriously known, and he was suspended for three months. He finally relinquished his connection with his Society, in March, 1772. He then visited South Carolina; then he returned and joined the army at Cambridge, in 1775. He was present at Bunker's Hill, but did not take part in it, alleging that his gun-lock was not in order. The next day he joined the British, and continued with them till his death, which took place at Charleston, S. C., Dec. 10, 1782. He married Sarah Ferguson, who survived him till 1824. They had a son, John Morison, who died about 1800, having received his education at Phillips' Exeter Academy, where for a time he was, also, a teacher.

Respectfully yours,  
B. B. WHITEMORE.

MASSACHUSETTS ELECTION SERMONS. (H. M. x. 156.)—In reply to MEMO, who says, "Perhaps some of your readers may be able to furnish lists of those in other libraries, public or private," I have those of the following years: 1734, 1736, 1742, 1744, 1747, 1754, 1756, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1765, 1766, 1768-'73, 1784, 1787, 1791, 1794, 1796, 1800-1866. I find also the following duplicates, which may help somebody: 1756, 1772, 1784, 1787, 1800, 1811, 1819, 1821, 1823, 1826, 1827, 1830-'33, 1835-'66. I have Cotton Mather's Convention Sermon, 1722; was

an earlier one printed? The earliest New Hampshire Election Sermon, if it can be called "election," which I have, is that of 1786, by Dr. Haven. What was the first printed? The earliest New Hampshire Convention Sermon which I have, is that of Dr. Haven, 1760. What was the first printed? The earliest Dudleian Lecture I have is that of 1757. Was that of 1756 the first one printed? I have Richard Mather's Farewell to the Church in Dorchester, printed in 1657, by Samuel Green, Cambridge; I should be glad to know what public libraries have a copy.

A. H. Q.

NEW BEDFORD, MASS.,  
October, 1866.

COTTON MATHER'S "PARENTATOR." (H. M. vol. x. p. 320.)—Your correspondent "ENQUIRER" will find a copy of the *Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and Death of the Ever-Memorable Dr. Increase Mather*, 12mo, Boston, 1724, in the Library of the New York Historical Society. "Parentator," to which Mr. Palfrey's reference is directed, is the headline of the title; but the book is generally known as "*The Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather.*"

W. K.

## V.—PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

### 1. VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Vermont Historical Society was held at the Society's room, in the Capitol, at Montpelier, on Tuesday, October 16th, at 2 P.M., Rev. PLINY H. WHITE, President, in the chair.

A Committee was appointed to report a list of officers for the year ensuing, and submitted the following report, which was accepted and adopted.

#### OFFICERS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Rev. PLINY H. WHITE, Coventry—*President*.  
Rev. WILLIAM H. LORD, Montpelier, Hon. GEORGE W. BENEDICT, Burlington, Gen. JOHN W. PHELPS, Brattleboro—*Vice-Presidents*.  
GEORGE F. HOUGHTON, St. Albans—*Recording Secretary*.

ALBERT D. HAGER, Proctorsville, HENRY CLARK, Poultney—*Corresponding Secretaries.*

CHARLES REED, Montpelier—*Librarian and Cabinet Keeper.*

HERMON D. HOPKINS, Montpelier—*Treasurer.*

*Curators*—HILAND HALL, Bennington County;

DUGALD STEWART, Addison Co.; HENRY HALL, Rutland Co.; Rev. JOHN A. HICKS, Chittenden Co.; D. GILBERT DEXTER, Windham Co.; LUTHER L. DUTCHER, Franklin Co.; JOHN WILDER, Windsor Co.

HON. CHARLES REED, the Librarian of the Society, submitted the following report:

#### REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

##### *To the Vermont Historical Society:*

The past year has been fortunate in adding to the Historical material of our collection. The accompanying list is a statement of all donations received. The names of the donors are as follows:

Henry Clark, Esq.; Rev. A. G. Pease; Chicago Historical Society; Hon. J. R. Cleaveland; A. E. Leavenworth, Esq.; Rev. C. E. Ferrin; Burlington Times Office; the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; Henry B. Dawson, Morrisania, N. Y.; Thomas H. Canfield; U. S. Department of Agriculture; N. H. Historical Society; American Antiquarian Society; Hon. Geo. F. Edmunds; Henry Onderdonk, Jamaica, L. I.; William A. Whitehead, Newark, N. J.; Rhode Island Historical Society; Hon. Winslow C. Watson; Edward Shippen, Philadelphia, Pa.; Charles H. Hart, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.; Edward M. Stone, Esq., Providence, R. I.; Hon. E. P. Walton; Mass. Historical Society; New England Historic-Genealogical Society; Joel Munsell, Esq., Albany, N. Y.; City of Boston; Joseph A. Prentiss, Esq.; Hon. Richard Fletcher, Boston, Mass.; Rev. S. Parmalee; State of Vermont; Dr. S. Keith; M. A. Stickney, Salem, Mass.; Conn. Academy of Arts and Sciences; Rev. Charles S. Smith.

#### AN ORDINATION BALL.

In a package from Judge Cleaveland, of Brookfield, I find a sermon whose title-page is as follows: "A sermon preached in Randolph, June 3rd, 1801, at the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. Tilton Eastman, by John Smith, A.M., Professor of the Learned Languages at Dartmouth College. Printed at Randolph, (Vermont) by S. Wright and J. Denio, M.D.C.C.C.I."

With this sermon is a ball-card which reads thus:

#### "ORDINATION BALL.

"The company of Miss Lydia Egerton is requested at Mr. J. Warren's Hall, in Randolph,

"on Thursday, the 14th inst., at one of the clock "P.M.

"B. Egerton,  
"W. Arnold,  
"A. Egerton,  
"J. Edson,

} Managers.

"Randolph, June 3d, 1801."

It may be well for some of our members to investigate this conjunction and report whether, as an historical fact, such unions were common in those days, which are not tolerated in ours; and how an Ordination and an Ordination Ball were jointly conducted.

#### DONATIONS.

*The Doleful Tragedy of the Raising of Jo. Burnham*, also presented by Judge Cleaveland, reminds us how the Anti-Masonic Excitement swept Vermont, disturbed the politics of New York and Pennsylvania, and had its candidate for President of the United States. Mr. White has rendered this copy valuable by writing for it an appendix, in which is given a brief narrative of the affair, and also the names of the veritable persons in Woodstock and vicinity, caricatured and burlesqued as the *Dramatis Personæ* of the play. The affair, besides being made famous by the poetical pen of Mr. Kendall, in the above play, was thought worthy of an investigation by a Legislative Committee.

Rev. Simeon Parmalee, D.D., of Georgia, has presented several hundred pamphlets and a few bound volumes relating to the Ecclesiastical History and Benevolent Associations of the State, and many periodicals of historical value.

Hon. Richard Fletcher, of Boston, has presented a large collection of pamphlets and addresses in regard to the political history of the country, for the past twenty-five years.

Matthew A. Stickney, of Salem, Mass., has presented, among many curiosities and documents, a powder-horn, which his grandfather, Jedediah Stickney, brought home to Rowley, Mass., from the old French war. This was given him by his fellow soldier, Samuel Robinson, with his name and the date on it, thus: "Samuel Robinson, 1754."

This old horn saw the bloody fights on the banks of Lake George, and its owner must have belonged to that corps that Baneroff thus describes: "There were six hundred New England rangers, armed with a fire-lock and a hatchet; under their right arm a powder-horn." Robinson became a Captain; and in exchanging his "fire-lock" for the sword, naturally gave his powder-horn to his comrade. Robinson was among the early settlers in Bennington, and the founder of the family that has furnished to Ver-

mont, two Governors, two Chief Justices, and two United States Senators.

Most families have printed memorials of the times, which, preserved on our shelves, might furnish "its form and pressure" for this generation to the next, instead of being sold into the insatiable maw of the paper-rag collector.

It has come to my knowledge that within a few years, the last copy known to exist of the first newspaper printed at Montpelier went, piecemeal, to kindle a winter's fire, and within two miles of the Capitol. And I have been told that a large and probably more perfect collection of Vermont Official Documents than could be found elsewhere, collected by a late deceased gentleman in Bennington County, was sent by his legal representatives to the paper mill. The perpetrators of such sacrilege ought to be punished as for any other serious crime. Ignorance of the historical or pecuniary value of such documents is without excuse. Though the school-master is abroad in Vermont, he has not yet reached all our citizens.

#### OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE.

This office is singularly defective in public documents, owing, without doubt, to its peripatetic character, previous to 1835. I do not imagine that there is much of historical value in the office that is not contained in our published Laws and Journals. But whatever there is, there is no obvious way of reaching it. It has not been considered the duty of the Secretary of State to know anything about it. If the contents of the Secretary's office could be properly catalogued and printed, it would save many fruitless inquiries and searches for what is expected to be found in such a place, and generally is not there.

#### COLLECTIONS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

As the first volume of the Collections of this Society will in some measure supply the deficiency of State Papers, the Society ought to be able to rely on the State for a liberal subscription for the volume.

In 1821, the State appropriated \$300 toward the publication of Slade's *State Papers*, and received fifty copies. This is the only sum, of any amount, Vermont ever paid for printing its early history; a purpose that all other civilized communities have delighted to pursue until the data were exhausted.

Respectfully submitted,  
CHARLES REED,  
Librarian.

Montpelier, Oct. 16, 1866.

Albert D. Hager, Esq., presented on behalf of

Mr. A. F. Styles, of Burlington, his series of two hundred photographic views of Vermont scenery, which were gratefully received; and Mr. Styles, on motion, was made a life member of the Society.

On motion by the Rev. William H. Lord, it was resolved that the Librarian procure a substantially bound album, large enough to contain at least five hundred photographs, and take early measures to insert therein the photograph portraits and autographs of members of the Historical Society and distinguished Vermonters.

On motion by Hon. Hiland Hall, the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, was elected an Honorary Member; and on motion by Rev. Pliny H. White, Elisha Harrington, Esq., of Waterloo, C. E., was chosen a Corresponding Member.

The following gentlemen were elected Resident Members of the Society: Chauncey K. Williams, Rutland; William B. Denison, Irasburgh; Gen. W. W. Grout, Barton; Rev. Aldace Walker, Wallingford; Samuel H. Stevens, Enosburgh; Dana R. Bailey, St. Albans; M. Carter Hall, Bennington; Dr. Volney Ross, Brandon; Samuel W. Tryon, Westhaven; Dr. William McCollom, Woodstock; Albert Clarke, Rochester; Rev. S. B. Pettengill, Royalton; Dr. E. H. Pettengill, Saxton's River; Edwin K. Jones and Jasper H. Orcutt, Northfield.

Col. H. D. Hopkins, Treasurer, made a report, from which it appeared that the cash assets of the Society amounted to \$653.18.

The Society took a recess, to meet at 7 o'clock P.M., at the Representatives' Hall, at which time the Society met, and after prayer by the Rev. J. G. Hale, of Poultney, the President announced that an effort had been made to secure an eulogy upon the late Senator Collamer, which was unavailing through the illness of the Hon. James Barrett, of Woodstock, who had been invited to prepare and deliver the same.

The annual address was then delivered by the Rev. J. E. Rankin, of Charlestown, Mass. The subject of his discourse was "The Sources of New England Civilization," which was a very scholarlike and elegant production, and well delivered and well received by the large audience in attendance.

Mr. Rankin began by saying that a nationality is a growth, as much as an oak or pine; a growth, not merely from its germ, but from the soil, the air, the sunshine, the tempests. The Orinoco, emptying itself into the Atlantic, convinced Columbus that he approached a continent, for only a continent could be the source of such a river. What are the sources of New England Civilization? This was the topic selected for the hour.

*I. New England History.* Some men despise all historical studies. But history does more to

shape a Nation's character and fix its tendencies than the most princely men of any generation. Vinet says, "Eminent men do one work, their 'memory another, and often the more durable 'and best.'" Columbus lives in his deed. The Pilgrims not in their deed alone, but in their memory. He discovered a continent, they determined its institutions. And so of the events of the Revolution. Can a man walk among the ruins of Ticonderoga without recalling the stalwart figure of him who once stood at its gate?—Thus our Warrens and Allens reappear in our Winthrops and our Stannards.

II. The second source of New England Civilization mentioned was New England's climate and soil. We talk about subduing Nature. Nature subdues us. The noblest part of the victory is the development of certain qualities in the victor. The speaker dwelt at length upon the insensible influence of scenery, and the sacrifice made by him who leaves New England.

III. The third source of New England Civilization are New England institutions. Men make institutions, but institutions make men as well. The *family* is the first type of civil government, the first school of the future citizen. The speaker alluded to the fact that the children of foreign-born citizens know not the meaning of New England homes; are not taught under the moral influence of law; have bad examples set them by their parents. What a power in developing the boy, Daniel Webster, was his New England home. The *public school* of New England is almost as peculiar as the family. And here is the hope of New England respecting the children of foreigners. But they must be brought to understand the meaning and sacredness of law, not as a physical restraint, but as an invisible power and influence. Not cast out Beelzebub by Beelzebub. The *Church*, too, with its sacred day and ordinances, gives stability and serenity to New England. France tried a republic without a Bible and a Sabbath, and failed. A recognition of God's presence is essential to a recognition of human equality. Garrison and Phillips derived their humanity from the Bible. Christianity deserves credit for the Christian characteristics and acts of even infidels. Next, the *State* was mentioned as the only remaining institution.—Here comes in the mighty agency of the press, catching and reflecting the laws and life of the people; recording crimes and penalties; discussing public measures and public men.

The speaker closed by showing the importance of preserving the New England Civilization for New England and for the country.

This was followed by a memoir of Gov. Jonas Galusha by the Rev. Pliny H. White, President of the Society, which contained many facts of great interest and value.

The Eulogy upon the life and character of the late Solomon Foot, U. S. Senator, was pronounced by the Hon. Geo. F. Edmunds, of Burlington, to a very large and delighted audience.

On motion by the Hon. Hiland Hall, *Resolved*, that the thanks of this Society are due and are hereby tendered to the Rev. J. E. Rankin, Rev. Pliny H. White, and the Hon. George F. Edmunds, for their able, interesting and acceptable addresses on this occasion; and that they be requested to furnish copies to the Recording Secretary, to be deposited in the archives of the Society.

On motion by Henry Clark, Esq., *Resolved*, that the Rev. William H. Lord be invited to address the Society in the presence of the General Assembly, at such time during the present session as may suit his convenience.

On introducing the resolution, Mr. Clark remarked that as the Society had listened to a chaste address upon the sources whence spring the elements of New England character, and a fine analysis of the life of one of Vermont's most eminent chief magistrates, and as a fitting close, an appreciating and eloquent tribute to one of Vermont's most distinguished sons and statesmen, he was desirous that the Rev. Mr. Lord would deliver before them his address upon Vermont.

The Society then, on motion, took a recess to meet at the Library, on Wednesday morning, at 9 o'clock, when, on motion by George F. Houghton, Esq., Benjamin H. Hall, Esq., of Troy, N. Y., was appointed Orator, and Edward J. Phelps, Esq., of Burlington, Substitute for the year ensuing.

On motion, the Hon. James Barrett, of Woodstock, was invited to prepare and deliver an Eulogy on the Life and Character of the late Hon. Jacob Collamer.

On motion by A. D. Hager, Esq., Henry Clark, Esq., was requested to prepare a paper on the General Assembly of Vermont, for the year 1784.

The following addition to the Constitution of the Society was prepared; and on motion, laid upon the table until the next special meeting of the Society:

ARTICLE.—Upon the payment by a member of the Society of twenty dollars, he shall be constituted a life member thereof, and be exempt from the payment of annual dues.

The Society, on motion, adjourned to meet again at the call of the President, during the session of the Legislature.

This meeting of the Vermont Historical Society was in all respects a gratifying success, and gave renewed assurance of increasing vitality and usefulness.

## 2.—AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

The fifty-fourth annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society was held at Antiquarian Hall, in Worcester, on Saturday, the 20th ult., at 11 A.M., Hon. Stephen Salisbury, the President, in the chair.

The report of the Council, made and read by Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, of Boston, was highly interesting. He stated that the aim of the Society has been the dissemination of antiquarian knowledge and the furnishing of means and material in aid of those persons who labor in the same field with us. As the publications are necessary for spreading knowledge, so is the library equally necessary for affording material for the workman, and the books and manuscripts which are in the library yield this in a most eminent degree; for in works appertaining to the department of archæology, no library in the country is more rich in the early printed works relating to our own history than that of the Society, and none is more frequently consulted by scholars and antiquarians, either in person or by correspondence with our intelligent and willing Librarian, Mr. Samuel F. Haven, who is at present in Europe, for the double purpose of improving his impaired health and furthering the objects of this Society. During his absence, the library has been under the charge of Mr. Edmund M. Barton, the Assistant Librarian, who has faithfully and acceptably discharged the responsible duties of his position. He reports a catalogue of the donors and of 132 books and 1,454 pamphlets, received from various sources during the past six months. In expressing the thanks of the Society to the generous public for their continued liberal supply to the library, the gift of an excellent copy of the admirable and spirited bust of the late Jared Sparks, LL.D., by Powers, from Mrs. Sparks, was especially mentioned.

The report takes notice of the gift of George Peabody, Esq., to the oldest and most honored University of the Commonwealth, with high commendation, the terms of which especially recognize the objects of this Society, and particularly distinguish it by the appointment of the present President as one of the Board of Trustees of the fund of One hundred and fifty thousand dollars, given for the foundation and maintenance of a Museum and Professorship of American Archæology and Ethnology in connection with Harvard University. The princely bounties and judicious endowments which Mr. Peabody has heretofore so liberally distributed not only in Massachusetts, but in other States and in foreign lands, required only this appropriation to make his gifts the most various, the most judicious, and the most philanthropic ever emanating from an American citizen.

The report gave biographical notices of Dr. Abraham Rand Thompson, of Charlestown, and of Hon. Lewis Cass, members of the Society, who have died since the last meeting, both of them among the most venerable and most respected associates of the Society.

Nathaniel Paine, Esq., Treasurer, read his report of the finances, which showed a satisfactory condition of the several funds.

The report of the Council was then accepted, and referred to the Committee on Publication, to be printed.

Hon. Levi Lincoln could not forbear to express his fervent congratulations to his associates that so great a thing had been done for the benefit of historical learning, and that an added claim to the gratitude of his country had come from Mr. Peabody. This foundation was in precise accordance with the views of the founder of this Society; and it is also in unison with our opinions and wishes, that Harvard College should be a coadjutor with us in the same field.

Rev. Dr. Ellis, of Charlestown, remarked that it was providential that such agencies came at the proper time in the series of years. Our ancestors could not form Antiquarian Societies; they formed the material. At no previous time could such an agency be organized. He illustrated the imperfection and crudeness of the earlier attempts at antiquarian learning. He said the notice of this donation of Mr. Peabody, in the report of the Council, was appropriate, as the duty of those officers required, but he hoped that the opinions and feelings which had been manifested by the members present would be expressed by the adoption of formal resolutions.

Hon. Mr. Lincoln then offered the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the members of the American Antiquarian Society most gratefully recognize the wise direction of the munificence of their honored countryman, George Peabody, Esq., in providing so generously for the foundation and support of a Museum and Professorship in the interest of Archæological and Ethnological science, in connection with Harvard University.

"*Resolved*, That we proffer our especial thanks to Mr. Peabody, for the confidence and kindness manifested by him toward this Society, in appointing the Hon. Stephen Salisbury one of the Trustees of this fund, and in designating as his successor the future President of this Society.

"*Resolved*, That the President is requested to communicate a copy of these resolutions to Mr. Peabody."

Hon. Richard Frothingham, of Charlestown, seconded the resolutions, and expressed his great satisfaction with Mr. Peabody's benefaction, and alluded to instances of the awakening and slow

growth of the interest in antiquarian matters on this continent.

Rev. Dr. Sweetser, of Worcester, also expressed his high approval of Mr. Peabody's institution.

The President remarked that in contemplating the wise liberality of Mr. Peabody in its relation to ourselves, it was a pleasant consideration that this honorable recognition of the fidelity of this Society to its objects, and this systematic and permanent co-operation in our chosen field, has originated with a lover of all good works, who had not been drawn to our fraternity by ties of membership. As our strict By-laws forbid the election of a member without propounding and recommendation by the Council, we can only express our feeling at this time by the empty wish, *Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses.*

The resolutions were then adopted by a unanimous vote.

The President congratulated the Society on the presence of their brother, Mr. Charles Deane, who, two days after his return from Europe, has come to report in regard to the attention which he, and Mr. Samuel F. Haven, and Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, have given to the interests of the Society in Europe, as they had kindly undertaken, and especially as Delegates to the proposed Congress of Antiquaries, at Antwerp, in August last. As the return of Mr. Deane was not known to the President until the opening of this meeting, he had prepared, from interesting correspondence with the gentlemen of the delegation, some slight notice of their faithfulness to the Society, which he would offer in advance of any personal statement of Mr. Deane. The opportunity of attending that Congress was lost by its postponement for one year, on account of the political condition of Europe and the danger of the cholera. This strange adjournment, a few days before the proposed meeting of the Congress, naturally excited the astonishment and chagrin of our brethren, who had traveled three thousand miles to fulfill the wishes of the Society. Mr. Haven wrote that he examined in England a fragment of the record of the Council of the London Company, from May, 1622 to June, 1623, which, though it had been consulted by some of our historians, had never been printed. Mr. Haven proposed to procure a copy of this, to be published in our Transactions, as a companion to the fragment of the record of the London Company, from 1623 to 1629, which, with a sketch of the origin of the Company and biographical notices of its members, from the pen of Mr. Haven, is a part of the third volume of our Transactions, and one of the most acceptable contributions to the early history of the settlement of our country. Mr. Haven mentioned that he obtained the opportunity of procuring for this Society a copy of Thomason's Library, so-called—a catalogue of every docu-

ment, trivial or weighty, printed in England from December, 1640, to May, 1661, containing thirty-two thousand titles of articles in the British Museum—a most valuable historical depository. Mr. Haven's last date was at Lausanne, where his health seems to be improved by the good influences of that lovely spot, which has the highest interest for him and for us, as it was in this neighborhood that the remains of the Lacustine habitations and other aboriginal relics were discovered; and there are large collections of these objects in public and private museums, and scholars deeply engaged in the study of their character, accessible to Mr. Haven, for comparison with aboriginal remains in our country and in other parts of the earth, which has been a special study of Mr. Haven. It will be remembered that Mr. Deane was requested by our Society to direct his attention to the obscure subject of Cabot's voyages, in regard to which he communicated to the Society some important facts and inferences, at our meeting in October last. Mr. Deane's letter, which is full of interest, mentions his successful search for Sebastian Cabot's *Map-Monde*, concerning which we hope he will now more fully speak to us. He also writes that he visited the almost inaccessible library at Fulham; and was able to verify passages of the copy of Bradford's History heretofore obtained by himself. It is stated that Rev. Dr. Peabody has been very active in his researches, but no account of his results has been received. It is understood that he is now on his way to visit Egypt and Greece.

Mr. Deane then said, though the delegation were disappointed in not attending the Congress of Antiquaries, their time had not passed without profit for historical objects. He had the satisfaction of seeing the original *Map-Monde* of Cabot, of date 1544, in the Imperial Library in Paris, from which M. Jomard published a copy in his *Monuments of Geography*. It had been stated in this country, that M. Jomard, who died about three years since, had published only three parts of this Map; and that the part relating to America had not appeared. But all the four parts were published; and Mr. Deane procured a copy of the Map for the Society.\* On the sides of the original

\* The "MAPPE-MONDE" of Sebastian Cabot referred to by Mr. Deane is no new discovery to the antiquarians of New York, who are long familiar with the publication of M. Jomard, and the fact that the 1st part (most important to Americans) was not issued with the 2d, 3d, and 4th, which appeared in the "7me livraison," but accompanied the map of Gerard Mercator in the "8me livraison." We know of one copy at least in this vicinity, including the latter, and probably the sets in other collections here have been completed since we had occasion to refer to the subject several months ago. This map is of the highest importance. The bookseller's circular states that it bears the date of 1544, and that the original contains numerous and extended inscriptions or marginal notes, which have not been reproduced in the fac-similes as published, but are promised in the volume of "texte explicatif," by M. D'Avezac, to whom

Map is a large amount of text, in Spanish and Latin, being an account of early voyages of discovery. M. Jomard intended to have published this also, in a volume of "Text Explicatif;" but he died in the midst of his labors. He spoke in a very interesting manner of examinations of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Imperial Library of France, and the English Record offices; and acknowledged the courtesy and facilities which were now extended to those who wished to examine these treasures.

Rev. Dr. Alonzo Hill, of Worcester, said his attention had been drawn, by the report of the Council, to the importance of the preservation by this Society of journals, letters, and other papers, relating to the late war. He thought the Society ought to take measures to obtain for deposit here, journals and other memorials of the field and the hospital, which, though fondly cherished at first by personal affection, are liable to fall into neglect and be lost in private hands. Dr. Hill then offered the following resolution:

"Whereas, A large amount of valuable material for history remains in the hands of families and friends of deceased and living soldiers, and is in danger of being irrecoverably lost, therefore

"Resolved, That the Librarian be directed to solicit the presentation of the originals, or copies, of such letters, journals, and written documents, from the army engaged in the late civil war and from the hospitals, as friends may be willing to furnish. It is understood that application shall be made for these precious documents, as early and as extensively as possible."

Hon. Ira M. Barton, of Worcester, advocated the adoption of these resolutions. He thought that as time went on, the friends of the soldier would give these papers to the Society as to a more secure depository; and that their value may be increased by being placed with similar treasures. He spoke of his own knowledge of the value of these treasures; and particularly mentioned the best account of Ball's Bluff, which he had received from one of our very intelligent private soldiers. The resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote.

The officers of the last year were re-elected by unanimous votes; and the Society adjourned.

the completion of the whole work has been intrusted since the death of M. Jomard.

When Buckingham Smith was in Paris, several years ago, he made a copy of the marginal inscription or note relating to the American coast, and it was at his instigation that, before it was known here that the work would be completed, arrangements were begun to secure a fac-simile of the then wanting first part for the New York Historical Society.

We suppose it is a "brilliant discovery" to find out any thing that is not known in Boston, and we must put in a prior claim in this instance, as somebody else did, in reference to the long lost MS. of Bradford's History, which was discovered in Boston ten years after it had been exploited by Dr. Anderson, in his well-known *History of the Colonial Church*.—ED. HIST. MAG.

### 3.—BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

Boston, Mass., Thursday, October 4.—The regular monthly meeting of this Society was held this afternoon.

Mr. Appleton, having returned from Europe resumed the duties of Secretary. The records of the last meeting were read, and several donations were announced.

The Secretary proposed as an Honorary Member, Dr. Clay, President of the Manchester (Eng.) Numismatic Society; and under a suspension of the sixth By-law, he was immediately elected.

The President announced that copies of the address delivered in January, 1865, by Dr. Lewis on resigning the Presidency, having been reprinted from the *American Journal of Numismatics* were ready for distribution to members.

The President exhibited a heavy gold medal, a fine specimen of South-American work. It was struck to commemorate the Congress of the South-American Republics, held at Lima, in October, 1864. The names of the principal deputies are on the medal. The Secretary exhibited a collection of about thirty pieces of the English gold series, extending from Edward III. to George I. They were all in beautiful condition, and included nobles of Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., and Edward IV., angels of Edward IV., Henry VII., and Henry VIII., and sovereigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Cromwell. The rarest coin is the Oxford three-pound piece of Charles I.

He also showed three American rarities, bought in London; the first is a "wreath" cent of 1793, in perfectly brilliant condition; another is an impression in silver of the medal known as the "Voltaire" Washington, with the head of Jeremy Bentham; and the last and most precious is a bronze medal of Washington, with an old and ugly head, but an exquisite reverse. In a wreath of olive and oak, is an extended figure of Fame blowing a trumpet; and beneath her are the words "Emancipator of America." The medal is of size 28. The Secretary stated that he knew of only one duplicate of the silver medal, viz.: that in the Imperial Museum at Vienna; and the bronze is believed to be entirely unknown to collectors.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Ellis for the manner in which he had discharged the duties of Acting Secretary, during the past year.

The Society passed some time in animated and interesting discussion, and adjourned at 5½ P. M.

### 4.—NEW-ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

Boston, Mass., October 3d.—A quarterly meet-

ing was held this afternoon, the President, Hon. John A. Andrew, LL.D., in the chair.

Edward S. Rand, Jr., the Secretary of the Directors, announced that the Board had chosen, as Publishing Committee for the ensuing year, John Ward Dean, Wm. B. Trask, Rev. H. M. Dexter, D.D., Wm. H. Whitmore, Wm. S. Appleton, Rev. Elias Nason and Wm. B. Towne.

John H. Sheppard, the Librarian, reported that since the last meeting there have been donated to the Society, 44 bound volumes and 79 pamphlets, 5 large bundles of manuscript, bequeathed to the Society by the late Miss Charlotte Ewer, deceased, and other papers.

Rev. Calvin E. Stowe, D.D., of Hartford, Vice President of the Society for Connecticut, then read an elaborate article on the British Aristocracy, presenting the history of this branch of the English Government in a point of view novel and deeply interesting. It was the result of personal observations in his visits to England, in 1836 and 1853. The nobility of Great Britain, their grades, appearance, Parliament, and mode of perpetuating their order, were presented to the audience in the usual lucid style of Professor Stowe.

He said that the British Aristocracy was one of the most remarkable institutions of the age. It has outlived all the circumstances which gave it birth. It is an incongruity in all its relations to modern society. It is essentially onerous and oppressive. Yet while the hereditary aristocracies of all the other parts of Europe, except Russia, have faded and become powerless, this alone stands, fresh, strong, and vigorous, with no symptom of immediate decay, mighty in wealth, in talent, in political efficiency, and even in the affections and pride of the people.

The causes of this are: *First*. The right of primogeniture and the law of entail. No power like the power of land. *Second*. Constant accessions from the Commons, receiving from them, every generation, some of the most vigorous and energetic men, and giving every ambitious man the hope that he may himself, some day, become a nobleman. Of about four hundred and fifty or five hundred members of the House of Peers in 1853, more than half—two hundred and sixty—had received their present titles since 1770. Especially by marrying strong, finely developed women from the untitled ranks. The preservation of the purity of the blood has been the ruin of the other European nobilities. *Third*. The wisdom of always yielding, and making a merit of it, where they must. Not more than one-half the titled nobility of Great Britain have seats in the House of Lords. To be entitled to a seat by hereditary right, one must be a Peer of England, or a Peer of the United Kingdom of England and Scotland, established in the reign of Queen Anne.

All grades of titles, except Dukes, are in the House of Commons, by election.

Seldom more than fifty Lords, of the four hundred and fifty or five hundred, are present at the legislative sessions, no stated number being necessary for a quorum; and in the law sessions, often not more than two besides the law Lords. In 1853, there was one Prince of the Blood, or Royal Duke, (in 1836 there were four,) and the House was composed of Dukes, twenty; Marquises, twenty-three; Earls, one hundred and thirty-five; Viscounts, twenty-eight; Barons, two hundred and eighteen; representative Irish Peers, (chosen for life,) twenty-eight; representative Scotch Peers, (chosen from Parliament to Parliament,) sixteen, and Bishops thirty; English Bishops ranking as Barons, twenty-four—the Bishop of most recent appointment, the Bishop of Sodor and Man, not having a seat—Irish Bishops, who sit by rotation, four. The Sovereign can make a nobleman of any rank, at any time, but can never unmake one. The noblemen have no connection, necessarily, with the places from which they receive their titles; but the bishops all have this connection, except the Archbishop of Canterbury, who has no special connection with Canterbury.

Professor Stowe mentioned, incidentally, the origin of the wool-sack. It is represented as having originated in very early times—when the great business of life was in keeping herds and flocks—in producing the simple necessities of life, and manufacturing, in the primitive way, the fleeces of their flocks, which were their principal material at that time, for that purpose, into clothing. When any dispute arose, the Judge or Justice in the case mounted a wool-sack. Hence the introduction of it into the dignity of the legislative or parliamentary proceedings of Great Britain. Professor Stowe said it looked like a large feather-bed. The Lord Chancellor is said to have taken his seat upon the wool-sack. He never saw him on it, but sitting beside it. He did not know that the Chancellor did not climb upon it occasionally, but he should think he would be very liable to tumble off.

The wool-sack has for ages been termed the seat of the Lord Chancellor, in the House of Lords. It is a large square bag of wool, without back or arms, covered with red cloth. He also described the mace. It is a large rod of brass, and must always be present, or their meetings are not legal. It was this which drew from Cromwell, when he entered the Parliament house, just before dispersing its members, the exclamation, "What means this bauble? take it away," after which he locked up the House, and put the keys in his pocket.

The paper of Professor Stowe was full of minute and interesting facts, which are not patent

here. The thanks of the Society were presented to him, and a copy requested for publication.

Gen. A. B. Underwood read the report of the Committee appointed last spring, to ascertain if possible the date of the Sudbury Fight, in April, 1676, concerning which there has been a remarkable discrepancy among the various authorities. The committee presented much new evidence on the subject, and arrived at the conclusion that the true date was April 21st. The report will appear in the October number of the *Historical and Genealogical Register*.

#### 5.—NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The first meeting of the season was held at the Society's Hall, on Tuesday evening, October 2, 1866; the President, Frederic de Peyster, Esq., in the chair.

Before the reading of the Minutes of the meetings in June, the President submitted some general introductory remarks, and closed with a report of the receipt of two letters, one from the Provincial Secretary of Canada, transmitting some books for the Library; the other from the Trustees of the Church of The Messiah, inviting the members of the Society to assist at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Meeting-house, now in course of construction for that Church.

The Minutes of the Society's last meeting were then read and approved; and the Recording Secretary submitted a letter received by him.

The Librarian reported donations, since the last meeting, from Robert Pell, R. D. Mussey, Hon. E. D. Morgan, Andrew H. Green, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers College, N. J., Richard M. Hunt, Ticknor & Fields, The Library Co. of Phila., George Gibbs, Hon. J. Winthrop Chandler, Frederic A. P. Barnard, D.D., Francis A. Wood, American Freedman's and Union Commission, Mass. Historical Society, New England Historic-Genaealogical Society, D. Appleton & Co., American Philosophical Society, Charles P. Kirkland, LL.D., Iowa State Historical Society, Essex Institute, American Numismatic Society, Prof. S. F. B. Morse, William C. Fowler, C. C. Savage, Philadelphia Board of Health, Hiram P. Crozier, P. L. Rogers, M.D., Francis H. Brown, American Bible Society, American Home Missionary Society, A. Penfield, W. G. Lane, Hon. Richard C. McCormick, Rev. Edwin M. Stone, President de Peyster, Cooper Union, Capt. E. C. Boynton, U. S. A., Miss L. G. Sanford, Jas. L. Butler, Gen. William Irvine, Thos. A. Holt, Astor Library, Henry T. Drowne, William Alexander, F. H. Norton, N. Sands, S. Hastings Grant, John Shrady, Henry C. Carter, Hon. C. A. Peabody, the Provincial Secretary of

Canada, Nathaniel Paine, C. I. Bushnell, Hon. William A. Darling, Rev. Geo. R. Howell, Hon. Wm. A. Graham, Boston Mercantile Library Association, Henry Onderdonk, Jr., State of New York, State of Massachusetts, Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, A. D. F. Randolph Buckingham Smith, E. H. Jenny, J. H. Barner, R. A. Lewis, C. F. Blodget, and Col. Andrew Warner.

Mr. Augustus Schell, from the Executive Committee, reported on the nominations of James Augustus Hamilton, Hubbard W. Mitchell, John A. Hadden, Humphrey P. Thompson, Lewis L. Squire, and George C. Barrett, all of whom were declared duly elected to Resident Membership of the Society.

Seven gentlemen were proposed for Resident Membership; and their applications were referred, under the Rule.

Marshall S. Bidwell, Esq., in behalf of Mr. John B. Hall, presented to the Society, a portrait of the late William L. Stone, by E. D. Marchant.

The presentation was accompanied with a carefully prepared Sketch of the Life and Character of Colonel Stone; and, on motion of Hon. E. C. Benedict, the portrait was accepted, and the thanks of the Society returned to the donor.

The paper of the evening, on "*George Bruce, and his Connection with Printing*," was read by Mr. Charles C. Savage, President of the New York Typographical Society.

It was not such a work as such a subject and such a Society should have commanded; and we heard it with little satisfaction and have since read it with no more. It was, truly, on "George Bruce," but it was *not* on George Bruce's "connection with *Printing*" as much as on his connection with *Printers*—a distinction with a difference. Nor was it on George Bruce, except as a shrewd tradesman and a rigid employer—as one who was faithfully sitting at his bench or jealously leaning over his check-book.

It was our good fortune, many years ago, to become intimately acquainted with this well-known Mechanic; and it was also our privilege to enjoy his respect and intimacy from that day until the close of his honorable career. We knew him in the Mechanics' Institute, when he was associated with Robert Smith and James Bogardus, William Browning and Thomas Ewbank, James R. Chilton and James J. Mapes, Joseph E. Coffee and others, well known among the operative and employing Mechanics of twenty-five years ago, in promoting the public good; and we have seen him as he took his daily walk to his office, or received with characteristic kindness, at that office, those who occasionally called on him for other purposes than buying type or seeking a job. If Mr. Savage ever enjoyed the

like opportunities for knowing the man of whom he spoke, he made poor use of them; if he had not enjoyed them, he was not "the right man in the right place," in attempting to pronounce an eulogy on George Bruce.

Nor was he any more successful in his attempt to speak of Mr. Bruce's "connection with Printing." His anecdotes concerning Mr. Bruce's dealings with his customers or his journeymen were well; but they afforded a sorry fulfillment of the promised story of Mr. Bruce's connection with the Fanshaw, the Chandler, the Hopkins, the Tiebout, the Harper, and other offices, and with their multitudinous productions; with the high grade of taste in the typographic art which has gradually arisen in our midst; and with the perfection of workmanship which has been demanded by that taste, since he became a Master-workman.

Rev. Doctor Osgood moved the usual Resolution of Thanks to the reader; and the Society adopted it.

The President announced the recent decease of Rev. Dr. Hawks, and asked that the subject be referred to the Executive Committee to prepare and report suitable resolutions, at the next meeting. It was referred as suggested by him.

The Recording Secretary read minutes of the death of Walter Underhill and Frederic M. Winston, members of the Society, who have recently deceased—a new feature in the meetings of this Society, which we hope to see repeated whenever its members shall be taken by Death.

The Society then adjourned; and the usual refreshments were subsequently enjoyed by the members and their friends, in the basement.

## 6.—THE LONG-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Regular Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday evening, October 4th, at eight o'clock, Hon. John Greenwood, Vice President, in the chair.

After the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., D.D., Chairman of the Executive Committee, reported that, since the last meeting of the Society, various improvements had been made in the rooms; the entire suite had been thoroughly cleaned; many additional periodicals placed in the Reading Rooms; the Natural History Collections rearranged in a more commodious apartment; and that their comfortable, home-like rooms, by these changes, had been made more attractive than ever.

The new room, opened last June, designed especially for the use of Ladies, was now completely furnished—the cost of the furnishing,

including the frames for the beautiful engravings presented by Mr. Beecher, having been defrayed by Mr. Milan Hulbert, a member of the Society.

The first volume of the Publications of the Society is now passing through the press, and will be ready in a short time. This will be the Journal of two intelligent travelers who visited this country in 1679–80; who traversed it from the Potomac to Boston; and who described minutely, day by day, in their Diary, the appearance of the country and the manners of the people. The Journal was secured by Hon. Henry C. Murphy, while he was residing at the Hague, as Minister of the United States; and it has been translated and annotated by him with great care. Mr. Murphy has also prepared a Preface, and added many explanatory notes to the Journal.

The Volume will also contain a number of Engravings, from original drawings made by the travelers at the time. It will form a volume of four hundred or more pages, and will be printed by Mr. Munsell, of Albany, from new type, on heavy paper, in the most elegant style. The Chairman exhibited specimen sheets, and informed the meeting that subscription lists were open for the signatures of those members who desired to secure copies, at three dollars each. The book would not be on sale at the bookstores, as nearly the whole edition would probably be taken by the members, the Society reserving a certain number of copies for its exchanges.

The Chairman also announced that the Society's roll now numbered eight hundred and fifty members, about two hundred of whom were Life Members, from whom no further payment would be due.

To meet the ordinary running expenses of the Society and enable it to make proper annual appropriations for the purchase of books, he said, its active list should be increased to a thousand members. He therefore urged that an effort should be made by members to increase their total membership to that number.

On the first of November, Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, of New York, would read a paper before the Society; and several other gentlemen of acknowledged ability had engaged to follow, in due course, with historical or literary papers.

The attention of Ladies was called to the fact that a separate entrance to the rooms had been provided for their use.

The Chairman also reported that the rooms were now open from half-past eight in the morning until half-past nine in the evening; and members and their families were invited to avail themselves of the opportunities for study and intellectual culture which the institution now afforded.

Mr. George Hannah, the Librarian, presented the following report:

"Since the last report there have been received "five hundred and two volumes and twelve hundred and seventy-two pamphlets, all of which "were presented, with the exception of forty-five "volumes obtained by purchase or exchange.

"The following are the names of the donors :  
 "American Antiquarian Society, Anonymous,  
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"We have also received from Mr. Charles P. Gulick a volume, full-bound in morocco, containing specimens of all the varieties of Fractional Currency issued by the Federal Government, "since the outbreak of the Southern Secession movement.

"We have received from Messrs. George Hayward, John A. Walsh, Samuel E. Johnson, and Hon. Teunis G. Bergen, a number of important maps; from Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, eighteen valuable engravings, after the frescoes of Raphael, (these have been framed and hung on the walls of the Ladies' Reading Room;) from Mr. John K. Wiggins, of Boston, three engraved portraits; from Mr. Gabriel Harrison, a fine portrait of Edgar A. Poe and a number of curiosities; from Mrs. Gracie, of this city, an antique chair, and a curious old chest, containing papers and documents relating mostly to the Middagh family; from Rev. A. P. Putnam, a piece of granite broken by him from the top of Mount Sinai; from Captain Simon W. Cooper, a porcelain brick from Nankin; from Dr. and Mrs. Macgowan and M. A. Dougherty, a number of Chinese curiosities; from Dr. John B. King, several Indian curiosities, including a "curious Indian idol.

"We have also important files of papers from Wm. P. Libby, Alden J. Spooner, and John W. Hunter; and curious single papers from Cyrus P. Smith, Rev. Lea Luquer, and J. J. Shedel."

Twenty-six gentlemen and one lady were then nominated for membership, after which the Chair introduced Mr. THOMAS W. FIELD, who read paper on the "*Siege of Brooklyn in 1776.*"

Mr. Field, in opening, remarked that the series of papers of which this is the third, comprised a review of all the incidents occurring in that memorable week immediately succeeding the landing of the British forces on Long Island, on the 22d of August, 1776.

The chronicles of these interesting events, he said, were scattered not only through the entire mass of printed documents of the times, but were to be sought amid the manuscript letters and Diaries which have, for nearly a century, been stored in family chests and unfrequented garrets. Tradition also must be consulted, and many a weary tale must be listened to with the air of respect, while the judgment weighs and rejects its baseless narrative long before it is completed.

Mr. Field said that he had long been desirous of arousing that appetite for local historical incidents in Brooklyn, which other cities have felt and sought eagerly to appease. Philadelphia, with her single battle of Germantown, and Boston, glorying in her Bunker's Hill, have exhausted the whole storehouse of History as well as the dark crypts of Tradition, to illustrate the memorable events which occurred in their respective neighborhoods; while a more momentous, desperate, and prolonged struggle, engaged in by vastly greater numbers of combatants, in our neighborhood, he said, has scarcely received the poor tribute of a pamphlet.

The tall column on Bunker's Hill commemorates an action where a few hundreds of Americans made a desperate and almost marvelous stand against the British army; but had the whole detachment been cut off and captured, the Siege of Boston would not have been interrupted. On the other hand, if Lord Howe had carried his fleet into the East River, on the twenty-ninth of August, or General William Howe assaulted the American lines in force, at that time, the cause of American liberty would have been annihilated.

Chew's House is considered monumental, as the evidence of a deadly struggle which turned victory into defeat; but the Cortelyou House, on Fifth Avenue and Third Street, in Brooklyn, he said, is a monument of the most splendid courage and heroic self-devotion, where two hundred and fifty brave Maryland youth laid down their lives for the liberty of New York—a State which has never had the generosity to acknowledge that devotion by the erection of a monument to their memory.

General Joseph Warren's early death on the battle-field has been commemorated in song and story; and a large volume has been written of his "*Life and Times*," by a gentleman well fitted for the grateful labor; but the grand self-sacrifice of the noble and single-hearted WOODHULL has received only the meagre acknowledgment of a Memoir, in a thin volume, with similar Memoirs of two or three other patriots, the whole grouped together, *to make the book respectable in size*.

Imbued with a sense of the injustice of this neglect, the speaker has labored to correct and arrange the details, which would give color and form to the dry skeleton of facts which History has recorded.

To show how disloyalty to American liberty, the cowardice of both officers and men, in some of the regiments, the incompetency of more than one general officer, and the ungovernable panic of most of the militia, had combined to bring the American army to the very verge of ruin, was the evident purpose of the speaker; but he also aimed to show the causes which aided the genius of Washington in changing overwhelming defeat and impending ruin to the most splendid victory, in his subsequent retreat, which History records.

These causes the speaker traced to the caution of Lord Howe, which, he said, the disastrous repulse of Sir Peter Parker, before Fort Moultrie, had deepened into something like timidity. The luxurious debauchery of General Howe, who carried the vices of Crawford's gambling house and the London brothels into his camp, he considered also, as one of the principal causes why seventeen thousand well armed and disciplined troops paused for three days before a few furrows of earth, lined by five or six thousand defeated, broken-spirited militia.

Numerous interesting incidents had been gleaned by the speaker from both common and obscure sources, to illustrate the manners and customs of the times, as well as the exigencies of the retreating army.

This lecture covered the three days of the Siege of Brooklyn, and occupied an hour and a quarter in its delivery, although many pages were excised from it, and these, together with several interesting Maps and Charts, were exhibited during the reading of the paper. By means of these Maps and Charts, Mr. Field was enabled to trace before the audience the routes of the British columns, the positions of the different corps during the battle, and the sites of the various redoubts, forts, and entrenchments which had been thrown up for the defense of the American camp. Mr. Field had also projected the streets of the modern city, on his maps; and the large and intelligent audience was enabled to understand more completely, the exact spots—

often within a stone's throw of the door-steps of some who were present—where, in the days of the Giants, the struggle was made for American Independence.

At the conclusion, Dr. Storrs moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Field for his interesting paper, and also referred briefly to the importance of the subject.

He said that the Commissioners for the new Prospect Park, in Brooklyn, should be urged to mark, permanently, the places within its limits, where fortifications had been erected and battles fought during the struggle of our forefathers for independence; and he moved that Mr. Field be invited to finish the subject, by giving the Society, at its next Semi-monthly Meeting, an account of the Retreat of the American Army from Long Island, in 1776.

This motion was adopted unanimously; and it was announced that Mr. Field would read an account of the "Retreat," on Thursday evening, the eighteenth of October, 1866.

The meeting then adjourned.

A. COOKE HULL,  
Rec. Sec'y.

#### SPECIAL MEETING.

A Special Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday evening, the eighteenth of October, Hon. John Greenwood, Vice President, in the chair.

Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., D.D., Chairman of the Executive Committee, reported that all the nominations made at the last meeting had been approved by the Committee, and were recommended for election.

The names were then read by the Secretary, as follows:

Charles Ashby, Daniel D. Badger, James W. Beebe, Alvan W. Bell, M.D., Euclid Burns, Charles Butcher, Miss Eliza A. Caruth, Prof. David H. Cochran, Frederic H. Colton, M.D., D. V. Campbell, James Cruikshank, LL.D., James M. Halsey, Joseph B. Henshaw, Moses Lane, John A. Latimer, Albert W. Lavender, John B. Noyes, Prof. George W. Plimpton, Jackson Riley, James E. Ryan, O. T. Sutfield, F. T. Sherman, Carr Thomas, Edward T. Wastell, George G. Wells, Jacob Wells, and Daniel Winchester.

No ballot being demanded, the Chairman declared them all duly elected as Resident Members of the Society.

Mr. Alden J. Spooner, after a few appropriate remarks, presented the following Resolutions, which were adopted by the meeting:

"Whereas, By fatal accident, on Monday, the "fifteenth of October, 1866, the life of our estimable "and valued fellow-citizen, THEODORE DWIGHT, "was brought to a sudden close,

"Resolved, That this Society, which, in common with other Societies, has partaken of his earnest influence and the rich gifts of his learning, cannot but deplore the termination of a career devoted to Religion, Humanity, and Science, and will enter this resolution upon its minutes.

"Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with his afflicted family, and that a copy of these Minutes be sent to them."

Nine persons were then nominated for Resident, and one for Corresponding, Membership, after which Mr. Thomas W. Field read a paper on "*The Retreat of the American Army from Long Island, in 1776.*"

The series of papers, of which this is the fourth and last, have been entitled "The Invasion of Long Island by the British and Hessians in 1776"; "the Battles and Skirmishes of the 27th of August"; "the Siege of Brooklyn"; and the Retreat of the American Army from Long Island."

They owe their inception to the influence of the young and energetic Society before which they were delivered, and the hearty acknowledgment of kindred labors by its members.

The papers were intended by their author to be exhaustive of the subject; grouping all the incidents and personal narrations, which have been published in history, preserved in manuscript, or only linger in tradition. The last paper narrates the closing scenes of the Siege and the Retreat, and covers the few hours of the night of the 29th and the morning of the 30th of August, which were occupied in this important movement. The localities where the various incidents occurred, have been sought for with assiduity; and in many cases established with satisfactory exactness.

The faults of the military position were discussed by the lecturer, and the reasons so often advanced by historians for its selection and abandonment by General Washington, critically analyzed. Mr. Field has not found it necessary to dwarf the character of Washington by representing him so purposeless and indecisive as represented by Reed; nor has he discarded the testimony of the latter as totally unworthy of belief, like Bancroft. In some points, the narration of the lecturer so nearly resembles that of Mr. Bancroft, as might induce the supposition that he had derived his authority from that historian, had not all his papers been written and most of them read before the publication of the ninth volume of Mr. Bancroft's work, which treats upon their subject. In the treatment of the characters of some of the *dramatis personæ*, there was a remarkable correspondence between the lecturer and Mr. Bancroft, when we consider that both wrote at nearly the same moment, in utter ignorance of each other's lucubrations.

Mr. Field treats at large on the influence of the debauchery of Howe, and the coolness existing between him and General Robertson, as prominent causes in the culpable neglect, as he conceives it, of the British Commander-in-Chief to capture the entire American Army.

The incidents so graphically narrated by Graydon, as occurring in Shee and Magaw's battalions, guarding the entrenchments on the Wallabout during the night, evidencing the noblest courage, are contrasted with the adventures of a Connecticut regiment, whose conduct vacillated between insane temerity and inane cowardice.

Washington's grand calmness during that awful night of despair and frantic confusion, while most of his officers seemed driven to their wits' ends, is shown in striking contrast with one or two explosions of his own Titanic wrath. Some anecdotes of both Washington and Putnam's ire, not before known to the public, have been gleaned by the lecturer; and prove that while Marlborough's army swore dreadfully in Flanders, the American Army indulged in stout objurgatives on Long Island. Our space will not permit anything like a resume of these lectures, but it is pleasant to state that the fine audiences which have attended the reading of these papers, is not less complimentary to the lecturer than flattering to the auspices of the Society.

At the conclusion, Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Field, for his important paper; and corroborated, from his personal knowledge, some of the prominent points presented in it, expressing, also, his satisfaction with the thorough manner in which the whole subject of the Battle of Long Island had been treated by Mr. Field.

The motion was adopted unanimously, and the meeting adjourned.

GEORGE HANNAH,  
*Secretary pro tempore.*

## VI.—CURRENT EVENTS.

A MUNIFICENT BENEFACTION.—Mr. Loring Andrews, an opulent merchant of New York, has made a donation of one hundred thousand dollars to the Endowment Fund of the New York University. This is a noble act, nobly done. Mr. Andrews has not only placed his money where it will prove a perpetual benefaction, but he has also set an example which other merchants may possibly contemplate with advantage.

The venerable Bishop Soule, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, resides seven miles from Nashville. He is eighty-five years of age, having been born in Massachusetts, (then in the district of Maine,) in 1781.

# SUPPLEMENT. No. V.

## I. TRIAL OF JOSHUA HETT SMITH, FOR COMPLICITY IN THE CONSPIRACY OF BENEDICT ARNOLD AND MAJOR ANDRE.—CONCLUDED.

TENTH DAY, Oct. 13th, 1780.

The Court met according to adjournment, and proceeded in Mr. Smith's trial.

Doctor BARTLETT, produced by Mr. Smith, was sworn.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Please to relate to the Court what you know of my political conduct.

A. I was ordered to Stony Point about the middle of June last, at which time my acquaintance with Mr. Smith began. I was frequently at his house, and he frequently at the Point. On the 23d of June, when the enemy were expected up the river, Mr. Smith sent a letter from Captain Lawrence, inclosed in one from himself, to Captain Benson, who commanded at Stony Point, informing him that the enemy appeared in great force down below Dobb's Ferry, and it was thought they would be up in the morning tide; likewise there were three vessels appeared as soon as light the next morning, which came up as far as Teller's Point, and there laid at anchor till next morning. The next morning they returned down the river. These letters Mr. Smith desired to be sent forward to General Howe, as soon as possible.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. What did you conceive to be my political principles from what you observed of my conduct?

A. I conceived you to be a warm friend to the country, and it was the general opinion of the officers at Stony Point.

Q. BY DO. In consequence of the intelligence in these letters I sent, was there any additional works made at Stony Point?

A. The officers and men worked at night in consequence of that intelligence.

Q. BY COURT. How great is the distance from Stony Point to Teller's Point?

A. I believe about five or six miles.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. What was my general character among the inhabitants of the country?

A. Among the inhabitants of Haverstraw,

where you lived, you sustained the character of a friend to your country.

Q. BY DO. Do you know the distance from the mouth of the creek to Hay's Landing?

A. I do not.

Q. BY MR. SMITH TO COL. HAY. What is the distance from Grassy Point to the mouth of the creek?

A. Three-quarters of a mile, as I judge.

Q. BY DO. To Do. What is the distance from the mouth of the creek to the point of Cram's Island?

A. About a mile and a half, as the creek runs. Captain BANNISTER, produced by Mr. Smith, was sworn.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Please to relate to the Court such circumstances as you know of my political conduct whilst you were in command at Verplanck's Point, the last summer.

A. I took command at Verplanck's Point, last February. Soon after I came there, I found that Mr. Smith and General Howe had conference together, by letters. Mr. Smith used to send letters to me, covering letters to General Howe, and General Howe send letters to Mr. Smith, covered in letters to me. General Howe in these letters to me, used to urge me to alertness, from which I supposed Mr. Smith's letters contained intelligence to him from the enemy. Very early in the spring, General Howe was down at the Fort with Mr. Smith, and introduced him to me, and told me he had a great deal of intelligence of the movements of the enemy through Mr. Smith, and desired me always to forward Mr. Smith's letters to him and his to Mr. Smith, as soon as possible. After this Mr. Smith, in a general way, used to give me the intelligence he received from Captain Lawrence, in the letters that covered those he sent to General Howe, and particularly the intelligence Doct. Bartlett mentioned. Mr. Smith was often at the Ferry, and I often in company with him there. I never saw anything in his conversation or conduct but what was friendly both to the officers there and to the country. In consequence of the intelligence last mentioned, I sent a patrol down the east side of the river.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Do you recollect, at a time when it was reported the enemy were coming up the east side of the river, by the new bridge, in

force, that I was with General Howe, with a view of going down with him as one of his family?

A. I do recollect it.

Q. BY DO. What was my general character?

A. My acquaintance, both on the east and west side of the river, was small, I therefore know little of your general character; but, for myself, I always narrowly watched your conduct, on account of some little suspicions, from a knowledge of your friends and connections being in New York; but I never could discover anything in your conduct but what was friendly to the country.

Major General HOWE, produced by Mr. Smith, was sworn:

Q. Please to relate to the Court what you know of my political conduct, as far as it came to your knowledge?

A. My acquaintance with Mr. Smith began in South Carolina, in the year 1778: from that time to the time this connection with General Arnold occurred, I had no reason, from what I saw or knew of Mr. Smith's conduct, to imagine that either that or his principles were inimical to America; I had heard that the family, in general, were not supposed to be very warm advocates for the American cause; and I had heard various opinions given of Mr. Smith himself; but I heard as many, and I think more, of those I conversed with, suppose he was a friend to his country; and all that I saw or knew of him, after, tended to confirm me in that opinion. During my stay in command at West Point, without my soliciting the assistance of Mr. Smith at all, he seemed particularly attentive in conveying to me any intelligence he received of the enemy's motions, and introduced to me, and recommended strongly to me, Captain Lawrence, of the State of New York, as a spirited and good officer, warmly attached to the cause in which I was engaged, in the service of America, which character I found Captain Lawrence answered fully.

Q. BY COURT. In what situation was Captain Lawrence at that time?

A. Captain Lawrence commanded a company of Militia, detached from Colonel Hays's regiment; he was put under my command by the Governor of the State; he was posted as a Corps of Observation, down the river, on the west side, and was directed not to be stationary long at any particular spot, lest he should be surprised by parties of the enemy; but to operate in such places as to keep himself secure, cover the country from the ravages of small marauding parties, and for the purpose of conveying intelligence, which he did several times; and more than once that intelligence was conveyed to me by Mr. Smith.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Don't you recollect when

there was a report of the enemy's being out, on the east side of the river, that I cheerfully and voluntarily offered myself to join your family in case they approached, or it was necessary to oppose them, if they came farther into the country?

A. I had received intelligence that the enemy were out in force, on which I moved a considerable body of men towards the lines; and if I mistake not, reinforced Colonel Putnam in consequence of it. In order to be nearer the New Bridge, where I supposed the enemy would begin to operate, I went down to Verplanck's Point, and I believe sent for Colonel Putnam to meet me there; I went over to Stony Point, and after giving the officer at that post, orders, I rode to Mr. Smith's, directing, if expresses should arrive before I returned to Verplanck's again, that they should be immediately sent to me; I had scarcely alighted at Mr. Smith's, when an express arrived and informed me that the enemy were within a mile of Colonel Putnam's advanced post, upon which I immediately set out to repair there. Mr. Smith, without my requesting it, offered to attend me to the field; and upon my rather declining it, as his family seemed alarmed, he pressed it upon me so strongly that I consented to it, and we set out accordingly, and when we got to Verplanck's Point, intelligence came that the enemy were retiring, supposed to be in consequence of the troops moving downwards.

Q. BY DO. Don't you recollect my offering to join your family, in case the operations of the campaign were against New York?

A. I do recollect you did.

Major BOWERS, produced by Mr. Smith, was sworn.

Q. Please to relate to the Court what you know of my political conduct.

A. The first of my knowledge of Mr. Smith was from my being in General Howe's family. The General received several letters from Mr. Smith, giving him intelligence of the movements of the enemy; from these letters, I supposed Mr. Smith a well-wisher to the cause, as these letters contained expressions of much anxiety for the safety of the post at West Point; before I had an opportunity of being personally acquainted with Mr. Smith, I had been at Fishkill and heard some people intimate that Mr. Smith was not supposed to be very friendly to our cause; but I could not learn they had any other reason for it, than that his brother had gone over to the enemy, therefore a popular prejudice had gone forth against him; I afterwards, in the beginning of May, I think, was introduced to Mr. Smith, and became acquainted with him; and from what had been hove out against him at Fishkill, it made some impression upon my mind, by which I was induced more particularly to observe his conversation and conduct; I never could discover

anything but what appeared that he was friendly disposed to the cause of America, and even expressed as much anxiety for the safety and welfare of the country as any other person I met with ; Mr. Smith continued to hold a correspondence with the General ; I did not see all the letters, but those I did see, appeared to give all the intelligence that came to his knowledge ; he requested very earnestly of the General, that in case the operations of the campaign were against New York, he might come into his family and act as a volunteer Aid, which I think the General consented to.

Q. BY THE COURT TO GENERAL HOWE. Did you ever receive any intelligence from Mr. Smith, of the movements of the enemy, other than he received from Captain Lawrence ?

A. I have received intelligence from Mr. Smith that I believe did not come from Captain Lawrence.

Q. BY MR. SMITH TO GENERAL HOWE. Don't you recollect that I told you, that if I received any intimations from women who were constantly passing and re-passing to New York, from my friends there, of any movement against West Point, I should take the earliest opportunity to advertise you of it ?

A. I recollect that you did.

The Court then adjourned till to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

#### ELEVENTH DAY, Oct. 14, 1780.

The Court met according to adjournment.

Mr. Smith being indisposed and unable to attend, and his evidence not being ready, the Court adjourned until Monday morning, at ten o'clock.

The Court met according to adjournment. Mr. Lawrence, Judge-Advocate-General, attended in the room of Mr. Edwards, Deputy-Judge-Advocate. The Court resumed the trial of Mr. Smith ; and Captain HOSKINS, produced by him, was sworn.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. How long have you known me ?

A. I have known you near twenty years.

Q. BY DO. Have you known me since the war ?

A. Yes.

Q. BY DO. Be pleased to relate to the Court, my political character, such as it has come to your knowledge.

A. I was intimately acquainted with you the beginning of this war, and I thought you to be a great friend to the country ; I have had an opportunity of speaking to you, time after time, and I thought you to be a friend to the country ; my reason was, because I thought you to be a fighting man, as you prescribed many rules to repress the British, by going on the line, and

begged me to go on with you, and take part with you ; you also told me that General Howe commanded in the State of New York, and you begged me to assist you in getting intelligence, and in every thing that lay in my power for the good of the cause ; also told me, this summer, that we expected to be in New York, and if we went down, begged me to assist you in every thing in my power.

Q. BY DO. Was I viewed by the inhabitants, in general, as a warm friend to the country, down to the time I was taken up ?

A. I viewed you so, and believe my neighbors did ; some said you were rather too warm, but I thought you were not.

Captain JOHN GARDNER was next produced by Mr. Smith, and sworn.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Please to relate to the Court what you know of my political character.

A. In the year, One thousand, seven hundred, and seventy-six, I was acquainted with you ; there were every few days, we had alarms at Haverstraw, and you turned out with your gun to oppose the enemy continually ; and in the year One thousand, seven hundred and seventy-seven, we were alarmed every few days, and you always turned out to oppose them with your arms, till after harvest, when I was called off, and went into five months' service ; after this you moved from Haverstraw to the Clove ; this last summer you have been with us again, at Haverstraw ; your character since you have returned to Haverstraw, has been very warm in the cause of the country ; I have had an opportunity of talking with you, and in raising men, and in every thing that was to do for the country, in my company, you have been always very forward ; you lived within the beat of my company.

Q. BY DO. Was I esteemed by the inhabitants, in general, as a warm friend to the country ?

A. You were, and I esteemed you so, very much.

Q. BY DO. Don't you think I could have raised, this last summer, in the neighborhood, a Company sooner than any man, from the regard the inhabitants had for my attachment to the country ?

A. There was some talk about your raising a Company ; and there were none who were for the American cause, but seemed willing to go under you at the time.

Q. BY COURT. What was the reason Mr. Smith had not a Company at the time ?

A. Mr. Smith gave as a reason for not having one, that he would not, unless he could have a field-piece with the Company ; as the enemy came up often, and laid in the middle of the river, and small arms signified nothing to drive them off, when the Company was posted along the shore.

The Court, for want of evidence, postponed

further proceedings on Mr. Smith's trial, until Thursday next; and adjourned until that day, at ten o'clock in the morning.

TWELFTH DAY, Oct. 19, 1780.

The Court met according to adjournment, and resumed the trial of Mr. Smith.

Colonel LIVINGSTON, who was produced on the part of the Prosecution, was produced by Mr. Smith.

Q. TO HIM BY MR. SMITH. Do you know whether any, and how many, flags passed between General Arnold and the ship *Vulture*, previous to the night I went on board?

A. I know of two of them I brought to at Verplanck's Point; I don't recollect any more; Major Franks, one of General Arnold's Aids, came to me and desired I would let a flag pass down to the *Vulture*, and not detain it at Verplanck's Point; this was at the desire, he said, of General Arnold; he said the flag was to be there to-morrow; the day he came, I do not recollect; I commanded at Verplanck's and Stony Points.

Q. BY DO. Who conducted the flags, and to whom, and from whom, were they sent?

A. The first was conducted by Lieutenant Barber, of the Artillery; the other gentleman's name I do not recollect, but he was a Captain of the Artillery; their Orders, which I insisted on seeing, were from General Arnold, to go on board the *Vulture*, sloop of war, to deliver letters; and if there was no answer, to return immediately; I saw no letters.

Q. BY DO. Did you understand that Colonel Beverly Robinson was on board the *Vulture*?

A. I did; Lieutenant Barber informed me he was on board, and he informed me he brought an answer from him, by the first flag.

Q. BY DO. Did you hear or understand what Colonel Robinson's business was, in coming up?

A. I did not know any thing about his business.

Q. BY DO. Did not General Arnold inform you that Robinson was on board; and that he wanted to come on shore, on public business?

A. He did not; he was but once at my Quarters; and then I thought he was a good deal reserved.

Q. BY DO. Did you ever receive any letters from a flag from the *Vulture*, for General Arnold?

A. Their barge came up once or twice; and I sent out my whale-boat to stop them, and I ordered my Lieutenant of the whale-boat, to take their despatches, which were directed to General Arnold, and I sent them to him at Robinson's House, and ordered their barges immediately back, as the distance between Robinson's House

and Verplanck's Point was too great to wait for an answer.

Q. BY DO. Were these letters sealed?

A. Yes.

Q. BY DO. Did you see any of these letters, in the hands of General Arnold?

A. I saw one in his hand, the day he was at my Quarters, but the contents I did not see; the day I do not recollect.

Q. BY DO. Do you know from whom these letters came?

A. I do not; but I believe the one I saw in General Arnold's hand, came from the Captain of the *Vulture*, as the General signified to me it was in consequence of our people firing upon a party of theirs.

Q. BY DO. Was General Arnold at Verplanck's Point, the twenty-second of September last?

A. I do not recollect the day he was there; but the last time he was there, at my Quarters, which was the day I saw him with the letter, he staid about a half an hour, and afterwards crossed the Ferry.

Q. BY DO. Do you recollect General Arnold's desiring you to furnish me with a light boat, if you met with one?

A. I recollect General Arnold's desiring me, that you might be furnished with a light boat, if there was one at the post; but I do not recollect the day he did it.

Q. BY DO. In the conversation I had with you, as mentioned in your former evidence, do you not remember of your mentioning that you were preparing to fire on the *Vulture*, the next morning, as she lay within point blank shot, at Teller's Point?

A. Yes.

Q. BY DO. Was the *Vulture* obliged to shift her station when fired on by you, and set on fire?

A. I was obliged to shift her station, but I do not know whether she was set on fire or not; she shifted her station for a while, and afterwards came up close to Teller's Point; some shells, the Lieutenant of her informed me, fell on her deck.

Q. BY DO. Did not General Arnold desire you to furnish me with a boat for the purpose of procuring intelligence?

A. He desired that you might be furnished with a boat, but did not mention for what purpose; I had no conversation with him on the subject.

Q. BY DO. Were the guard-boats out, the night I went on board the *Vulture*, and the preceding night?

A. They were not at the Point; and there were orders for one of them to be constantly on the water, and the other nearly opposite to the ship, near the shore; and I had no reason to suppose the orders were not complied with.

Q. BY DO. Had I been met by them, don't you think I should have been permitted to pass them, from the authority I had?

A. Yes; as the Orders were from General Arnold that you should pass the guard boats at any time, day or night, as you were going for intelligence of importance.

Q. BY COURT. Were these Orders previous to the *Vulture* making her appearance in the river, or after?

A. They were after the *Vulture* had come up the river.

Q. Who were these Orders given to?

A. They were verbal Orders to me, from General Arnold; and I was ordered to give them to the Lieutenant of the guard-boat; they were given to me by General Arnold, the last time he was at my Quarters.

Q. How long was it you had received these Orders from Arnold, before he went off to the enemy?

A. It might be four days; I think it was about three or four days.

Q. Was any person present when he gave you these Orders?

A. Not that I recollect; but Mr. Smith was by, when I mentioned to the Lieutenant of the guard-boat to let him pass, in consequence of these orders; the day I mentioned it to the Lieutenant, I am not certain of.

Q. BY COURT. Do you know of Arnold's sending any flag on board the *Vulture*, in the night?

A. No.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith inform you of his having gained any important intelligence, at any time, while the *Vulture* lay in the river.

A. He did not?

Q. When did the *Vulture* make her first appearance in the river, so as to be seen from Verplank's Point?

A. I do not recollect the day she came up to Teller's Point; but she had been there a fortnight, if not more, before Arnold went off to the enemy.

Q. BY COURT. Do you know of Mr. Smith's being employed by Arnold, to obtain intelligence before the *Vulture* came up the river?

A. Mr. Smith informed me he was; and I think he informed me of it before the *Vulture* came up the river?

Q. BY COURT. While the *Vulture* lay in the river, did Mr. Smith inform you that he expected to gain intelligence from on board that vessel?

A. No; he never mentioned the name of the *Vulture* to me.

The Court postponed further proceedings on Mr. Smith's trial, until to-morrow; and adjourned until to-morrow, ten o'clock.

THIRTEENTH DAY, Oct. 20.

The Court met according to adjournment, and resumed the trial of Mr. Smith.

Major KIERCE was produced by Mr. Smith, and sworn.

QUESTION TO HIM BY MR. SMITH. Did you receive a note from General Arnold, the evening of the twenty-first of September last? If you did what was the purport of it?

A. I did not receive the note, but General Arnold, that day, told me that when his barge returned from the Continental Village, with a barge that he sent for, to send into Haverstraw creek; and to let him or Mr. Smith know, by express, by land, that the barge was sent into Haverstraw creek; I wrote a line to General Arnold, informing General Arnold that the barge was sent into the creek; and my express met the boy from General Arnold to me; and gave him my note, which was the reason I did not receive General Arnold's note to me.

Q. BY COURT. Was you informed, for what purpose the barge was sent into the creek?

A. General Arnold informed me, it was for Mr. Smith, to go down the river, to get some intelligence in favor of America.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Did you ever apply to me for money for the public use; and what station did you act in, at the time?

A. I applied to you, last summer, for money, being in great want of it to forward public dispatches to and from the Eastward; and you let me have one thousand dollars, and told me you could not let me have any more that time, and you should not want it before the Fall, when you should want it to purchase some salt; I acted as Quarter-master at King's Ferry, at the time; Mr. Henry, who had acted as Quarter-master at that place, also informed me you had let him have money for the public use.

Q. BY DO. Did I not always discover to you a desire to advance the interest of the country, and promote the general cause of America?

A. You did, and bore with us the character of a warm friend to America.

Q. BY COURT. Did Mr. Smith inform you that he had used the boat?

A. No. I did not see Mr. Smith afterwards, until he was coming from Fishkill, after he was taken up.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Did you hear Colonel Robinson was on board the *Vulture*?

A. It was a common report at King's Ferry, that he was on board.

Q. BY COURT. Do you know whether Mr. Smith was employed by General Howe and General Arnold to get intelligence?

A. General Arnold informed me, the afternoon of the night the boat was sent into the creek, that Mr. Smith had furnished General Howe with

very good intelligence; and that he, Mr. Smith, was going down the river to procure intelligence for him, and desired me not to delay the boat a minute, but as soon as it arrived to send it into the creek.

Colonel JOHN LAMB was next produced by Mr. Smith, and sworn.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Do you know whether General Arnold received any letters from Colonel Beverly Robinson, by a flag, from on board the *Vulture*; and who informed you of it?

A. I was at the table, at dinner, (there was a number of other gentlemen present) with him at the time the letters were brought in; and he said they came by a flag from Colonel Beverly Robinson; there was one he said for him, and another for General Putnam; he opened the one he said was for him, just looked at it, and put it up in his pocket.

Q. BY DO. Do you know of his, General Arnold's, receiving any more letters from Colonel Robinson?

A. I never heard of his receiving any more.

Q. BY DO. Did he ever tell you, or read to you, the contents of that letter?

A. He did not read the letter to me; he told me that Beverly Robinson had proposed an interview with him, and asked my advice on the subject; I advised him, as he was then going down, being to go down that day, or the next, to meet His Excellency, to show the letters from Beverly Robinson to him; and told him, as the proposal was of a very extraordinary nature, I could not conceive what views Beverly Robinson could have, in proposing such an interview; if any thing he had to communicate was of importance to this country, he might do it by letter, but that if it was a matter that respected his own private concerns, his business would be with the Governor of the State, not with the General commanding in the Department, but that I supposed the latter was the case—that it was a matter of private concern respecting his estate; but I could not suppose what could be the motive; and told him the proposal was of such a nature, that it would induce suspicion of an improper correspondence between him and Beverly Robinson, if there was an interview between them; and I told him, that as he was going down to meet his Excellency, at King's Ferry, I would advise him to show the letters to his Excellency, and take his advice how he should act. After he had an interview with his Excellency, I put the question to him to know if he had shown these letters to the General. He told me that he had; and that his Excellency's opinion respecting the matter, exactly coincided with my own. I afterwards asked his Excellency if he had shewn him these letters; and he said that he had.

Q. BY COURT. Did General Arnold mention to you the purpose of the interview?

A. He did not.

Q. BY MR. SMITH. Did he not afterwards show you another letter from Robinson, in which Robinson promised to communicate to him intelligence of the utmost importance to America, if he might be restored to the re-possession of his estate.

A. He did not, nor never mentioned any such circumstance of such a proposal to me.

Q. BY DO. Was that all the conversation, that you have mentioned, that passed between you, respecting the letters Arnold had received?

A. It was.

Q. BY DO. Did you know whether flags frequently passed between Arnold and the ship *Vulture*?

A. I never heard of a flag passing between him and the ship *Vulture*, until Arnold was gone off to the enemy.

Q. Were you stationed at the garrison at West Point, at the time Arnold told you of the interview proposed by Robinson?

A. I was.

The evidence having been all produced, the Court took into consideration Mr. Smith's request for time to make his defence; and agreed to give him until Thursday, at eleven o'clock A.M.; and the Court adjourned until that day, until eleven o'clock A.M.

#### FOURTEENTH DAY, Oct. 24.

The Court met according to adjournment, and resumed the trial of Mr. Smith. He addressed the Court in his defence.

The Court postponed further proceeding on Mr. Smith's trial, until to-morrow; and adjourned until to-morrow, ten o'clock, A.M.

#### FIFTEENTH DAY, Oct. 25.

The Court met according to adjournment, and resumed the trial of Mr. Smith, and proceeded in the examination of the evidence given on the trial; after which they postponed further proceedings until to-morrow; and adjourned until to-morrow, ten o'clock A.M.

#### SIXTEENTH DAY, Oct. 26.

The Court met according to adjournment, and resumed the trial of Mr. Smith.

The Charge against Joshua H. Smith, Esq., the evidence produced on the trial, and his Defence being fully and maturely considered by the Court, they are of opinion that notwithstanding it appears to them, that the said Joshua H. Smith did aid and assist Benedict Arnold, late Major-General in our service, who had entered into a combination with the enemy for the purposes which the Charge mentions, yet they are of opinion, that the evidence is not sufficient to convict the said Joshua H. Smith, of his being privy to, or having knowledge of, the said Bene-

dict Arnold's criminal, traitorous, and base designs. They are, therefore, of opinion, that the said Joshua H. Smith is *Not Guilty of the Charge exhibited against him, and do acquit him of it.*

The Court adjourned without day.

HENRY JACKSON, *Col. and President.*

JOHN LAWRENCE, *Judge-Advocate.*

[EXHIBITS REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING RECORD.]

I.

[PASS TO JOSHUA HETT SMITH.]

*Head Quarters, Robinsons }  
House Sept 22<sup>d</sup> 1780 }*

Joshua Smith, Esqr has permission to pass the Guards to the White Plains, & to return, being on public business by my direction

B ARNOLD M. Gen<sup>l</sup>.

II.

[PASS FOR THE USE OF ANDRE.]

*Head Quarters Robinsons }  
House, Sept. 22<sup>d</sup>, 1780 }*

Permit Mr John Anderson to pass the Guards to the White Plains, or below, if He Chuses, He being on Public Business by my Direction.

B ARNOLD M. Gen<sup>l</sup>.

III.

[ARTILLERY ORDERS.]

DISPOSITION OF THE GARRISON, AT WEST POINT, IN CASE OF AN ALARM.]

*Wt. Point Sept 5th, 1780*

Artillery Orders

The following Disposition of the corps is to take place in Case of an alarm

Capt. Dannills with his Comp'y at Fort Putnam, and to Detach an Officer with 12 men to Wyllys's Redoubt, a non Commissioned Officer, with 3 men to Webbs Redoubt, and the like number to Redoubt No. 4.

Captain Thomas Company to repair to Fort Arnold.

Captain Simmons and Company to remain at the North and South Redoubts, at the East side of the River, untill further Orders.

Lieut. Barber, with 20 men of Capt. Jacksons Company will repair to Constitution Island; the remainder of the Company with Lieut. Masons will repair to Arnold.

Capt. Lieut. George & Lieut. Blake with 20 men of Capt. Treadwills Company, will Repair to Redoubt No. 1 & 2, the remainder of the Company will be sent to Fort Arnold.

Late Jones's Comp'y with Lieut. Fisk to repair to the South Battery.

The Chain Battery 'Sherburn's Redoubt, and the Brass Field pieces will be manned from Fort Arnold as Occasion may require.

The Commissary and Conductor of Military stores will in turn wait upon the Commanding Officer of Artillery for Orders

The Artificers in the Garrison (agreeable to former Orders will) will repair to Fort Arnold, and there receive further Orders from the Command'g Officer of Artillery, J. BAUMAN Major Comm't Artillery.

IV.

[ESTIMATE OF THE STRENGTH OF THE GARRISON, SEPT. 1780.]

Estimate of the Forces at W<sup>t</sup> Point and its dependencies, Sept 13<sup>th</sup> 1780

A Brigade of Massachusetts Militia & two Regiments of Rank & file New Hampshire Inclusive of 166 Batteaux Men at Verplanks and Stoney Points. } 992

On command & Extra Service at Fish Kills New Windsor, &c &c who may be called in occasionally } 852

3 Regiments of Connecticut Militia under the Com<sup>d</sup> of Colonel Wells on the lines near N<sup>o</sup> Castle } 488

A Detachment of Nw York Levies on the lines } 115

Militia 2447

Colonel Lambs Regiment 167

Colonel Livingston at Verplank & Stoney P<sup>ts</sup>, 80

Continental: 247

Colonel Sheldons Dragoons on the lines, about one half Mounted, 142

Batteaux Men and Artificers 250

Total, 3086

V.

[ESTIMATE OF THE FORCE NECESSARY TO COMPLETELY MAN THE WORKS.]

Estimate of the Number of Men necessary to Man the Works at W<sup>t</sup> Point & in the Vicinity

Fort Arnold 620

— Putnam 450

— Wyllys 140

— Webb 140

Redoubt No 1 150

ditto 2 150

ditto 3 120

ditto 4 100

ditto 5 130

ditto 6 110

ditto 7 78

North Redoubt 120

South Redoubt 130

Total 2438

Villefranche, *Engineer.*

N. B. The Artillery Men are not Included in the above Estimate.

## VI.

RETURN OF ORDNANCE IN THE DIFFERENT FORTS BATTERIES &amp;C AT WEST POINT AND ITS DEPENDENCIES SEPT 5TH 1780

Calibres	Metal.	Garrison Carriages.	Traveling Carriages.	Garrison Carriages.	Stocked Carriages.	Garrison Carriages.	Stocked Carriages.	Traveling Carriages.	Garrison Carriages.	Traveling Carriages.	Mortars.			Howitz.		Total			Total.	
											Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Garrison Carriages.	Stock'd ditto.	Travel's ditto.		
		24	18	12	9	6		4	3	10	5 1/2	4 3/8	8	5 1/8						
Fort Arnold	Brass	1	6		1				1	3	5	5	1						23	
Fort Putnam	Brass							2	1			4							14	
Constitution Island	Iron			4		1	5												10	
South Battery	Iron		4	1															5	
Chain Battery,	Iron			1	2														3	
Lantern Battery	Iron					2													2	
Webb's Redoubt	Iron			1			2	3	1										4	
Sherman's Redoubt	Iron						2	3											5	
Megg's Redoubt	Iron						1		1										2	
South Redoubt	Iron			1		4													5	
North Redoubt	Iron	3		3															6	
Wylls's Redoubt	Iron		2						3										5	
Rocky Hill, No. 4	Iron					2													2	
No. 1	Iron			1		4													4	
No. 2	Iron					2													2	
Verplank's and Stony Points	Brass										2	1								
	Iron		1	2									1						8	
Total		118	314	5	9	14	5	2	1	3	5	11	2	1					100	

N. B. The follo  
Ordinance not distr  
No. 6 Iron 12 Pound  
4 ditto 9 ditto  
1 ditto 6 do.  
1 ditto 4 do.  
2 ditto 3 do.

14

3 Brass 24 Pound  
7 ditto 12 ditto  
1 ditto 8 inch ho

11

S. BAUMAN, Major Comd  
of Artillery

## VII.

[REMARKS ON WORKS AT WEST POINT, SEPT. 1780.]

Sept 1780

Fort Arnold is built of Dry Fascines and Wood is in a ruinous condition, incomplete, and subject to take Fire from Shells or Carcasses.

Fort Putnam stone wanting great repairs, the wall on the East side broke down, and rebuilding From the Foundation at the west and South side have been a Chevaux de Frise on the West side broke in many places. The East side open, two Bomb Proofs and Provision Magazine in the Fort, and slight Wooden Barrack.—A commanding piece of ground 500 yards West between the Fort and No. 4—or Rocky Hill.—

Fort Webb Built of Fascines and Wood, a slight Work very dry and liable to be set on fire as the approaches are very easy, without defences save a slight abattis.

Fort Wylls built of stone 5 feet high the Work above plank filled with Earth the stone work 15 feet the Earth 9 feet thick.—No Bomb Proofs, the Batteries without the Fort

Redoubt No 1. On the south side wood 9 feet thick the Wt. North and East sides 4 feet thick, no cannon in the works, a slight and single Abattis, on ditch or Picket. Cannon on two Batteries. No Bomb Proofs

Redoubt No. 2. The same as No 1 No Bomb Proofs

Redoubt No. 3, a slight Wood Work 3 Feet thick very Dry no Bomb Proofs, a single Abattis, the work easily set on fire—no Cannon

Redoubt No. 4, a Wooden work about 10 feet high and fore or five feet thick, the West side faced with a stone wall 8 feet high and four thick. No Bomb Proof, two six pounders, a slight Abattis, a Commanding piece of ground 500 yards Wt.

The North Redoubt on the East side built of stone 4 feet high, above the stone wood filled in with Earth, very dry, no ditch, a Bomb Proof, three Batteries without the Fort, a poor Abattis, a Rising piece of ground 500 yards So. the approaches Under Cover to within 20 yards.—The Work easily fired with Faggots diptd in Pitch &c

South Redoubt much the same as the North a Commanding piece of ground 500 yards due East—3 Batteries without the Fort.

## VIII.

[COPY OF A STATE OF MATTERS LAID BEFORE A  
COUNCIL OF WAR, BY GEN'L. WASHINGTON.  
SEPT. 6, 1780.]

At a Council of War, held in Camp Bergen County, Sept. 6th 1840.

Present—the Commander-in-chief.

The Commander-in-Chief states to the Council, that since he had the honor of laying before the General Officers, at Morristown, the 6th of June last, a general view of our circumstances, several important events have occurred, which have materially changed the prospects of the Campaign.

That the succors expected from France, instead of coming out in one body, and producing a Naval Superiority in these Seas, has been divided into two Divisions, the first of which only consisting of seven ships of the line, one forty-four and three smaller Frigates, with five thousand land Forces, had arrived at Rhode Island.

That a Reinforcement of six ships of the line from England having reinforced the Enemy, had made their Naval Force in these seas amount to Nine Sail of the Line, Two Fifties two forty fours, and a number of smaller Frigates, a Force completely superior to that of our Allies, and which has in consequence held them Blocked up in the harbor of Rhode Island till the 29th ult., at which Period the British Fleet disappeared, and no advice of them has since been received.

That Accounts received by the Alliance Frigate, which left France in July, announces the Second Division to be Confined in Brest with several other Ships by a British Fleet of thirty two Sail of the line, and a Fleet of the Allies of Thirty six, or thirty eight Ships of the line ready to put to sea from Cadiz to relieve the Port of Brest.

The most of the States in their answers to the requisitions made of them, give the strongest assurances of doing every thing in their power to furnish the men and supplies required for the expected Co-operation. The effect of which, however, has been far short of our expectations, for not much above one third of the Levies demanded for the Continental Battalions, nor above the Same proportion of Militia have been assembled, and the Supplies have been so inadequate that there was a necessity for dismissing all the Militia, whose immediate services could be dispensed with to lessen our Consumption, notwithstanding which the Troops now in the Field are severely suffering for want of Provision.

That the army at this Post and in the vicinity in operating Force consists of 10,400 Continental Troops and about 400 Militia, besides which is a Regiment of Continental Troops of about 500 at Rhode Island left there for the assistance of our Allies, against any attempt of the Enemy that way, and two Connecticut State Regiments amounting to 800 at North Castle.

That the Times of Service for which the Levies are Engaged will expire the first of January which, if not replaced, allowing for the usual Casualties, will reduce the Continental Army to less than 6000 men.

That since the state to the Council above Referred to, the Enemy have brought a detachment of about 3000 men from Charles Town to New York, which makes the present operating Force in this Quarter between Ten and Eleven Thousand men.

That the Enemies Force now in the Southern States has not been lately ascertained by any distinct accounts, but the general supposes it cannot be less than 7,000 (of which about 2,000 are at Savannah) in this estimate the Diminution by the Casualties of the Climate, is supposed to be equal to the increase of Force derived from the Disaffected.

That added to the loss of Charles Town and its Garrison accounts of a recent misfortune are just arrived from Major General Gates, giving advice of a general action which happened on the 16th of August near Campden, in which the army under his Command met with a total defeat, and in all probability the whole of the Continental Troops, and a Considerable part of the Militia would be cut off.

That the State of Virginia has been sometime exerting itself to raise a Body of 3000 Troops to serve till the end of December 1781, but how far it has succeeded is not known.

That Maryland had resolved to raise 2,000 Men of which a sufficient number to compose one Battalion was to have come to this army. The remainder to recruit the Maryland line—but in consequence of the late advices, an order has been sent to march the whole Southward.

That the Enemies Force in Canada, Halifax, St. Augustine, and at Penobscot, remains much the same as stated in the preceding Council.

That there is still reason to believe the Court of France will prosecute its Original Intention of giving effectual succor to this Country, as soon as Circumstances will permit; and it is hoped the second Division will certainly arrive in the course of the fall.

That a Fleet greatly superior to that of the Enemy in the West Indies, and a formidable land Force had sailed sometime since from Martinique to make a Combined attack upon the Island of Jamaica, that there is a possibility of a reinforcement from this quarter also, to the Fleet of our Ally at Rhode Island.

The Commander in Chief having thus given the Council a full view of our present Situation and future prospects, requests the Opinion of each Member in writing, what plan it will be advisable to pursue, to what objects Our Attention ought to be directed in the course of this fall and winter, taking into consideration the alternative of having or not having a Naval Superiority, whether any Offensive operations can be immediately undertaken and against what Point, what ought to be our immediate Preparations and dispositions, particularly whether we can afford or ought to send any Reinforcements from this Army to the Southern States, and to what amount, the General Requests to be favored with these opinions by the 10th Instant at farthest.

## IX.

[LETTER FROM JOSHUA H. SMITH TO HIS BROTHER, TO DELIVER MAJOR ANDRE'S COAT, LEFT AT HIS HOUSE, WHEN THE MAJOR ASSUMED THE DISGUISE.]

*Robinsons House Sept. 25th, 1780*

DEAR BROTHER I am here a prisoner, and am therefore unable to attend in Person. I would be obliged to you if you would deliver to Captain Carns of Lee's Dragoons, a British Uniform Coat, which you will find in one of the Drawers in the Room above stairs I would be happy to see you Remember me to your family.

I am, affectionately, yours,  
JOSHUA H. SMITH.

Thomas Smith Esqr.

[Letter addressed to, "Thomas Smith, Esq., Hav-  
"erstraw."]

## X.

[PASS TO JOSHUA HETT SMITH, WITH CORRESPONDENCE FOR NEW YORK, PRIOR TO THE PERSONAL INTERVIEW OF GEN. ARNOLD AND MAJOR ANDRE.]

*Head Quarters, Robinsons }  
House Sept. 2d 1780 }*

Permission is granted to Joshua Smith, Esq to go to Dobbs' Ferry with three Men and a Boy in a Boat with a Flag to carry some Letters of a Private Nature for Gentlemen in New York, and to Return immediately

B. ARNOLD, M Genl.

N. B.—He has permission to go at such hours and times as the tide and his business suites

B. A.

## XI.

[PASS GIVEN TO ENABLE MAJOR ANDRE AND JOSHUA HETT SMITH, TO PASS KING'S FERRY, BEFORE THE INTERVIEW OF THE FORMER WITH ARNOLD.]

*Head Quarters, Robinsons }  
House Sept 20th 1780 }*

Permission is given to Joshua Smith Esquire, a gentleman Mr. John Anderson, who is with him and his two servants to pass and repass the guards near King's Ferry at all times.

B. ARNOLD, M. Genl.

## XII.

[PASS TO JOSHUA HETT SMITH.]

*Head Quarters Robinsons }  
House Sept 22 1780 }*

Joshua Smith Esqr, has permission to pass with a Boat and three hands and a flag to Dobb's Ferry on Public business and to return immediately.

B ARNOLD M. Genl.

## XIII.

Hennirut, [a word not intelligible.]

Elijah Hunter

Mr I Johnson B. R——n.

Mr. J. Stewart to the care of Joshua Smith Esqr to be left at Head Q<sup>rs</sup>.

Isaac Adams, 5,, 5,, 5.

## II.—SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

## THE BOSTON CRITICS ON MR. MOORE'S NOTES.

[The general interest in the subject and the peculiar ability with which it is treated in the discussion, have led us to reprint, in the MAGAZINE, the most considerable attempt yet made to discredit the recent developments of the History of Slavery in Massachusetts. It is an article from the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of September 12, 1866, by Mr. CHARLES F. DUNBAR, the editor in chief of that ancient and honorable newspaper—emphatically the organ of the most solid of "the solid men of "Boston."—ED. HIST. MAG.]

To that class of minds which sometimes tire of hearing Aristides called "the just," Mr. George H. Moore's *History of Slavery in Massachusetts* has proved to be a welcome indictment against a Commonwealth heretofore in good repute.\* The series of articles in newspapers and other publications, which for two or three years have been the forerunners of Mr. Moore's book, and which were apparently based on his collation of authorities,—not to inquire more closely into their authorship, or the industry which provided the materials,—have supplied a succession of texts which have been eagerly caught up and improved wherever Massachusetts has an enemy, whether in New York or South Carolina. The book itself is a most convenient manual of the same sort, and indeed, one rather noted member of Congress from Kentucky recently quoted to the extent of several pages from Mr. Moore, if not with such startling effect, at least with as much logical success, as attended his subsequent use of the cane as an auxiliary of debate. It is easy to see why Mr. Moore should have attained this species of popularity. His book purports to be history,—and that name is apt to carry the impression of authority, without regard to merit; it is prepared with great industry and brings together a vast array of statements, of which the admitted truth of some and the recondite nature of others, is apt to silence the inquiry whether the general effect is just or not; above all, the book affects to make revelations as to points which it would suit a considerable party in the political world,—and possibly some in literary circles,—to establish against the ancient fame of

\* Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts, by George H. Moore, Librarian of the New York Historical Society and Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1866.

a State which has played no obscure part in the later history of American slavery.

Our limits forbid us to engage in that general review of Mr. Moore's book, which it invites from the hand of the careful and candid investigator. Two or three of his leading points, however, we shall examine, in such detail as is possible in these columns.

I. The written legislative history of slavery in Massachusetts undoubtedly dates back to the famous provision in the Body of Liberties of 1641:—

"There shall never be any bond slavery, villinage or Captivite amongst us unless it be lawful Captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of god established in Israell concerning such persons doeth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be Judged thereto by Authority."

But the existence of slavery as a social fact in this State notoriously dates back several years farther than this. "The chattel slavery of heathen Africans and Indians," says Mr. Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, vol. 1, p. 206, "was lawful at this time in all the colonies;" and this lawfulness was "the effect of established principles, judicially recognized in all countries." The founders of Massachusetts unhappily did not rise superior to all the errors of their time. They reduced to captivity certain Pequods taken in the war of 1637, and sent a small number to Bermuda "by Mr. Pierce," and on the return voyage the master of the ship brought back the first importation of negroes into this colony. It does not appear that this importation was "the enterprise of the authorities," as Mr. Moore says; (the order for "Lieft. Davenport to 'keep ye slaves' in March 1639, cited by Mr. Moore to establish this point, probably refers to the murderer of Oldham and the two thieves, sentenced *Mass. Col. Rec.* I., 181, 246;) nor does it appear, as Mr. Moore suggests gratuitously, if not invidiously, that the Indian captives were disposed of according to "previous practice." As little does it appear that this importation by Mr. Pierce was followed up, for in 1680, Governor Bradstreet stated that there were but one hundred or one hundred and twenty slaves in Massachusetts, of whom forty or fifty had then recently been brought from Madagascar. These facts as to the extent of the practice do not remove the stain; but they throw some light upon the causes of the obscurity which prevailed upon an important point, which we shall notice farther on.

Slavery thus being lawful by virtue of the law of the whole civilized world as it then stood, and existing as a matter of fact as early as 1637, Mr.

Moore makes it a leading charge that it was "established" by the Body of Liberties in 1641. The provision cited above, he says, is "the first 'statute establishing slavery in America:'" "the 'first code of laws in Massachusetts established 'slavery.' How that was 'established' in 1641, which, as we have seen, had for some years existed in law and in fact, Mr. Moore would find it difficult to explain satisfactorily. We have yet to learn that the codification of that which has hitherto existed in the unwritten and common law, in any sense 'establishes' it or gives it any new authority. Codification may, however, materially limit the application of the unwritten law, as we shall see.

II. Whether in fact the provision in the Body of Liberties did limit the original law of slavery, is a question on which Mr. Moore differs from the current of authorities, and particularly from Mr. Palfrey, Mr. Sumner, and Judge Gray, all of whom have expressed the opinion that under this provision slavery had no hereditary quality in Massachusetts. The issue must not be mistaken,—it is not asserted by either of these gentlemen that in fact the children of slaves were never held as slaves by birth; they confine themselves to a denial that under the law, as it stood upon the statute book, such children could legally be so held. It is a question purely of legal construction, interesting as it affects our opinion of the probable intention of the founders of the Commonwealth, but not bearing upon the subsequent course of the history of slavery among us; and it is therefore not a little singular that the opinions of these gentlemen upon this subject should have been received and criticised with a degree of acerbity so entirely foreign to the spirit of historical investigation.

As the law stands in the Body of Liberties it certainly does not cover hereditary slavery, either by express terms or by necessary implication. Mr. Moore himself remarks (p. 18) that its authors had to provide for just three descriptions of persons,—(1) Indian captives taken in war; (2) "Negro slaves—their own importations of 'strangers,' obtained by purchase or exchange;" (3) Criminals condemned to slavery. In this light only, he says, "is their legislation intelligible and consistent;" but he quietly omits to take into account a fourth description, viz.: the increase of his own class (2), for which no place is left under his classification and which he nevertheless seeks to make the law cover. Something more is required, we apprehend, than the mere assertion of Mr. Moore that the law sanctioned the perpetual bondage of negroes, "their children 'and their children's children.'" Where are the words extending the slavery beyond the captive himself, or beyond the stranger who sold himself or was sold into the colony? And where are

we to find the principle of legal construction on which such a liberal interpretation as Mr. Moore's can be given to a statute of this sort? The provision purports to forbid bond-slavery except in three specified cases; (the marginal note in the edition of 1672 epitomizes this section by the words "No bond-slavery;") it was explicitly a provision in favor of liberty, and Mr. Moore will find no lawyer willing to risk his reputation by saying that such a provision is to be interpreted liberally for the benefit of slavery. Mr. Moore affects to find a remarkable confirmation of his view, in the disappearance of the word "strangers" from the law in the editions of 1660 and 1672. "This amendment," he says, "took off the prohibition against the children of 'slaves being 'born into legal slavery in Massachusetts.'" But as the Body of Liberties existed only in manuscript for some years, and as this particular passage fared badly in other respects at the hands of the unskilful colonial printers in both the editions cited, we apprehend that it cannot be said with confidence that the word "strangers" was omitted by design; and if it could, the argument that such an omission must be construed to import hereditary slavery may fitly enough be classed with another desperate suggestion, borrowed by Mr. Moore from Chief Justice Parsons, that the rule of the civil law, *partus sequitur ventrem*, was adopted. Our fathers had much reverence for the law of Moses and some respect for the common law, but assuredly very little for that of heathen Rome.

This question, however, as to the legality of hereditary slavery in Massachusetts has been the subject of judicial consideration, and although Mr. Moore undertakes to meet the statement of Judge Gray on this head (QUINCY'S *Reports*, 29, *note*) with a peremptory denial, the course of the decisions does not permit the doubt which he seeks to raise. To pass by some earlier cases, in which a negligent defence is said to have given an easy victory to reputed slaves suing for liberty, the first case in the reports is that of *Littleton v. Tuttle*, 4 Mass. 128 *note*, in which an action was brought for the cost of supporting Cato, a reputed slave, and the son of parents in the same condition. Chief Justice Dana charged the jury "as the unanimous opinion of the Court, that 'Cato, being born in this country, was born free, 'and that the defendant was not chargeable'; and a verdict was found accordingly. Mr. Moore is of opinion that the facts proved were set at naught by the Court in stating this opinion, but unfortunately he does not explain the grounds of this stringent criticism, nor are they apparent upon the record. The next case in order of time, that of *Winchendon v. Hatfield*, 4 Mass. 123, is much more to Mr. Moore's taste; for this case contains a *dictum* by Chief Justice Parsons that

"the issue of the female slave, according to the 'maxim of the civil law, was the property of 'her master.'" We say this was a *dictum* of the learned Chief Justice, because as the record, certified to the Court under the Writ of Error, recited that the negro, whose support was the ground of action, "in the year 1757, was the proper estate 'of one Samuel Bond," it was not a question before the Court whether he became a slave by birth or otherwise. The Chief Justice, however, improved the opportunity to deliver a brief essay on the characteristics of slavery in Massachusetts, of which we regret to see that Mr. Moore appears to have noticed little besides this loose statement as to slavery by descent. This *dictum* by his predecessor, led Chief Justice Parker in the next case, *Andover v. Canton*, 13 Mass. 547,—in which again the point was not necessary, the pauper being the son of a free woman,—to say, on the authority of *Winchendon v. Hatfield*, that "it seems that the issue of a female slave was the 'property of her master;'" "at least," he says, "such was the opinion of Chief Justice Parsons." This language, Mr. Moore thinks, "cautiously 'confirmed'" the view of the earlier Chief Justice. Unquestionably this *seem* from Chief Justice Parker is cautious, but it is not authoritative. We come upon firmer ground, however, in *Lanesborough v. Westfield*, 16 Mass. 74, in which Chief Justice Parker, in the case of a pauper who was the daughter of slaves, was obliged to decide the precise question. In this case the Chief Justice gave the opinion of the court, not "cautiously" but decisively, that,—

"By the colonial law of 1646 no bond-slavery 'could exist, except in the case of lawful captives 'taken in just war, or such as willingly sold 'themselves, or were sold to the inhabitants. Of 'course the children of those who in fact were, 'or were reputed to be, slaves, not coming within 'the description, could not be held as slaves."

This decision Mr. Moore has not found it convenient to refer to, nor even to name, nor to cite by page, except in giving a list of the citations made by Messrs. Gray, Palfrey, and Sumner. It is, however, a decision upon the exact point now in question, and may be fairly considered as having settled the legal opinion upon the ground held in *Littleton v. Tuttle*, supposing that opinion ever to have been unsettled by the *dictum* in *Winchendon v. Hatfield*. It has been followed by *Edgartown v. Tisbury*, 10 Cush. 408, in which that learned jurist, Mr. Justice Metcalf, in a case in which the point was essential, gave the opinion of the Court that the daughter of a slave born in Massachusetts "was free-born, although her 'mother was a slave."

Our readers can now judge for themselves with how much reason Mr. Moore speaks of *Winchendon v. Hatfield* as "the leading case in Massachu-

"setts." As it neither leads in point of time, nor leads the course of judicial decision, as it is consonant neither with the earlier nor the later reported cases, and is itself, so far as this point is concerned, a simple *dictum*, it answers no known definition of a "leading case."

We have omitted from the above review and shall now state with some particularity a case to which, upon Mr. Moore's brief note of it, he might have been expected to assign even more importance than to his "leading case" of *Winchendon v. Hatfield*, or Chief Justice Parker's "cautious confirmation." This is the case of *Perkins, Town Treasurer of Topsfield v. Emerson*, which came before the Supreme Judicial Court in Essex, at the November term, 1799. In this case the town sued Emerson for the maintenance of Nancy, a negro woman born of slaves, in 1759, and held by him as a slave until she claimed her freedom in the Revolution. The action was brought under the Act of 1736, which declares that any inhabitant "who shall receive, admit, and entertain any person or persons not being inhabitants of such towns, either as inmates, boarders, or tenants in the house where such person dwells or in any other house of his whatever, within this Province, or under any other qualification for more than the space of twenty days," without notifying the town authorities, shall be liable for any charges arising to the town for the support of such person. The case was submitted on an agreed state of facts, and,— "if the Court are of opinion that the said Nancy is to be considered an inmate, boarder, or tenant, or under any other qualification which is within the meaning of the Act, &c., then judgment shall be given for the Appellant to recover the sum sued for, otherwise that Defendant have judgment for his costs." The Court, according to the record, "are of opinion that the said Nancy is not within the meaning of said Act;" and judgment was therefore given for the appellee for costs.

It will thus be seen, that in this case the Court properly confined itself to the question whether the pauper came within the meaning of the Act under which suit was brought. The language of the record, which we have copied from the original, does not therefore justify Mr. Moore's broad statement, that the Court "held a negro girl born in the Province in 1759 to have been the lawful 'slave' of Emerson; for the denial by the Court that the pauper came within the descriptions of persons recited in an Act subject to strict construction, was not, and could not have been intended to be, an affirmation that she came within a certain other limited description. This discrepancy is the more striking, because Mr. Moore cites a "*MS. copy of Court Records*," and must therefore be aware that Mr. Dane's summary of

the case, 2 *Dane's Abr.* 412, which he follows, is incorrect. The authentic statement from the record was doubtless inconvenient for his purpose, as was the decision in *Lanesborough v. Westfield*, his suppression of which we have noticed above; but whether in a work aspiring to the character of history, convenience is to be preferred to honesty, is not a difficult question.

It is to be said on Mr. Moore's behalf in this matter that Mr. Dane,—upon whose loose statement of twenty years' later date, and perhaps made from memory, he sets aside the record,—was of counsel in the case. But the "*MS. copy of Court Records*" must also have apprised Mr. Moore that Chief Justice Parsons, then at the bar, was also of Counsel for the appellee; and if the judgment which he obtained for his client had been understood to have the breadth afterwards assigned to it by Dr. Dane, it is incredible that he should have failed to cite such a case in point from his own practice, when only nine years afterwards, in *Winchendon v. Hatfield*, he doubted the law of his predecessor in *Littleton v. Tuttle*. Chief Justice Parsons, however, evidently did not regard the question in *Topsfield v. Emerson* as identical with that in *Littleton v. Tuttle*; and the want of parity is made the more clear by the circumstance that three out of four Judges, who sat in the later case sat in the earlier case also,—which Mr. Moore construes as a notable instance of judicial retraction. We must add that if Mr. Moore had given even Mr. Dane's broad statement of *Topsfield v. Emerson* correctly, the careful reader might have inferred the presence of some error. But it is not Mr. Moore's habit thus to assist inquiries for the truth.

The weight of legal authority then is against Mr. Moore, in his positive declaration that the Body of Liberties consigned to slavery the "children's children" of the classes named in it; and we must be permitted to think, in spite of his conviction of the unreasonableness of their conclusions, that on such a question of construction the judicial decisions of such men as Chief Justices Dana and Parker and Judge Metcalf, confirmed by the opinions of jurists like Judge Gray and Mr. Sumner, are entitled to more respect than the views of a layman, not of conspicuously judicial instincts, although the latter can cite one of the numerous *dicta* of Chief Justice Parsons. But, says Mr. Moore, to conclude thus is to charge the colonists with "a most shocking chronic violation of law," in holding the children of slaves in slavery. This argument, which is not even worthy of a layman's law, does not touch either the historical or the legal question, whether slavery was hereditary by law in Massachusetts. If, however, an explanation is desired of the foothold which hereditary slavery obtained, it may easily be found, we

think, in the facts that for fifty years the number of slaves was so insignificant as not to attract attention to questions of this sort, and that in a thinly settled colony, with scanty means of communication and almost no regular channels of general intelligence, the chances of such a point being brought to the attention of those most concerned must have been extremely small, while the acquaintance of the public with their own laws and institutes bore no comparison with what is seen at the present day. In that state of society, an erroneous construction of the law might easily be acquiesced in for generations, which in the present condition of things could not pass unchallenged for a single year.

III. But we must pass from this point to another, on which Mr. Moore has also persuaded himself that all our lawyers and historians, past and present, have been in error. We refer to the abolition of slavery by the famous opening clause in the Declaration of Rights of 1780, which declares that—

"All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness."

This declaration was adopted in the Constitution and took effect October 25th, 1780. At the June and September Terms, in 1781, the three actions which together make up what is known as the case of Quork Walker were brought and carried to the Supreme Judicial Court, where in 1783, a judicial decision was had, that slavery had been abolished by the above provision in the Declaration of Rights. This decision was recognized and acquiesced in by the Legislature, and has never since been authoritatively questioned. As a matter of fact, not even Mr. Moore can doubt Dr. Belknap's declaration that the fine of forty shillings imposed upon Jennison for false imprisonment and assault of Quork, his alleged slave, "was a mortal wound to slavery in Massachusetts," and that its practical abolition dates from that event,—although on p. 102 we observe what we must think a discreditable attempt to mystify the bearings of this as a test case. As a matter of law then we have here an organic Act by the People, contemporaneous Judicial interpretation of it, and uninterrupted acquiescence in that interpretation by the Legislature, the Courts, and the People, for more than eighty years. If the effect of any legal provision can be more conclusively ascertained, we should be glad to know the process. Mr. Moore is of opinion that the strongest statement that can be made upon authority is that a determination grew up "to consider slavery as abolished;" and he coolly

intimates, on the closing page of his book, that slavery may have legally subsisted until the amendment of the Constitution of the United States, in 1863, when its actual prohibition was accomplished "by the votes of South Carolina and Georgia!" If this suggestion is to be treated as seriously made, it is enough to answer it by citing from Mr. Moore's own pages, the petition presented to the Legislature by Quork's master for relief, which recites that he was deprived of ten slaves by the decision in Quork's case; and that he is informed that "by the determination of the Supreme Judicial Court, the said clause in the Bill of Rights is so to be construed, as to operate to the total discharge and manumission of all Negro Servants whatsoever." Whatever difficulty Mr. Moore may have now, in understanding the legal effect of the Declaration of Rights as applied by the Courts, Nathaniel Jennison was in no doubt about it then.

Of the history of this clause, Mr. Moore remarks that "the family traditions which have designated the elder John Lowell as the author of the declaration, and assigned the intention to abolish slavery as the express motive for its origin, will not stand the test of historical criticism." It is unfortunate that Mr. Moore does not undertake an "historical criticism" of what he designates as the "traditions." It happens that we have the statement of Dr. Belknap, a contemporary, made in 1795, (*Mass. Hist. Coll. IV, 203*), that the clause in question was inserted "with a particular view to establish the liberation of the negroes on a general principle." We have also the statement of Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell, (*Mass. Hist. Coll. IV, i, 90*), derived by him directly from his father, Judge Lowell, that the clause was introduced by the latter, for the express purpose of abolishing slavery; and that he offered his services gratuitously to slaves who might wish to claim freedom under it. And several facts in the life of Judge Lowell, of which it is enough to name his appearance as Counsel in an early freedom suit, (*Cesar v. Greenleaf*, Essex, 1773,) make the statement intrinsically probable. "Historical criticism," we therefore believe, would rank it, not as an ordinary "family tradition," but as a credible statement of history; and this result would be fatal to Mr. Moore's doctrine of the practical insignificance of the clause declaring universal freedom.

Mr. Moore's real difficulty is with respect to the intention of the Convention of 1779, in inserting in its Declaration of Rights, the clause referred to. Did they intend thereby to abolish slavery? To prove a negative for this question,—which, however, has nothing to do with the inquiry whether the abolition was the legitimate result of their action,—Mr. Moore laboriously

shows that John Adams, nearly forty years afterwards, said in a general way that he "adored the idea of gradual abolitions;" that there are few traces of any discussion of the subject; that advertisements of slaves did not at once disappear; and that slavery was not abandoned without some litigation. But this negative evidence is entirely outweighed by the positive statement of Dr. Belknap, made from his own knowledge, only fifteen years afterwards, in the passage cited by us above, that the clause was inserted on purpose to effect "the liberation of the negroes on a general principle, and so it was understood by the people at large." And that a few persons should briefly and feebly resist the action of such a clause cannot be deemed a significant circumstance, when we remember how imperfectly the United States have as yet been able to establish the rights of the negroes freed by so explicit a provision as the anti-slavery amendment of 1866.

Our limits compel us to confine our examination of Mr. Moore's statements and conclusions to the three points thus noticed. There are few parts of his book which are not equally open to criticism with these, and none in which it is safe for the reader to follow the author upon trust. It would be interesting to trace some of his sinister inferences as they develop in his pages into positive statements of fact, not to be questioned as a part of the cumulative charge against Massachusetts. It would be amusing to observe the ingenuity with which every citation and fact is made to add its contribution to the general burden of accusation,—to see how even the failure or refusal of the Royal Governors to sign bills for prohibiting the importation of slaves is made to redound to the discredit of the Legislature; and how a penal act, which finally forbade the slave trade, is censured for omitting to punish, *ex post facto*, for voyages begun before its passage. But what we have already said is sufficient to illustrate fairly the spirit in which Mr. Moore has conducted his research and the character of his results. It has been seen that he is not above suppressing inconvenient authorities; that where this process will not avail, he does not lack assurance in coolly setting aside their opinions or statements; and that his assumptions, not few in number nor unimportant in effect, have a single purpose,—to make out a case against this Commonwealth, in a manner better adapted to practice in the criminal courts than to historical discussion.

But after all is said, to what purpose is Mr. Moore's persevering attack? Nobody has denied that slavery was a marked feature in the provincial history of Massachusetts; and too much has been seen of the spirit of slavery in our own days for any one to suppose that it could exist anywhere without subsidiary evils of the

most repulsive nature. The accumulation of details, therefore, the careful exhumation and display of the miserable incidents by which the admitted wrong, even in its mildest form, must have been accompanied, does not bring any new charge against Massachusetts; it does not even exhibit the old charge in any new light, as some who have been cowed by Mr. Moore's parade of investigation, have seemed to suppose. It simply proves the anxiety of that gentleman himself, to deepen beyond its due proportion, the shade which slavery has cast upon our history.

Let us remind Mr. Moore, however, that it is possible, even with less violence than he has done to the record, so to write the history of the best of mankind that they shall seem to have been the worst. Historical truth lies in proportion as well as in faithfulness of detail; and it is easy so to bring up the shades in any picture of the past, as to destroy its correctness, without altering a single feature. The conscientious historian bears this in mind. He does not seek to influence his reader's judgment of any society by holding up its worst deeds alone; he does not ask the reader to judge of men merely by their errors; least of all does he deign to please a local or political prejudice, or even the personal resentments of literary friends, by raking in the by-ways of history for evidence against a past generation. The lover of historical truth indeed follows as his guide, the noble maxim of Cicero which is placed on the title-page of Mr. Moore's work,—"*Quis nescit, primam esse historiæ legem, 'ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid verum audeat?' But, with Cicero, he adds those other words, which Mr. Moore so judiciously omits on this occasion,—'ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo—ne qua simulatio!'*"

### III.—OLD NEW-YORK REVIVED.— CONTINUED.

14. ADDRESS OF THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH IN THE CITY OF NEW-YORK, TO GOVERNOR TRYON, ON HIS ARRIVAL IN THAT CITY, JULY, 1771; AND HIS REPLY THERETO.

[THE ADDRESS.]

The old Church of JESUS CHRIST, baptized on a personal Profession of their Faith, congregated and meeting in Gold Street, within the City of New-York,

To his EXCELLENCY

WILLIAM TRYON, Esq.

Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over the Province of New-York, and the Territories depending thereon in America, Chancellor and Vice-Admiral of the same.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

WE, the Church, beg Leave with dutiful Respect and Obedience (by our Deputies) to approach you, on the Occasion of your safe Arrival with your Lady and Family, in this your Government - - - Owning a Divine over-ruling Providence, we are bound by the Ties of Duty and Affection, to adore that God who hath conducted you safe to this City.

Permit us, Sir, to assure you of our earnest Supplications to the ALMIGHTY, that he will grant to you the Substance of Solomon's Petition; that with true Wisdom you may fill the high and important Trust committed unto you by our dread and beloved Sovereign, in the most conspicuous and amiable Manner, to the Honour of Religion, the Satisfaction of the King, and the true Interest of the Country, so that in your Appointment God may be glorified.

We hope your Excellency will find, and ever consider us Baptists, true Protestants, as defined at the Revolution, as we hold and profess the same Doctrine, Faith, and Order, with our Sister Churches in Great-Britain, of the same Denomination, whose Loyalty and Obedience have long entitled them to that free Toleration they have many years enjoyed, but never abused.

Under your Auspices, we promise ourselves the Continuance of all our invaluable religious Rights and Privileges, persuading ourselves, that the more the Baptist Churches are known by your Excellency, whether in Great-Britain or America, they will manifest themselves Christian Churches, and merit and enjoy a greater Share of your Protection, Countenance, and even Recommendation (if necessary) to our most gracious Lord the King, and every zealous Protestant within his Realm.

*Done at our Church Meeting in New-York, July 17, [1771], and by their Order signed.*

[THE GOVERNOR'S REPLY.]

GENTLEMEN

THIS Mark of your Respect to me and my Family, is very agreeable to me. I thank you for your pious Supplications, and shall endeavour to the utmost of my Power, to give them Success, by promoting Virtue, and the best interests of the People committed to my Care.

The Toleration Act, as friendly to the Rights of Conscience, and conducive to the strengthening of the Protestant Interest, does Honour to the Nation, and to that illustrious Prince then on the Throne, who was so eminently instrumental in the Establishment of civil and religious Liberty. - - - The Baptists may be assured, that his Majesty's faithful and loyal Subjects of every Protestant Denomination, will meet with my Countenance and Protection.

WM. TRYON.

15.—LINES OF TRAVEL, TO AND FROM NEW YORK, 1787.

[From DAVID C. FRANKS'S *The New-York Directory*, for 1787.]

BOSTON Stages set out from HALL'S Tavern, No. 49, Cortlandt-street, every Monday and Thursday morning; Passengers arrive in Boston in six Days, during the Summer Months, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday Mornings, and arrive in Boston at Four o'Clock, and return Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday evenings.—The Rate of Passage is 4d per mile.

The ALBANY Stage sets out from the same Place, and on the same Days, and arrive at Albany in two days. Passengers pay 3d per Mile, and for every 150 lb. the same as for a Passenger.

A Stage-Coach starts from Hall's Tavern every Day for King's-Bridge, and returns the Evening of the same Day, for the Purpose and Amusement of Parties of Pleasure.

PHILADELPHIA Stages - - - Two of them set out from Pawlus-Hook, at Four o'Clock every Evening, and go by the Way of Newark, where they stop at Night, and arrive at Philadelphia the next Day. - - - The others go by the Way of Bergen-Point, stop at Elizabeth-Town at Night, and arrive at Philadelphia the next Evening.

A Stage-Boat sets out from the Albany-Pier, on every Monday and Thursday, for South-Amboy; and the Stage-Waggon proceeds from thence to Burlington, and from that Place to Philadelphia.

Another Boat sets out from Coenties-Slip, under the Care of John Thompson, every Saturday Morning, and if fair Wind, arrives at New-Brunswick the same Evening, and returns the Tuesday following for New-York.

#### IV.—PAPERS CONCERNING THE PROVINCE AND STATE OF MAINE.

—CONTINUED.

##### 3.—GOVERNOR ANDROS'S PROCLAMATION.

[From an original copy.]

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

A

#### PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS His MAJESTY hath been graciously pleased, by His Royal Letter, bearing Date the sixteenth day of October last past, to signify That He hath received undoubted Advice that a great and

sudden Invasion from *Holland*, with an armed Force of Forreigners and Strangers, will speedily be made in an hostile manner upon His Majesty's Kingdom of *ENGLAND*; and that altho' some *false* pretences relating to *Liberty*, *Property*, and *Religion*, (contrived or worded with Art and Subtilty) may be given out, (as shall be thought useful upon such an Attempt;) It is manifest however, (considering the great Preparations that are making) That no less matter by this *Invasion* is proposed and purposed, than an absolute Conquest of His Majesty's Kingdoms, and the utter Subduing and Subjecting His Majesty and all His People to a Forreign Power, which is promoted (as His Majesty understands) altho' it may seem almost incredible) by some of His Majesty's *Subjects*, being persons of wicked and restless Spirits, implacable Malice, and desperate Designs, who having no fence of former intestine Distractions, (the Memory and Misery whereof should endear and put a Value upon that Peace and Happiness which hath long been enjoyed) nor being moved by His Majesty's reiterated Acts of Grace and Mercy, (wherein His Majesty hath studied and delighted to abound towards all His Subjects, and even towards *those* who were once His Majesty's avowed and open *Enemies*) do again endeavour to embroil His Majesty's Kingdom in Blood and Ruin, to gratifie their own Ambition and Malice, proposing to themselves a Prey and Booty in such a publick Confusion:

And that although His Majesty had Notice that a forreign Force was preparing against Him, yet His Majesty hath alwaies declined any forreign Succour, but rather hath chosen (next under GOD) to rely upon the true and ancient Courage, Faith and Allegiance of His own People, with whom His Majesty hath often ventured His Life for the Honour of His Nation, and in whose Defence against all Enemies His Majesty is firmly resolved to live and dye; and therefore does solemnly *Conjure* His Subjects to lay aside all manner of Animosities, Jealousies, & Prejudices, and heartily & chearfully to *Unite together* in the Defence of His *MAJESTY* and their native Countrey, which thing alone, will (under GOD) defeat and frustrate the principal Hope and Design of His Majesty's Enemies, who

expect to find His People divided; and by publishing (perhaps) some plausible Reasons of their Coming, as the specious (tho' *false*) Pretences of Maintaining the Protestant Religion, or Asserting the Liberties and Properties of His Majesty's People, do hope thereby to conquer that great and renowned Kingdom.

That albeit the Design hath been carried on with all imaginable Secresie & Endeavours to surprize and deceive His *MAJESTY*, HE hath not been wanting on His part to make such provision as did become Him, and, by GOD's great Blessing, His Majesty makes no doubt of being found in so good a Posture that His Enemies may have cause to repent such their rash and *unjust* Attempt. ALL WHICH, it is His Majesty's pleasure, should be made known in the most publick manner to His loving Subjects within this His Territory and Dominion of *NEW-ENGLAND*, that they may be the better prepared to resist any Attempts that may be made by His Majesties Enemies in these parts, and secured in their trade and Commerce with His Majesty's Kingdom of *England*.

I Do therefore, in pursuance of His *MAJESTY*'s Commands, by these Presents *make known* and *Publish* the same accordingly: And hereby Charge and Command all Officers Civil & Military, and all other His Majesty's loving Subjects within this His Territory and Dominion aforesaid, to be *Vigilant* and *Careful* in their respective places and stations, and that, upon the Approach of any Fleet or Forreign Force, they be in Readiness, and use their utmost Endeavour to hinder any Landing or Invasion that may be intended to be made within the same.

*Given at Fort-Charles at Pemaquid, the Tenth Day of January, in the Fourth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord JAMES the Second, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland KING, Defender of the Faith &c. Annoq; DOMINI 1688.*

E ANDROS.

*By His EXCELLENCY's Command.*

JOHN WEST. & Sec<sup>r</sup>.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Printed at *Boston* in *New-England* by R. P.

V.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—  
CONTINUED.

5. GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR  
GEORGE CLINTON.\*

NEWBURGH, 12<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1783

Dear Sir,

I have received a call from Congress to repair to Princeton; whether for any special purpose, or generally to remain there till the definitive Treaty shall arrive, the Resolve is not expressive. —I mean therefore, if the intention of that body is not more fully explained in a few days, to go prepared for the latter so soon as I can adjust matters here, and Mr<sup>s</sup> Washington's health (for at present she is exceedingly unwell) will allow her to undertake the journey.

As a measure of this kind will remove me to a distance & may for a considerable time separate us, and prevent frequent personal Interviews; I should be much obliged to you for intimating to me—before I go—what will be necessary for me to do respecting our purchase of the Saratoga Springs.—I have money now by me, and shall, at any time, be ready to answer your call for this purpose.

As I could wish also to lay myself out for the other matters we conversed upon, I should be glad, if, at your leisure, you would favor me with a general view of the plan in contemplation, and of the Agency I am to have in it; that I may not, in the *one thing needful*, be involved beyond my abilities; or caught unprepared if the purchase is within the compass of my means.

I do not take my leave of you at this time, because I will, by some means or other, contrive to see you and Mr<sup>s</sup> Clinton before I leave this place, whether I go for a long or a short interval.—In the meanwhile with great truth & sincerity

I am—D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> most affect<sup>d</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>  
G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON

His Excell<sup>y</sup>  
Govern<sup>r</sup> Clinton

6. MRS. WASHINGTON TO MARTHA WASHINGTON  
DANDRIDGE.\*

MOUNT VERNON February 12<sup>th</sup> 1801

My dear Patty

I send this letter for you to your Brother Julians by Mr David Randolph as a safe con-

vincee I wished it to get to your hands soon—in it I send three Hundred dollars one hundred dollars to your sister Polly one hundred dollars to Fanny and one hundred dollars for your self—in six fifty dollars bills—it is the entrest of Mr L Lewis Bond that I gave to you and them.—

I thank you my dear patty for your affectionate letter I have been and am at this time very much indisposed Nelly has been very unwell and Washington ill thank god he is getting better Fanny went to the city witt Mr<sup>s</sup> Law soon after christmas and has not returned yet—It will always give me pleasure to see your or either sister hear—I have often lamented the great distance I am from you—my love and good Wishes to your mother sisters & Broth and believe me your ever affectionat  
M. WASHINGTON.

[Addressed] Miss M W Dandridge

7. FROM MISS ELEANOR PARKE CUSTIS, (MRS.  
WASHINGTON'S GRAND-DAUGHTER) TO MRS.  
WOLCOTT.\*

MOUNT VERNON December 28<sup>th</sup> 1797

My Dear Madam,

My Sister Law will I expect hand you this letter, as she intends visiting Philadelphia very shortly; We have anxiously wished to hear from you, & to be assured of your health, Mr Wolcotts & your children's—I wrote to you in the Summer & directed my Letter to Hartford, perhaps it has never reached you as I have not had the pleasure of an answer,—I hope soon to hear that yourself & family enjoy good health you are now no doubt in Philadelphia I congratulate you that the late epidemic has at last left that unfortunate City; for its distressed inhabitants I have felt sincere sorrow & hope they will never again be visited with that dreadful fever.

We have spent our Summer & Autumn very happily here, have in general been blessed with health—have had many very agreeable visitors—& are now contentedly seated round our Winter fireside. often speaking of, & wishing to see again our good friends in Philadelphia, but never regretting its amusements, or a life of ceremony.—I stay very much at home, have not been to the City for two or three months.

My Grandparents, Brother, a nephew of the General, & *your humble servant*, compose the family at present, I never have a dull or lonesome hour never find a day too long, indeed time appears to fly, & I sometimes think the years are much shorter for some time past, than they ever were before. I am not very industrious, but I work a little, read, play on the Harpsichord,

\* From the Collection of Thomas Addis Emmett, M.D., of New York City.

\* From the Collection of Thomas Addis Emmett, M.D., of New York City,

write, & walk, & find my time fully taken up with these several employments.

My Mother & her young family are all well, My sister Peter has lately presented us with another little relation, a very fine girl, who is thought to be very like her Mother, I have never seen my sister since that event, but hear she is quite well.

I send by my Sister Law, a cotton cord & tassels, which I lately made on purpose for you. I learnt last summer to make them I hope you will like it, & you will gratify me very much by wearing it in remembrance of me.

Our friend Mrs Harrison is still in Alexandria & proposes spending this Winter there. She is quite well & I believe expects shortly to encrease her family.

Mr GW Craik is at present very much indisposed from a violent cold, which was occasioned by his going out, & exposing himself too much some severe cold weather, that we have had lately: Poor young man, I fear he is not long for this world, & his Father probably will live to see all his children buried; I believe no parent ever had children more dutiful & better disposed than his are, he is much to be pitied, & Mr<sup>s</sup> Craik also, unless they can comfort themselves with reflecting that their children were very deserving, & are gone to that Being who never fails to reward merit.—but I believe when our feelings are so much hurt, by the loss of a worthy object, it is impossible to reason, with ourselves we are wholly occupied with our present affliction & cannot immediately recollect any circumstances to alleviate or remove it.

Alexandria has been very gay, Balls in abundance. I have never yet attended any of them, I expect soon to go to one When in a City, Balls are my favorite amusement but when in the Country I have no inclination for them & am too indolent in Winter to move to any distance from home for any species of amusement.

I shall thank you to remember me affectionately to those Friends who may enquire about me particularly Mr<sup>s</sup> Gatliff.—

My Beloved GrandMamma joins me in love & best wishes to you & your Children, with all our compliments to Mr Wolcott.

As the New Year is *almost* here, I will conclude with wishing you & yours, many very happy New Years each succeeding one happier than the last—

& be assured, Dear Madam, that I am with perfect esteem & affection  
Yours

ELEANOR P. CUSTIS

8.—ROBERT FULTON TO THOMAS LAW.\*

NEW YORK April 16<sup>th</sup> 1812

Dear Sir

I have got your letter without a date but I presume it is from Washington, I agree to make the Ganges enterprise a Joint concern you will please to send me a plan how you mean to proceed to secure a Grant for 20 years and find funds to establish the first boat. This work is so honorable and important It is so grand an Idea that Americans Should establish steam Vessels to work in Idea† that it requires Vigor, activity, exertion, industry, attention, and that No time should be lost. My Paragon Beats every thing on this Globe, for mad as you and I are we cannot tell what is in the moon this Day she came in from Albany 160 miles in 26 hours wind ahead. Sincere esteem and respect to Charming amiable Miffin, and the excellent Miss Boardly and her Mama

Yours with esteem and  
Respect

ROBT FULTON

THO<sup>s</sup> LAW Esq

Keep the Ganges Secret

9.—GENERAL JOHN BRADSTREET TO GENERAL BRADDOCK.‡

Sir

On my arrival here the 27<sup>th</sup> of this month I made it part of my business to be informed by the Indians who are constantly coming here from all quarters of the military proceedings of the French, and by their accounts the french have sent the nine hundred and fifty men to the Ohio which I hope your Excellency received an account of by express from Colo. Johnsons when I pass his house in my way to this place. The movements and activity of the French are such since that, that I think it my duty, and hope you will think I am right in sending your Excellency an account thereof by two trustee Indians across the country, Viz, that on the 25<sup>th</sup> twelve Battoos past this place with men and provisions, the 27<sup>th</sup> Eleven, and this day eleven, which latter had nine small cannon on board, and they carry one with the other, & ten Men; and I am well inform'd there are more men preparing to set out from cataraque, and others daily expected from Mountreal there, and that the French are using all their power and artifice to get as many Indians with them to oppose you as they possibly can, and openly declare to the Indians they will

\* From the Collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett of New York.

† India (?)

‡ From the Collection of F. S. Hoffman, Esq., New York.

send the whole force of Canada but they will carry their point. One of the chiefs of the six Nations now here has undertaken to forward this letter with such dispatch that it will come to your Excellency's hands the ninth day from this time which will undoubtedly be before even the first of these three detachments can join their Forces, therefore I am hopeful this information will be of use to you. There are many Indians now here and numbers are daily expected, and they appear to be very attentive to the proceedings between the French and us, and I hope your Excellency will forgive my mentioning that the giving them provisions and well judg'd presents would be of very great use at this time. Was I not fearful of this letters falling into the Frenches hands I should venture to say more to your Excellency, and send you returns with an account of my proceedings, but shall dispatch a messenger to Colonel Shirley when there is no risk immediately— I am with the utmost respect

Your Excellency's

Most Obedient and

P. S. The troops are all very Most humble Servant well and in good spirits. J<sup>no</sup>. BRADSTREET  
I shall directly acquaint the several Governors of what is past and the information I have had.

Oswego 29<sup>th</sup> May 1755

His Exc<sup>l</sup> General Braddock &c &c

## VI.—THE SECOND CLASSICAL SCHOOL IN IREDELL CO. (THEN ROWAN CO.) NORTH CAROLINA.

By PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL, OF DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

The most important school, in its day, in this part of the State, was the one called "Clio's Nursery;" either because it was put under the care of the first of the Muses, or because it was the road to honor and reputation. It was situated near the junction of the South Yadkin River and Snow Creek, about ten miles North of where the town of Statesville now stands, the Court House of the County, but before the County was separated from Rowan—on the ancient map, in the neighborhood of Robert King, Jas. King, John Sharp, and William Sharp.\*

It is not well determined, either in what year this school began or came to a close. It is generally admitted, however, that Rev. James Hall,

D.D., was influential in getting it up. He returned from college, at Princeton, N. J., in 1774, and was licensed to preach the gospel, in 1776. Judge Longstreet, of Georgia, now President of the University of South Carolina, in an Oration on the death of Rev. Moses Waddell, (son of Wm. Waddell, on the map,) the President of Athens College, Georgia, and who obtained his early education at the Clio School, says that it began before the Revolution. A man now living in the Western Country says that it closed, in 1787.

Martin's History of the State asserts that there were only two public schools in 1776, one at Edenton, the other at Newbern; both very remote from this locality. But he is speaking of Academies incorporated by the Legislature.\* The Clio Academy, though having Trustees, was not thus incorporated. Among the names of the teachers as given by tradition, are Rev. Jas. McEwen—the brother-in-law of Rev. Dr. Hall—Rev. Francis Cummins; Samuel Harris—the brother of Dr. Charles Harris, of Cabarrus Co., who was afterwards graduated at Princeton College, in 1787—was a tutor there, in 1788, and died the next year; Samuel W. Young, who went from there to Willsboro, S. C.; John Newton, licensed by Orange Presbytery, in 1783, under whom Jas. W. Stevenson was an assistant: after them was Charles Caldwell, mentioned again below, under whom, it would seem, the school came to a close; and he left it to re-establish the Crowfield School, in Centre Congregation, as already described. We do not suppose that we have given the above names in the right order of time, except the first and the last, which are well ascertained. Dr. Charles Caldwell, a native of Cabarrus Co., once a Professor in a Medical College in Philadelphia, who removed from there to Lexington, Ky., and who recently died at Louisville, Ky., in a letter to Hugh R. Hall, Esqr., of Iredell Co., dated March 12, 1847, says: "I succeeded Mr. Harris about 'the year 1785 or 6, and continued at the head 'of the school about two years; when I withdrew from it by invitation to aid in the establishment [i.e. re-establishment] of a similar 'institution in Centre Congregation, near the 'residence of Col. Osborne, [about twenty miles 'off.] It was certainly *suspended* for a time, if 'not *permanently closed*; my memory suggesting to me the *latter issue*. From its commencement, if I am not mistaken, the Clio School 'flourished: during the regime of my immediate predecessor and myself, I know it did."

In his Autobiography, published since his death, he says: "I was induced by a complimentary invitation and the prospect of a liberal income, to place myself at the head of a

\* "The ancient map," here referred to, will be re-produced in the January number of this work.—ED. HIST. MAG.

\* See Martin, ii, 395, Davis' Revisal Laws, N. C., in 1773, 359, 478.

"large and flourishing Grammar School, situated in a remote and wealthy section of the State. *"That institution had at all times been previously under the direction of gentlemen somewhat advanced in years, and of acknowledged scholarship; and it contained, at the time of my appointment to it, several pupils from five to ten years older than myself."* In another place he speaks of "this institution as the Snow Creek Seminary, from being situated on a stream of that name, not far from the foot of the Bushy Mountains." It was in an elevated and healthy region surrounded with beautiful scenery, in the midst of, perhaps at that time, the most thickly settled neighborhood, in what is now Iredell County. Here were the pious and respectable families of Sharps, Kings, Adamases, &c. The names of many who, in whole or in part, were educated there are furnished by the memories of the aged. Some of them rose to eminence in various departments of public life.

Rev. Richard King, a native of that County, and who was prepared at this school for a higher institution, in a letter to a friend, in 1822, remarks of some of the Clio students, as Dr. Jas. Blythe and others, who had risen to eminence: "These great men must all call Iredell their literary cradle, where they first courted the Muses, and from whence they started for the goal of fame. They are determined to be of the great men of the earth, and they will be so." Of this same Richard King, Dr. C. Caldwell remarked that "he was brilliant and imposing, in both mind and person; \* \* \* and he became one of the ablest and most evangelical preachers. In eloquence, especially, he was rarely surpassed." Other names found on the list of students are Judge Edward Harris, of this State; Judge Smith, of Alabama; Dr. Moses Waddell, late President of Athens College, Ga.; Rev. H. Bowman; Felix Walker, Member of Congress from the Western District of this State; Bain Alexander and Dr. Joseph Alexander, of Mecklenburg; Dr. Charles Harris, of Cabarrus Co.; Geo. W. Campbell, of Tennessee, Secretary of the U. S. Treasury in 1814, and afterwards Minister to Russia; and many others. Indeed, in its day, this school was of more importance than commonly supposed. There was no College within a moderate distance, to which students in this back country could resort, and this almost filled the place of one.

In the letter of Dr. Caldwell, above referred to, he states that "the exercises were Greek, Latin, English Belle Lettres, Geography, Algebra, Practical Surveying, and the principles of Navigation." Except in a few instances, neither Experimental Philosophy nor Astronomy was made a study. English Composition and Public Speaking received special attention; and once

every year was held what was called a *Public Exhibition*, where speeches were delivered, dialogues spoken, and plays acted on a stage erected in the open air, and the whole community joined the audience.

As we learn from old people, who received accounts of these Exhibitions from their ancestors, they filled a place in the public mind equal to the Commencements in our modern Colleges. The Trustees met at the house of Lawyer Wm. Sharpe, in the vicinity, and marched with the Faculty and Students, accompanied with music, to the Academy, making as much display as on a similar occasion now.

Dr. Moses Waddell was heard to say, long after he left this part of the country, that the Languages were taught at this school better than in any other place in the State, at that time. What brought this school to a close is not known. The burning of the building caused some excitement throughout the country at that time. The incendiary was never discovered, though some of the students were arrested on suspicion. With the burning of the house the school was suspended, and for some reason was not resumed; and probably, as Dr. Caldwell states, about 1787. Just before that, Rev. S. E. McCordle, D.D., began his school at "Zion-Parnassus," in Rowan; and just after that, Rev. Jas. Hall, D.D., commenced his Scientific School, at his own house, near Bethany Church. To this, Ebenezer Academy, so long and ably conducted by Hugh R. Hall, Esq., may be regarded as a successor. But that has ceased for several years.

Davidson College, N. C., 1866.

## VII.—BOOKS.

### 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent.* By George Bancroft. Vol. ix. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. 505.

More than thirty years have elapsed since the first volume of this work silently and timidly sought the favor of the reading public; and the learned author, with singular diligence, has subsequently spent the best years of his life in adding volume after volume to the series and in making more perfect than before, his narrative of the "History of the United States."

Of that History, no portion is more important nor more complicated than that which Mr. Bancroft has apportioned to this volume; and there is none which will more severely tax the patience of the student or more severely test the author's capacity as a Historian.

The story of the Congress of 1776 and its severance of the recognized ties with which the thirteen Colonies had been bound to the Mother Country, was told in the volume which immediately preceded this; and the veteran author, in the volume before us, has undertaken to tell his readers concerning the events of our History which were crowded into the period immediately succeeding the Declaration of the Independence of the Colonies, and ending with the conclusion of the Treaty with the King of the French, early in 1778. His narrative, therefore, must tell, with greater or less minuteness, of the adaptation of existing Monarchical institutions and Governments, in America, to the newly established Republican system; of the accommodation, more or less sincere, of aristocratic prejudices and opinions, of haughty aspirations and reckless ambitions, to the same unusual standard; of the formal organization, from the *debris* of the disbanded Colonies, of thirteen "Free, Sovereign, and "Independent" States; of the establishment, therein, of as many separate and distinct Governments; of the attempted formation, between those thirteen diverse, and sometimes antagonistic, Republics, of a Confederation and Perpetual League of Friendship; and of the establishment of Diplomatic relations between those States—yet disunited, unless by the cohesive power of a common danger—and the radically antagonistic Monarchies of the old World. He must tell us, also, in this volume, of "War and "rumors of War"—of an overwhelming army of invasion, hanging on the borders, and of nothing more than a badly-organized, badly-sustained, and badly-handled handful of insurgents, within, to oppose its progress; of lamentable ignorance in some of the popular leaders, both civil and military, and of a cowardly and mischievous disaffection in others; of a serious lukewarmness among the masses, and of intrigues and corruption within the Congress; of the disastrous overthrow of the insurgents, and the successful occupation of the city of New York, by the Royal Troops; of the subsequent retreats of each of the opposing forces, successively, through Westchester County and the Jerseys; of cowardice at Bedford and Kip's Bay, and treachery at Fort Washington; of the disastrous Campaign of 1777, terminating in the loss of Philadelphia, and the counteracting glories of the Northern Campaign of that year, which resulted in the capture of an army and an Alliance with France. He must tell us, also, of the political somersault of John Jay and the defection of Charles Lee, of the gallantry of Thomas Knolton and the disastrous stupidity of Henry Knox, of Putnam's imbecility and Schuyler's masterly generalship. All these subjects, and more than these, must find places in this volume; and the importance

of the task which Mr. Bancroft imposed upon himself, in its preparation, justified, if it did not demand, the long-continued, earnest, and extended research of which it is evidently the result.

We shall inquire, hereafter, how completely and how impartially, whether justly or unjustly, accurately or the reverse, Mr. Bancroft has discharged his self-imposed duty; and, as the question has been agitated elsewhere, we shall also inquire into the validity of his claim, or that of his friends, for him, to be considered the leading historian of our country. Until that time, we must dismiss the subject.

2.—*A Historical Discourse, delivered in the First Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Tarrytown, N. Y., by Rev. Abel T. Stewart. May 13, 1866. New York: Sine anno. Octavo, 49.*

This discourse, if we understand the matter correctly, was a species of farewell sermon, by the late Pastor of the "old Church," at Sleepy-Hollow; and it has been issued in a very neat style, by the Consistory of that venerable body.

We are sorry to say, however, that it is not such a sermon as so able a preacher as Mr. Stewart should have delivered on such an occasion. The liberal, but *silent*, use which he made, in its preparation, of Bolton's *History of West Chester County*, having afforded ample leisure for the investigation, in other quarters, of the subjects on which that industrious author threw an imperfect light, Mr. Stewart owed it to himself and to the venerable Church whom he had served, as well as to all who have read the story of Sleepy-Hollow or who are bound to that sacred spot by other ties, either to have performed his work properly or wholly neglected it.

Mr. Stewart, for instance, appears to have taken it for granted that the Church was organized in 1694, (p. 14) without alluding to its existence at an earlier date, notwithstanding the Records of the Church bear evidence of the formal thanks of that body, by Resolution, to Margarita Hardenbrock, the first wife of Vrederyck Felypsen, who died in 1662. (Bolton's *West Chester*, i. 322.) This existence, as an organized body, prior to 1694 is also confirmed by the record, on the Church books, that "these first "Christian inhabitants, in this heathenism," first "endeavored to live as true Christians,"—"they "thought it very necessary to meet together at a "convenient place on the Lord's day, to pray to "God with the whole heart, and praise and bless "Him with psalms and hymns"—and, after experiencing in this primitive organization, the want of a minister, they called, in 1697, Domine Bartholf, to preach for them. Why could not Mr. Stewart have inquired and told us something of the small beginnings of the infant Church and of its early members, instead of contenting himself, as he has done, with hashing up and serving

anew, the scanty material supplied by Mr. Bolton; or with unnecessarily recounting the Revolutionary incidents in the histories of Virginia and Massachusetts, (pp. 10, 11;) or detailing the history of the Church of Cortlandt, near Peekskill (pp. 21-26) or that of the Church at Greenville? Why was not the peculiar character of this Church and of its membership, prior to the Revolution—when the former was the creature of the Phillips family, as much as was the neighboring Mill: the latter, merely a body of Feudal tenantry, clustering around their "Lord" and his "Manor-house," as villains clustered around their Lords, five hundred years ago?

We are surprised, also, that Adolphus Philipse has been described by Mr. Stewart, as the "son-in-law" of Mrs. Catharina [van Cortlandt] Philipse (p. 18) while the record was before him, and quoted on page 8, that he was, in fact, the son of Margarita, the first wife of Catharina's husband, and consequently the *step-son* of the latter.

We regret, also, that no authority has been given as evidence that Mr. Philipse "removed [from Yonkers] to Tarrytown," as stated on page 18—we do not believe that he ever "removed," as we understand that term—and may we not also protest against the loose manner in which Mr. Stewart has copied the only epitaph which he gives in this sermon? (p. 33.) The original is as follows; and it should have been thus printed, or not at all:

I. M.

In Memory of  
Mr. Isaac Martlings  
who was Inhumanely slain  
by NATHANIEL  
UNDERHILL May 26th  
AD 1779

In the 39th Year  
of his Age.

The photographic view of the old meeting house and that of the ancient communion service, are appropriate illustrations to this work; and will serve to make it more welcome, both to strangers and to those who, like ourself, recognize the "old church-yard" as their, probably, final resting place, on earth.

3.—*The National Academy of Design.* Ceremonies on the occasion of laying the corner stone, October 21st, 1863, and the inauguration of the building April 27th, 1865. New York: Miller & Mathews. 1865. Large Octavo, pp. 91.

The title-page, of which the above is a copy, will indicate to the reader the contents of one

of the most elegant volumes of the day, which we have recently received from our friend, Mr. Mathews.

It contains the entire proceedings of the Academy, on the occasion of laying the corner-stone of its building as well as on that of its formal dedication to purposes of Art; and it has been issued in a dress which reflects equal credit on the Printer and the Publishers. Indeed, we do not recollect any specimen of workmanship from the Alvord Press, which surpasses it in beauty, barring an occasional impression of the pressman's fingers; and a finer specimen of stone-engraving than that displayed in the frontispiece, is seldom seen.

The edition numbered two hundred copies.

4.—*The early history of Southampton, L. I., New York,* with Genealogies. By Geo. Rogers Howell. New York: J. N. Hallock, 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 318.

This volume appears to have been the attempt of a country Pastor to perpetuate the records of the town in which he lives; and, although his task has not been well done, we are disposed to take the will for the deed, and to credit him, accordingly. He has done better than many others would have done, under similar circumstances; and his publication of so many of the family records of the ancient families of the vicinity, is a work for which, if he had done no more, he would have been entitled to the gratitude of every Long Islander.

We are sorry, however, that we cannot say as much for his Publisher, whose part of the undertaking has been most shamefully performed, and will afford a warning to all who might otherwise feel disposed to extend their patronage to him.

5.—*The Lost Cause; a new Southern History of the War of the Confederates.* \* \* \* Drawn from official sources, and approved by the most distinguished confederate leaders. By E. A. Pollard, of Virginia. New York: E. B. Treat & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. 752.

Our readers are generally acquainted with the character and influence of the Richmond (Va.) *Examiner*, during the recent war; and they can readily understand the opportunity to obtain full and authentic information, which its Editor possessed. The volume before us is the work of that Editor; and, although in some of its features it may be different from the tone of that paper, "during the war"—circumstances often alter cases—it is sufficiently anti-"Federal" and anti-"Jeff-Davis," to represent one phase of Southern opinion and Southern purposes, and to throw what, to us, is new light on a great subject.

The first four chapters are occupied with a retrospect of our political history, from 1774 until 1860—a portion of the work which may be profitably read and studied, by both the North and the South.

The author first discusses the value of the Federal principle, in the abstract; and, applying his theory to the case of the United States, he evidently considers that the Union of these States has performed its mission, in this portion of the Continent. He then examines, in detail, the various measures which led to the establishment, between the States, of the Constitution for the United States, the various defects in that instrument, and the various measures in which, from time to time, the ruling majority of the day has disregarded its express provisions or exercised authority for which it afforded no warrant.

In this portion of his work, Mr. Pollard is generally very well informed and very clear in his statements; but he sometimes fails, we think, to discover or to employ the exact truth of the matter which he discusses. For instance, he appears to suppose that the Articles of Confederation were entirely abrogated by the ratification of the Constitution, whereas the latter, in fact, only amended the former and abrogated those portions of the Articles which were inconsistent with the provisions of the last Constitutional enactment of the sovereign powers. He also confounds a representation, in the Federal House of Representatives, of the individual polls of the inhabitants, with that of "the People" of the several States (pp. 38, 39). The first of these errors leads him to consider the Union as "formed under the Constitution," (p. 37) and therefore as loose in its character as are the terms of that instrument: the last leads him into the popular error that "the People" and "the States" are different bodies and possessing different powers. The former, leads him, also, to consider the assumption by the Congress, or the Federal Judiciary, or the President of the United States, of unauthorized powers, as a mere invasion of reserved, but unnamed and uncertain rights, instead of a nullification of Constitutional provisions, clearly expressed and entirely unmistakable in their character: the latter, it seems to us, disqualifies him for a proper understanding of this part of his subject, in all its parts. By the first, he is led to deny the continuity of the Union, under the Confederation, from the beginning, in 1781, until now: by the last, he confounds the individual inhabitants of the territory of a State with the membership of the Commonwealth, in the last of whom, *alone*, rests the entire political authority of the State.

Still further, Mr. Pollard unwisely, we think, because incorrectly, considers the "Free-soil" element as Abolition in character—a statement which is exactly opposite to the Truth and entirely unnecessary in his argument.

The "Free-soil" party expressly disclaimed the right of Congress, or any other body than the several States, each for itself, to abolish or inter-

fere with slavery within those States—even this doctrine was maintained by the organizations, at a later period, which were organized and sustained by William and John Jay, John P. Hale, Salmon P. Chase, Henry Wilson, etc.—and there were no more rigid States-Rights men in the South, on the subject of slavery at least, than were the leaders and the masses of the "Free-soil" men of the North. It was one thing, we admit, to claim *Federal* action on Slavery, as the South claimed, in the Fugitive Slave-bill, and another to deny that the *Federal* authorities had anything to do with Slaves or Slavery, fugitive or at home,—that it was purely a *local* Institution,—as was unequivocally maintained by the Free-soilers: we need not indicate which of the two theories was most indicative of a regard for "States-Rights," and which was most aggressive or most "abolition" in character. It was one thing to claim that the Statutes of a Slave-State, under which her citizens legally held Negroes in bondage, were legitimate and sovereign *within her own boundaries*, as all admitted: it was another, to claim that the provisions of those Statutes were legally effective *beyond the bounds of the State which had enacted them*, even in Territories which did not lie within hundreds of miles from the Commonwealth which had enacted them, as was maintained by the great body of the South. The Rights of the several States, *within their respective Territories*, ALL freely admitted: where then was the "abolitionism" talked of? The existence of any such Rights, *beyond those bounds*, was properly denied by the Free-soilers of the North, and improperly demanded by the South. Why then, could not Mr. Pollard tell his readers the truth, that the resolute inconsistency of Southern leaders, in claiming, *justly*, for the several States, the *sole* right to control Slavery *within* their respective territories, at the same time that they claimed, *unjustly*, the right to extend their Slave-laws, thus enacted, *beyond* the States which had enacted them,—even into other States whose Statutes forbade Slavery within their borders,—was the opposite of their professed regards for "States-Rights;" and that the rigid opposition in the North, to that selfish, suicidal inconsistency was exactly the opposite of a tendency to "Abolition"? Why did he not say that the anxiety of the South, to fasten on the Federal authorities the duty of catching and surrendering fugitive slaves, which the Constitution had imposed upon the individual States, was the opening of a door, by his own "section," which warranted the North in a further interference with the subject? Why did he not tell the whole Truth, that in its illegal endeavors to make Slavery a *Federal* subject, on one branch of it, the South threw into the hands of the stronger party, an excuse for the illegal control of that which belonged, originally and properly, solely to itself?

We are glad, notwithstanding what we conceive to be his errors on some subjects, that Mr. Pollard has written this book. We need reliable Histories of "the Lost Cause," from the several Southern stand-points; and no one, better than he, could have been found to record the anti-Davis version of it. He has done his peculiar work well, and students will thank him for it; just as they will thank some equally intelligent friend of Mr. Davis to tell us the story as he understands it.

The work is very neatly printed and illustrated—among the portraits we find one of W. M. Mason—and is offered for sale only to subscribers.

6.—*History of Julius Cæsar*. Vol. II., Wars in Gaul. New York: Harper & Bro. 1866. Octavo, pp. xv, 659.

In this volume we have the third and fourth Chapters of the Emperor's biography of Julius Cæsar, embracing the Campaign against the Helvetii, A.U.C. 696; that against Ariovistus, A.U.C., 696; the war against the Belgæ, A.U.C., 697; the insurrection of the Veneti and other maritime peoples, A.U.C., 698; his expeditions to Britain, A.U.C., 699 and 700; etc., together with a survey of the events at Rome, from 696 until 705, ending with the celebrated passage of the Rubicon, in the latter year.

The conflicting opinions of those who are much better versed in the subject treated in this volume than we are, have been shared so generally, on either side, by the great body of our readers, that nothing need be said by us concerning the intrinsic merits of the Emperor's productions; yet we may be permitted to say that we have read the narrative, as presented in the edition before us, with entire satisfaction. The story is told without affectation or apparent effort: the style is easy and graceful: the authorities, at the foot, are of unquestionable worth and sufficiently abundant: and the beauty of the typography, in view of the commercial character of the work, is all that should be desired.

7.—*The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke*. Revised Edition. Vol. VIII. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1866. Octavo, pp. iv, 486.

We have already invited the attention of our readers to the very elegant edition of Burke's Works, of which this is the eighth volume; and we need only say that the beauty of the former issues is fully sustained by this.

The Contents relate entirely to the affairs of the East Indies.

8.—*The Science of Government in connection with American Institutions*. By Joseph Alden, D.D., LL.D. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 248.

The object of this book is said "to aid the

"young in acquiring the knowledge necessary "for the discharge of their duties as citizens of "the United States"—certainly, one of the greatest importance, and worthy the attention of the most able of our citizens.

Mr. Alden begins by telling his readers that "civil society is an institution of God—is of "divine origin. God made men to live together "in a social civilized state;" etc. just as if there was no difference between a merely social organization and a "civil society." God, it is true, *did* institute the family relations; but we fail to perceive where he instituted any other; and we imagine the "civil society" of which Dr. Alden speaks so freely—the Commonwealth—is an invention of man, in order to provide for his growing wants.

He tells us, also, of the nature of man, which requires society, in order to prevent extinction of the race, and to provide for the development of his intellect; and he concludes, for that reason, that "Civil society, or the State, is not a voluntary association as some have taught"—giving to that body a divine origin; and, necessarily, considering that any tinkering of the Constitution of the State is a blasphemous presumption on the part of the citizen.

Throughout the entire volume, he mixes the "civil" and the "social" compacts, with ludicrous coolness; and, in his argument, he jumps from one to the other, and back again, with all the dexterity of a clown in the circus; but how, by these performances, he can "aid the young in "acquiring knowledge" is not very evident. We commend to his attention and careful study, the Bill of Rights and Frame of Government of the Constitution of Massachusetts, in order that by the comparison of its terms with his own, he may learn how little he knows on the subject of which he assumes to become a teacher.

He tells us that "men become members of civil "society—of the State—by the act of God;" and, we suppose that he considers it is by the same power—the Almighty act of God—that any are excluded from that association. What nonsense to suppose, as he must suppose, that the disfranchised Irishman, fresh from his native bogs, is made a member of the State of New York, "by the act of "God," rather than by his own act and that of the General Committee at Tammany Hall!

Mr. Alden next declares himself a believer in the doctrine of "State-sovereignty;" (pp. 13-15) and in this portion of his treatise, his ideas are consistent, intelligent, and clearly expressed: concerning suffrage, however, he seems to have no fixed opinion, and offers none.

He tells us, also, that "Liberty is the result of "law—not as many suppose, of the absence of "Law." We need not say that the author of such a sentence is as ignorant of the nature of Liberty

and its origin, as he is of the character and origin of a State. The normal condition of mankind, a state of bondage! What nonsense.

He recognizes the practical authority of "the higher law" and the duty of every one to disregard a statute which, in his opinion, conflicts with that "higher law;" yet he maintains that a Government, *de facto*, should always be obeyed, even in cases when it exists in defiance of the Constitution and the Laws of the Land.

He briefly narrates the origin of the Confederation and of the Constitution, in which his statements are often entirely without foundation; and he closes with a review of the different provisions of the Constitution, a brief notice of each of the State Constitutions, and a synopsis of what he considers International Law.

9.—*Semi-centennial Memorial Discourse of the New York Sunday-School Union*, delivered on the Evening of the 25th of February, 1866, in the R. D. Church, in Fifth Avenue. By Rev. Isaac Ferris, D.D., President of the Union. Published at the request of the Board of Managers. New York: 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 120.

We have received from the venerable Author a copy of this interesting little volume, in which he has traced the rise and progress of the Sunday-School movement from its origin, in Gloucester; particularly its progress in the city of New York, from 1794 until the present day.

In the course of his remarks, Doctor Ferris noticed, *First*, the origin of the New York Sunday-School Union; *Second*, its early history and progress; *Third*, The Instrumentalities which have given it its Efficiency; *Fourth*, The Results which have been attained; and *Fifth*, The Lessons suggested by its History; and the thoroughness with which he has discharged his duty, in the examination of each of these branches of his subject, may serve as a model for those who shall follow him in the discharge of similar duties.

We have read the little volume with great satisfaction; and it commends itself both to the collector of works on New York City and to the friends of Sunday-Schools.

10.—*A Youth's History of the Great Civil War in the United States, from 1861 to 1865*. New York: Van Evrie, Horton, & Co. 1866. Small octavo, pp. 384.

We have here a small history of the War, written, we are told, from "the Democratic standpoint," whatever that may be.

The author occupies the first one hundred pages with a retrospect of the rise of parties and their distinguishing features, from the beginning of the country's existence until the opening of the War; and he has executed this portion of his work with commendable diligence, although not always in such a calm and dignified spirit as becometh the Historian of such events. There is this merit, however, in all that he says, he is

fearless in the expression of his well-defined opinions; and we must respect him, even while we sometimes differ from him in opinion.

Concerning the latter portion of the volume, relating to the War itself, we can say little that is favorable, when considered as "a Youth's History." It lacks that calm, dispassionate tone which every History should possess; and resembles a campaign document rather than a volume for the instruction of any one. We regret that it has been either written or published, with its present title.

11.—*Third Annual Report of the Board of Directors, the Librarian, and the Treasurer, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Long Island Historical Society, May, 1866*. Brooklyn, 1866. Octavo, pp. 70.

This handsome pamphlet furnishes a history of the Society during its Third fiscal year; and we are glad to perceive that its prosperity keeps up with the expectations of its founders.

Fifteen papers, on historical subjects, were read before the Society, and eight on scientific subjects, before the Department of Natural History. Twenty-three hundred bound volumes and twenty-seven hundred pamphlets were added to its Library; and a great number of specimens, relics, etc. for its Cabinet. Upwards of eight hundred members are enrolled on its books; and it has been enabled to both "lengthen its cords" and "strengthen its stakes," in the city of its habitation.

The Society is judiciously managed; and we rejoice to learn that its importance is recognized by those for whose benefit it was organized.

12.—*Catalogue of the Museum and Gallery of Art of the New York Historical Society*. 1866. New York: 1866. Octavo, pp. viii, 72, 64.

The volume before us contains, *FIRST*, a pictorial Catalogue of the Abbott Collection of Egyptian Antiquities; and, *SECOND*, a Catalogue of the Society's Gallery of Art—the former said to be unequalled, even in Europe, for its specimens of the smaller objects of Egyptian Antiquity; the latter probably unequalled in interest, by any other Gallery in America.

The Society now affords to its members and their families and friends, and to strangers introduced by a member, one of the most agreeable stopping-places in the city; and we are glad to know that it is fast becoming, what it should be, one of the most influential Societies in the world, and one of the most useful.

13.—*Account of the Great Conflagration in Portland, July 4th and 5th, 1866*, by John Neal; and a New Business Guide, giving Removals, Changes in Business, &c. Portland: 1866. Octavo, pp. 64, viii, [iv.]

This is just such a description of the fire as John Neal might be expected to write—words

words, WORDS. Will not Mr. Willis or some more capable writer than the author of this sketch, leave a record of the facts attending this disaster, for the benefit of those who shall come after us?

14.—*Annual Reports upon the Common Schools of New Hampshire*. 1861-5. Concord: 1861-5. Octavo; pp. [1861] 296, [1862] 304; [1863] 36, 206; [1864] 364; [1865] 120.

We are indebted to our friend, Captain W. F. Goodwin, of Concord, for these interesting records of the Educational apparatus employed by New Hampshire, for the instruction of her children, from which we learn that she numbered, in 1865, 2299 school districts; that 77,681 children attended school not less than two weeks each, averaging 49,745 : 3538, between four and fourteen years of age, attended no schools. The average wages paid were, to males, \$32.60, and to females, \$16.61 per month; and the numbers employed were 568 of the former and 3352 of the latter.

We shall take an early opportunity to compare these statistics with those, on the same subject, of the Board of Education in the City of New York—the former representing one of the bright spots of rural civilization; the other, one of the sinks of municipal ignorance, vice, and crime, if the newspapers of the day are to be believed.

15.—*Annual Reports of the American Institute of the City of New York*, for the years 1861-4. Albany, 1862-5. Octavo: 1861, pp. [2] 581; 1862, pp. [2] 522; 1863, pp. viii, 664; 1864, pp. viii, 731.

We have here four successive yearly issues of the American Institute, one of the oldest, best known, and most useless of American associations.

In the volumes before us, which were printed by the State, we have not only the reports of the Trustees of the Institute and those of its Library Committee, Finance Committee, Managers of the Annual (?) Fairs, etc., but elaborate Reports are also given of the sayings and doings, on Agriculture, of various wise men who never turned a furrow or mowed a swath, and similar Reports of the sayings and doings of other wise men, scientific chaps, who want steam carriages on every country road and steam rams, of their invention, in every harbor.

The Scrub-oak lands of Long Island are systematically puffed by Dr. Peck, etc., ('61, p. 103; '64, p. 188,) and the Pine-barrens of New Jersey by Solon Robinson, etc., ('61, p. 215; '63, pp. 290, 291; '64, pp. 189, 194-198, 218;) the same formidable list of unemployed Committees are continued, year after year; and a "Faculty," without classes, fills up the measure of the imposition, and secures the yearly Legislative grant of \$950 for the encouragement of Agriculture, in the midst of a densely-crowded city!

"Beer-coolers for the army," how to increase the size of eggs, the origin of the human race, elderberry-wine, etc., are among the topics discussed, while the difficult questions of which sewing-machine is best adapted for family use, what pavement is best suited for Broadway, etc., are left entirely unnoticed.

We have known this body for a quarter of a century—we have been a member of it during the whole of that period—and we have never yet known it to produce any other result than to afford a snug berth or two, with good salaries, for as many decayed gentlemen of leisure, or to facilitate the sale of Sand-lands to confiding simpletons, or to give to him to whom it did not belong, the honor and the profit of a market for a Blackberry. For those who have been in "the Ring," it has always been vastly useful; for the multitude who have not been within the magic circle, it has been, and still is, quite as profitless.

16.—*The Strong-Bennett Libel Suit*. Senator Demas Strong vs. Geo. C. Bennett, Proprietor *Brooklyn Daily Times*. Damages claimed, \$10,000, as found by the Jury. Six Cents. Supreme Court, Kings County. June Term, 1866. Before Hon. J. F. Barnard. Verbatim Report of the Trial. Brooklyn, 1866. Octavo, pp. 151.

In this shabby pamphlet is the record of one of the most interesting and important Libel suits of the day—an action by a member of "the Albany Ring" against an Editor who had dared expose his doings.

It is interesting and important, because it presents to the public gaze the manner in which our Legislators are "seen" by those whose ends are to be served by corrupt Legislation, and the manner in which a Republic may be controlled, by means which would have made the courtiers of the Stuarts blush and hide their less infamous heads. The licentiousness of the persons in power at the Capitol of this State, seems to have habitually reduced them to the grade of ordinary merchandise in the hands of unprincipled speculators; and this pamphlet shows that their official votes are ordinarily matters of bargain and trade, ready to be sold to any one who is willing to pay the prices of the unholy favors which they can secure to their lucky holder—"the major will" and "the common weal," in both cases, being, without hesitation, sacrificed on the altars of a vicious and hell-deserving generation.

It is also interesting and important, because it instructs us concerning the constitution and conduct of what is known in this State as "the Albany Ring"—that unscrupulous junta, at Albany, who, for many years, has controlled the action of the Legislature on all the leading questions of the day; who has bought and sold the members of the Senate and the Assembly, or their official votes, as pork is sold in the market, or substi-

tutes by the not more infamous Bounty-brokers; and who, to-day, is the chosen refuge of a few equally infamous politicians, hereabouts, who seek to overcome the legal authority of the local majority, by calling in the aid of the Legislature, for the accomplishment of their notoriously infamous, partisan or personal purposes.

If any one desires to learn of the effect of a concentration of political authority, at the Capitol, beyond the control of those who are most intimately concerned in the particular acts of Legislation referred to, he can find no better manual than this; and if he shall rise from the perusal of it, without branding that "Ring" and those who serve it, as *criminals* before the Law, as they were boldly and righteously branded by Mr. Williams, of Counsel for the Defence, we shall have missed our guess.

To our Brooklyn friends, this trial is particularly important; and we commend it to their attention.

17.—*The Improved Order of Red Men: its origin and history, objects and principles.* Published by authority of the Great Council of the United States, Philadelphia, G. S. D. 375. Phila.: 1866. Octavo, pp. 16.

This pamphlet contains a detailed Report of the origin and history of one of the secret societies, which have been organized by our countrymen, for social and charitable purposes.

Although this Report makes no mention of the "Columbian Order" which was organized in New York, soon after the Peace of 1783, and was extended throughout the United States—the "Tammany Society" of New York, still in existence, being the parent organization—there is little doubt that this "Order of Red Men" is the successor of the Philadelphia branch of that body; and that the records of the Society in New York would throw some light on the subject.

We have before us an Address on Federal Politics which the parent Society, in New York, made to its branches throughout the United States, in 18 ; and the names employed, the objects to be attained, the plan of organization, all indicate, unmistakably, that the ancient Society of which this Report speaks so anxiously, was nothing more nor less than the Philadelphia branch of the Democratic Republican society, known among us, and throughout the country, as THE TAMMANY SOCIETY, meeting at Tammany Hall, in the city of New York; and that this "Order of Red Men," either in fact or fancy, is its legitimate successor.

18.—*The Ecclesiastical History of Vermont: an Essay read before the General Convention of Vermont, at Newbury, 21st June, 1866, by Rev. Pliny H. White.* Published by order of the Convention. Montpelier: 1866. Octavo, pp. 7.

The zealous President of the Vermont Historical Society, in this Essay, has brought out *Firstly*, the importance of History, generally,

and *Secondly*, the especial importance, to Vermonters, of the Ecclesiastical history of that State. He surveys the early church history of his State; suggests that she originated "in religious convictions" and was "occasioned by the desire of finding freedom to worship God, as well as was the original settlement of New England, by the Pilgrim Fathers;" and tells us that the first Church organization in the State "was in fact, a Massachusetts Church, transplanted, bodily, pastor and all, into the wilderness at Bennington," "for the sake of greater liberty and zeal in the Christian life." He reviews the changes in the *outward* morals of "such places as Montpelier, St. Albans, Rutland, "St. Johnsbury," etc., by the modern increase of their church-memberships; and he encourages the pastors of such churches as Thetford, Cornwall, etc., which, in the face of a diminished membership, have been growing stronger and stronger in Christian graces and Christian usefulness. He notices the fact that that portion of the history of Vermont which relates to her Ecclesiastical concerns, "is a sealed book, because an unwritten book," notwithstanding it exists in a fragmentary form, in the hands of those pastors who have examined distinct portions of the subject, from time to time, for local purposes; and he closes his Essay with an appeal to pastors to write the histories of their respective Churches, and to print them.

Notwithstanding the unpleasant fact which Mr. White has revealed concerning the persecution, for conscience sake, in Massachusetts, which led to the emigration to the Northern wilderness, of the Church at Bennington, and the equally interesting fact that the intelligent inhabitants of Vermont are willingly ignorant of their own history,\* this Essay is one of the clearest and best papers of the kind which we have seen for many a day. When equal candor shall be bestowed on the Civil History of that State, by her own citizens, not only Vermonters but the great body of the reading public, everywhere, will find, therein, much that is new to them, concerning both the men and measures of other days.

19.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Yale College, with a statement of the course of instruction in the various departments.* 1866-67. New Haven: 1866. Octavo, pp. 72.

A handsome pamphlet, the contents of which are fully described in the title-page, of which the above is a copy.

\* The proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, published on another page, indicate the culpable neglect with which, also, the People of that State regard their own Records and their own Civil History; and we respectfully suggest that that matter and the like ignorance in Ecclesiastical matters, referred to by Mr. White, should find places in the data for estimating the intelligence and capability for self-government of the People of Vermont.

20.—THE MAGAZINES: As the year is drawing to a close and subscriptions are about to be renewed or transferred, we call the attention of our readers to the following, from among our exchanges, which are worthy of their support:

—*The Horticulturist and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste.* New York: G. E. & F. W. Woodward. \$2.50 per year.

Such of our readers as possess any taste for Rural affairs, whether in the Parlor or on the Farm, will be pleased with this work. It is edited with ability; and, month after month, the contributions of the best practical men of the country lend interest to its pages. Besides, it is well printed, amply illustrated, and reasonably cheap.

—*The American Journal of Numismatics, and Bulletin of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society.* New York: Published by the Society. \$3 per year.

The pages of this work are mostly occupied with articles relating to the science of Numismatics; and we have no doubt that it will prove useful to all whose taste leads their attention to that subject. It is edited by F. H. Norton, Librarian of the Mercantile Library of Brooklyn, whose practised pen is well known to our readers.

—*The Atlantic Monthly*, devoted to Literature, Science, Art, and Politics. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. \$4 per year.

This widely-known and able exponent of Radical politics and the peculiar Literature, Science, and Art which cluster around Boston, needs neither commendation nor description.

It is fearless, able, and always aggressive; and whether Religion or Politics, things earthly or things heavenly, the Past, Present, or Future, are the subjects presented in its pages, they are always handled with skill and with a single eye to the honor of the Radical school and the advancement of its pupils.

—*Our Young Folks*: an illustrated Magazine for Boys and Girls. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. \$2 per year.

A magazine which is very well calculated for large "Boys and Girls;" and, as such, worthy of the ample support which it enjoys.

—*Every Saturday*: a Journal of choice reading selected from foreign current literature. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

This is a weekly octavo, containing the best pieces from the European magazines; and it must commend itself to the favor of all who have leisure to devote to such reading. It is well printed, and at ten cents per week, is very reasonable in price.

## 2.—BOOKS IN PREPARATION.

—THE REV. DR. ELLIS, of Charlestown, is engaged in editing and annotating the earliest records of the Massachusetts Historical Society, touching its origin and its founders. His work will make one or two volumes.

—A LONDON PUBLISHING HOUSE announces a new book on the United States, under the title of *The Making of the American Nation*; or, the Rise and Decline of Oligarchy in the West. Showing how the American Nation and Democracy have been made and what they are, with considerations on their tendency and destiny. The author is J. Norton Partridge.

—MR. J. WILLIAM JONES is said to be writing the religious history of the Army of Northern Virginia.

—GENERAL EARLY is going to publish an octavo pamphlet of 100 pages, giving a narrative of his operations during the last year of the war, including his services with Lee from the Rapidan to the James, his raid into Maryland, and his campaign against Sheridan.

—FRANK E. BURKE, Esq., Burnsville, near Selma, Ala., is still soliciting information for his new book entitled *A book of Outrages committed by United States Soldiers during the War*. He says that "too much material cannot be sent."

—MR. MAURALT, Missionary to the village of St. Francis, is the author of a forthcoming history of the Abenakis, which, we have reason to believe, will be very complete.

—MR. JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr., Secretary of the New York Chamber of Commerce, has in press *The Colonial Records* of that body, with Historical and Biographical Sketches. We have the best of reasons for stating that it will form an important addition to the local history of New York City.

—JOHN ESTEN COOKE, late chief of General Stuart's staff, has in preparation, for E. B. Treat & Co., of New York, a volume entitled *Wearing of the Gray*, comprising personal portraits, sketches, scenes, adventures, anecdotes and incidents of the late war in the South. The design of this work is to present a graphic and picturesque view of some of the most striking scenes and personages of the late war in the South—adventures of the writer, narratives of scouts, elaborate personal portraits of Stuart, Hampton, Ashby, Mosby, and other Confederate celebrities, with anecdotes and details concerning them, for the truth of which the author vouches, as they can easily be established if any one can be found to doubt the author's statements. His position on the staff of General Stuart gave him an opportunity of seeing and knowing personally the men

of whom he writes; of witnessing some of the most striking scenes of the war—and of these he speaks as an eye-witness and participant, and not as one compiling facts from books.

—MR. J. T. HEADLEY is preparing for early publication, by E. B. Treat & Co., of New York, a naval history of the war, entitled, *Farragut and our Naval Commanders*.

—MR. J. ROMEYN BRODHEAD is applying himself closely to his carefully prepared History of the State of New York, of which one volume is before the public.

—MR. BANCROFT has already advanced a considerable distance in his tenth, and last volume of the *History of the United States*.

### 3.—AUCTION SALES.

MESSRS. LEAVITT, STREBEIGH & Co., 498 Broadway, New York, will sell shortly, a very select collection of Autographs, Portraits, Choice Books, Rare Prints, Water-color Drawings, etc., belonging to J. B. FISHER, Austerfield Farm, N. J.

They also announce the sale, early in December, of WILLIAM A. WHITMAN's private library; a collection of more than seventeen hundred Autographs, belonging to W. BROTHERHEAD of Philadelphia; the Semi-annual sale of Rare Coins and Medals, belonging to Dr. W. ELLIOT WOODWARD; the private Library of Dr. M. W. DICKERSON of Philadelphia; and early in January, the collection of Autographs belonging to the Estate of the late I. K. TEFFT of Savannah.

MESSRS. BANGS, MERWIN & Co., 694 Broadway, New York, have not advised us of any sale of importance; and we suppose, therefore, they have none in preparation.

## VIII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

1.—SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT FISHKILL.—We are glad to learn that the Trustees of the Fishkill Rural Cemetery have donated a suitable plot in the Cemetery, for the erection of a monument to the memory of the brave soldiers of that town, who died in the service of their country, during the late war. We believe that subscription books have already been opened, and we say, let the good work go on.—*Standard*.

2.—PROGRESSING BACKWARDS.—At a type-founders' feast, held recently at the London Crystal Palace, Mr. Caslon mentioned the curious fact that matrices from punches originally cut by William Caslon, in 1725, were now taken down for daily use, after having been laid aside since

1772, as obsolete—nearly fifty years after their first invention—"for," said he, "with the returning taste for the beautiful in form—a necessary consequence of the greater popularization of art in our times—the old-faced type has come to be regarded as the most elegant letter within the range of typography."

3.—THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NEW HAVEN GRAYS.—The ancient and honorable Company of New Haven Grays celebrated their fiftieth anniversary in that city, on the thirteenth of September. We take the following account from *The N. Y. Tribune's* report:

Early in the morning, the principal streets in New Haven were decorated with the Stars and Stripes, and the sidewalks were thronged with people who visited the city to enjoy the celebration which was to take place. By ten o'clock, the Armory of the Grays was crowded with ex-members, who wore a white silk badge, bearing the inscription, "New Haven Grays," with the Connecticut State arms engraved upon it, "*Qui Transtulit Sustinet*." Organized 1816. Fiftieth Anniversary, Sept. 13, 1866." There were a number of old white-haired veterans who reported for duty on this occasion. A few of the names we give: Samuel P. Bolles, Orderly Sergeant of the Company when it first paraded just fifty years ago to-day. Mr. Henry Barney, of South Carolina, and an old-school gentleman just turning the ripe age of seventy, who has not visited his native city for forty-three years, was present. He talked of the old days when he "passed muster" in the ranks of the Grays; and brought his cane to his shoulder, in true military style, and marched around the Armory with a quick step, showing some of the younger Grays how the veterans trained fifty years ago. The hand-shaking and kind words of greeting among them were quite interesting to witness. The old drummers, Wm. Bishop, the Austin Brothers, and L. L. Squires were present and played a number of familiar tunes, which were received with delight by the veterans.

We give below the list of Captains of the Company, from 1816 to the present period:

CAPTAINS DECEASED: Sophos Staples, 1st Captain, date of Commission September 13th, 1816; Dennis Kimberly, 2d, date of Commission, August 2d, 1817; John H. Coly, 6th, date of Commission, June 23d, 1828; Benj. M. Prescott, 10th, date of Commission, June 24th, 1834; Elijah Thompson, 11th, date of Commission, March 29th, 1838; John Galpin, 13th, date of Commission, February 25th, 1841; Elias P. Barnes, 15th, date of Commission, January 19th, 1846; Chas. S. Jones,\* 22d, date of Commission, January 10th,

\* Uncertain—not heard from for some time.

1854; E. Walter Osborn, 25th, date of Commission, April 7th, 1859.

EX-CAPTAINS LIVING: Geo. I. Whiting, 3d, date of Commission, June 16th, 1821; Philip S. Galpin, 4th, date of Commission, July 19th, 1823; Charles Nicoll, 5th, date of Commission, July 5th, 1826; Sidney M. Stone, 7th, date of Commission, April 7th, 1830; Charles Bostwick, 8th, date of Commission, April 12th, 1832; Russell Hotchkiss, 9th, date of Commission, May 25th, 1832; George P. Stillman, 12th, date of Commission, August 21st, 1839; Samuel Tolles, 14th, date of Commission, February 8th, 1843; Raymond A. White, 16th, date of Commission, August 21st, 1864; James M. Townsend, 17th, date of Commission, February 15th, 1848; Albert C. Marsh, 18th, date of Commission, June 23d, 1848; N. S. Hallenbeck, 19th, date of Commission, February 14th, 1850; John Arnold, 20th, date of Commission, June 21st, 1850; James M. Woodward, 21st, date of Commission, January 22d, 1853; Charles T. Candee, 23d, date of Commission, October 12th, 1854; Wm. H. Steele, 24th, date of Commission, January 19th, 1858; George L. Northrop, 27th; Frank D. Sloat, 29th; Edward E. Bradley, present Captain.

At 1 o'clock, the line of march was formed in front of the Grays' Armory, on Chapel street. First, were the young Grays, in their neat-fitting uniform of gray, 100 strong, under command of Capt. Bradley. Then came the war veterans, under the command of Col. Samuel Towles, 60 strong; with Adjt.-Gen. F. Peterson and Lieut. Geo. L. Northrop for Lieutenants; Capt. and Brevet-Major W. W. Morse for Color Sergeant; and in the rear followed the veteran members, nearly 200 gentlemen, ranging from the ages of 70 down to 30, under command of Col. Philip S. Galpin, with Charles Nicoll, S. M. Stone and Walter Osborn for Lieutenants; Samuel P. Bolles for Orderly, and George Treadway, Color-Bearer. The Rev. Messrs. Fredk. Sill, of New York, and W. E. Vibbert acted as Chaplains. The Grays and ex-Grays marched through the principal streets, preceded by a fine band of music, under the leadership of Mr. John Lyon, of New Haven.

THE DINNER.—At a little past 2 o'clock P.M. the procession arrived at Music Hall, where a magnificent dinner was prepared under the superintendence of Messrs. Allis, of the New Haven House, and Lockwood of this city. The hall was lavishly festooned with flags; and upon the tables were bouquets of every variety and form. At the rear of the hall hung the portraits of Col. Henry Merwin, Major E. Walter Osborne and Chaplain Jedediah Chapman, who died while fighting honorably, during the late Rebellion. After the company had enjoyed the rich viands with which

the tables were loaded, ex-Mayor Galpin, who acted as Chairman, rose and introduced private William Kenne, Principal of the New Haven High School, who read a very interesting history of the Company, from its organization in 1816 to the present time.

Next followed Mr. Henry G. Lewis, an ex-member of the Grays; Gen. Kellogg of the Second Brigade of the Connecticut National Guard; Mr. Walter Osborne; the Rev. Mr. Sill, Rector of St. Thomas's Chapel, New York City; Col. Toller, and Mr. Simeon Baldwin, a son of the late Hon. Roger S. Baldwin, read a letter from Major-Gen. Terry, of the United States Army, thanking the Grays for their kind invitation to be with them on this occasion, and explaining to them his regret for not being able to be present. Lieut.-Gov. Winchester, of Connecticut, followed Mr. Baldwin; and other speeches were made by ex and present members of the company, and the afternoon passed off pleasantly. The day was one of the most charming of the season, and the fiftieth anniversary of the Grays was most successfully carried out.

The semi-centennial ball was given by the Grays, in the evening, at Music Hall.

4.—THE OLD CHURCH AT HAMPTON.—A charming young lady of the Episcopal Church has, by her untiring exertions, raised a sufficient sum to enable the surviving members of the little flock at Hampton to clear up the graveyard in which the "forefathers of the hamlet sleep."

This is preliminary to a vigorous effort to arrest the rapid decay which has seized upon the remains of the sacred house, which dates back to 1669, and has seen generation after generation of the old-school Virginians flourish and pass away.

5.—GIFT TO YALE COLLEGE.—The New Haven *Palladium* says: "Mr. George Peabody has "added to the long list of his munificent donations for charitable purposes, in this country "and in Europe, the gift of one hundred and "fifty thousand dollars to Yale College, to be "employed in the erection of a Museum of Natural History. It has been understood for some "time that Mr. Peabody contemplated such a "step.

"It is, at present, the intention of the college, "though the plan is not yet fully perfected, to "ultimately erect a building, consisting of three "parts—a center and two wings. Each one of "these parts is to be about one hundred feet in "length, making the entire length of the museum "about three hundred feet. It will be situated "on Chapel street, at the south end of the college

"grounds, and will occupy nearly the entire distance between the Art building and College street.

"The east wing is the part which it is proposed to erect immediately. It will be situated on the corner of Chapel and College streets, with an entrance on Chapel street. Its length in Chapel street will be about one hundred feet, and on College street about one hundred and twenty feet. It will be four stories in height, and constructed of the same kind of freestone as the Art building and the other recently erected college buildings.

"One hundred thousand dollars will be expended in its construction, and twenty thousand dollars of the residue is, by the terms of the donation, to be invested until it increases to a hundred thousand dollars or more, at the option of the trustees. This sum, with the exception of twenty thousand dollars, is then to be employed in the erection of the central portion of the museum, and the twenty thousand excepted is to be again invested, until, as before, it is augmented to a sufficient amount to construct the remaining wing.

"By this judicious method the museum will be erected as rapidly as the college has use for it, and by a similar investment of the remainder of the donation the institution is rendered self-supporting forever. The erection of the single wing, which is proposed to be built at present, will afford the college one of the largest museums in this country; and when finally completed it will be among the largest in the world."

6.—HEREDITARY SLAVERY.—Rose Jackson, a colored woman, who was born a slave in 1778 in the family of Gen. William Hart, of Saybrook, died at Hartford on Saturday. She remained a slave by the laws of the State till 1849, since which time she has preferred to live with her old master's family.—*Boston Transcript*, Oct. 22.

7.—THE SOLDIERS' MONUMENT IN STOCKBRIDGE.—Yesterday was the occasion of the dedication of the Soldiers' Memorial Monument in Stockbridge, which has just been completed there at an expense of \$2500, of which amount \$2000 was appropriated by the town and the balance raised by subscription. The event drew together the largest concourse of people ever assembled in the town, and among the number were several hundred of the Berkshire soldiers, representing the 10th, 27th, 31st, 34th, 37th, and 49th Massachusetts regiments, all of which were raised almost exclusively in the western part of the State. The population of the town of Stock-

bridge is about twenty-one hundred, and the town furnished one hundred and thirty men for the war, including three colonels, and of this number twenty-eight sacrificed their lives in the cause, and the grateful citizens felt it their duty to erect this monument to their honor and memory.

The monument is of neat and tasteful design, and is located in the square in the central part of the village, half a mile or so from the railroad station, and within a minute's walk of the post-office. It is surrounded by an iron fence, and on the four sides of the tablet are inscribed the names of the fallen heroes of Stockbridge—twenty-eight in all. Among the names are those of Major William D. Sedgwick, of the 2d Massachusetts, Captain Edson T. Dresser, of the 52d, and Color-Sergeant Joseph Rathbun, of the 57th. —*Boston Transcript*, October 18th.

8.—DR. R. W. GIBBES.—The death of this gentleman is announced as having taken place in Columbia, S. C., on the 15th inst.

Dr. Gibbes was born in Columbia, on the 8th of July, 1809; and graduated from South Carolina College in 1827. He studied medicine; married a daughter of Jas. S. Quignard; and settled in his native city, where he lived a life of usefulness for nearly forty years. He was twice Mayor, and at one time acted as assistant professor of chemistry at his own *alma mater*, with such success that he was offered a professorship, which he declined.

His tastes and habits were literary and scientific, and he contributed largely to the medical and scientific journals of the country. The Smithsonian Institute tendered him the publication of his plates on paleontology and fossil remains at the cost of the Institute. He was also the author and compiler of three volumes of *The Documentary History of South Carolina*. He was eminently public-spirited; and to escape heavy loss, it became necessary for him to become the publisher of *The Columbia South Carolinian*, which he edited for several years. He lost severely by Gen. Sherman's burning of Columbia—his fine mansion, with its valuable collection of paintings, fossil remains, geological specimens and medical apparatus, falling a prey to the flames. All the accumulations of an industrious lifetime were destroyed at a single blow; and Dr. Gibbes had not a place wherein to lay his head. He came to this city after the close of the war, on business, but his friends saw at a glance that he was but a wreck of his former self. His constitution, naturally delicate, had sank under the barbarous treatment he had suffered; and the grave has now closed forever over one of the best of men.

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I.—THE EARLY METHODISTS AND  
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Among the most interesting subjects connected with the history of Methodism, is that relating to the part which was taken by the early Methodists in the Revolution in America.

In view of the fact that every Methodist of that period, whether in Europe or America, was necessarily an *Episcopalian*, one of whose leading tenets was that George III., King of Great Britain, was his supreme ecclesiastical head on earth, it need not be wondered at if the members of the Methodist Societies in America were less zealous Republicans than were those who recognized no such Ecclesiastical Headship; and if some of them refused to concur with the leaders of the revolted colonists, in their declarations of the rights of the governed and the subordinate character of the Government a reason for that non-concurrence may be found also in the system of government by which both those societies, as such, and their several members, as individuals, were controlled—a system which was as opposite from that inculcated in the Declaration of Independence as the North is from the South Pole.

As is well known, the recognized head of the Methodist Societies, both those in Europe and those in America, was JOHN WESLEY. The very first entry in the Minutes of the first American Conference declared, as the expressed will of the leaders of the American Methodists, that "the authority of Mr. Wesley

"and that [*European*] Conference ought "to extend to the preachers and people "in America, as well as in Great-Britain "and Ireland," (*Minutes, June, 1773. Query 1*;) and although the Peace of 1783 had rendered the further connection of the Societies in America with the King of Great Britain both impolitic and illegal, it was not until Mr. Wesley had formally absolved them from their duty to the legal Head of their Church, nearly two years after the establishment of that Peace, that they presumed to "form themselves into an Independent "Church." (*Compare Mr. Wesley's letter "to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our "Brethren in North America," dated "Bristol, September 10th, 1784," with the Minute of the American Conference, at Baltimore, January, 1785, organizing "The Methodist Episcopal Church."*)

We are not insensible of the fact that Mr. Wesley's opinions concerning the struggle in America have been handled with great tenderness by the greater number of the historians of American Methodism;\* but we are equally sensible of the fact that if these historians had regarded the truth of their respective narratives as highly as they appear to have regarded the more modern notions of honor and duty, they would have told very different stories concerning Mr. Wesley, and published vastly more complete narratives concerning the actions and opinions of the early Methodist Societies in America.

Mr. Wesley made no attempt to con-

\* See STEVENS's *History of Methodism*, ii. 129, 130, &c.

ceal his repugnance to the earlier disloyal sentiments of the Colonists in America; and when he was attacked by some of his countrymen who differed from him, his fellow-Methodists hastened to his relief, without the least hesitation.

Thus, as early as 1775, Mr. Wesley issued, as original, and over his own name, his well-known and widely circulated *Calm Address to our American Colonists*, which was nothing less than a re-hash of Doctor Johnson's *Taxation no Tyranny*, without the least recognition on his part, of the obnoxious Tory tract from which he had purloined the ultra-monarchical and peculiarly offensive argument of that *Address*; and when its terms were controverted by Caleb Evans and other republican Dissenters, John William Fletcher, the Episcopalian Vicar of Madeley, and other friends of the Established Church and of the Government hastened to his relief.

What were Mr. Wesley's sentiments on American affairs may be exactly ascertained from this Tract; and the following extracts will throw light on the subject:

"These good men [*the republicans in England*] hope it will end, in the total defection of North America from England. \* \* \*

"But, my brethren, would this be any advantage to *you*? Can *you* hope for a more desirable form of government, either in England or America, than that which you now enjoy? After all the vehement cry for liberty, what more liberty can you have? What more religious liberty can you desire, than that which you enjoy already? May not every one among you worship God according to his own conscience? What civil liberty can you desire, which you are not already possessed of? Do not you sit without restraint, every man under his own vine? Do you not, every one, high or low, enjoy the

"fruit of your labor? This is real, rational liberty, such as is enjoyed by Englishmen alone; and not by any other people in the habitable world.

"Would the being independent of England make you more free? Far, very far, from it. It would hardly be possible for you to steer clear, between anarchy and tyranny. But suppose, after numberless dangers and mischiefs, you should settle into one or more Republics: would a republican government give you more liberty, either religious or civil? By no means. No governments under heaven are so despotie as the Republican: no subjects are governed in so arbitrary a manner, as those of a Commonwealth. If any one doubt of this, let him look at the subjects of Venice, of Genoa, or even of Holland." pp. 14-16.

"That they contend for 'the cause of liberty' is another mistaken supposition. What liberty do you want, either civil or religious? You *had* the very same liberty we have in England. I say, you *had*; but you have thrown away the substance, and retain only the shadow. You have no liberty, civil or religious, now, but what the Congress pleases to allow." (pp. 19, 20.)

"Ten times over, in different words, you 'profess yourselves to be contending for liberty.' But it is a vain, empty profession; unless you mean by that threadbare word, a liberty from obeying your rightful sovereign, and from keeping the fundamental laws of your country. And this undoubtedly it is, which the confederated Colonies are now contending for." \* (p. 23.)

\* It is gratifying to find one Methodist who is not ashamed to honor the Truth and recognize his own duty, by acknowledging that Mr. Wesley and the early Methodists, both in Europe and America, were Episcopalians and Tories. That person is Rev. J. B. Wakeley, who boldly and truly says, in his *Lost Chapters recovered from the History of American Methodism*: "The Methodists were considered not as Dissenters, but part and parcel of the Church of England, using the Prayer Book and communing at St. Paul's Episcopal Church." \* \* \* "The founder of the Methodists, Mr. Wesley, was known to be a great Loyalist, and strongly opposed the course pursued by the Americans, having written

Again: In the summer of 1780, when a report was published in one of the New York newspapers affecting "Mr. Wesley's want of faithful attachment to the King and Constitution," "his Assistant preacher in that city" promptly produced a *ready-made* voucher for the loyalty of his chief, and stifled the rumor as soon as it was born—a movement which was subsequently confirmed by a second letter from Mr. Wesley and another, supporting it, from Richard Boardman, who was personally known to nearly all the Methodists in New York. The following is a copy of the record of this affair, from the originals in the Library of the New York Historical Society:

## I.

## [THE REPORT CONCERNING MR. WESLEY.]

From *The Royal Gazette*, 408, New-York, Saturday, August 26, 1780.]

"LONDON, *June 7.* The mob have continued all last night with a degree of violence unknown for this century past. Many houses are pulled down, and the fine new building of Newgate they have reduced to ashes. The Dissenters, and Wesley, at the head of the Methodists are, as I observed before, blowing up the flame."

## II.

## [THE DEFENCE OF MR. WESLEY, BY HIS ASSISTANT IN NEW YORK.]

From *The Royal Gazette*, 409, New York, Wednesday, August 30, 1780.]

"A number of gentlemen in this city, feeling themselves hurt at a paragraph in our last paper, copied from a letter from London, of the 7th July the following is inserted to efface all suspicion of the Reverend Mr. Wesley's want of faithful attachment to the King and Constitution."

"a Calm Address to the American Colonies. This was the case also with Mr. Fletcher."

This example is a monument to Mr. Wakeley's fidelity as a historical writer, which is as uncommon as it is honorable.

"Mr. RIVINGTON,

"SIR,

"HAVING read a paragraph in your Saturday's paper, in which the Reverend Mr. Wesley is charged with secretly blowing up the flame which has lately been kindled in London, we have sent you a copy of a letter from him to his Assistant Preacher in this city, your giving it a place in your Wednesday's paper, will greatly oblige the Society of people commonly called Methodists in New York."

"MY DEAR BROTHER

"A REPORT was spread some time since in England, that the British troops were to be recalled from New-York, but I am inclined to think it was raised and propagated by designing men, who intended thereby to weaken the hands of them that feared God and honoured the King, or by weak men, who believed what they wished; but it now clearly appears to have been without any foundation; on the other hand, government are determined to act more vigorously than ever."

"It is a wonderful instance of the goodness of God, that we have any societies left in America. I do not advise you to leave it till you have a clear providential call. Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.

"I am,

"Your affectionate Brother,

"J. WESLEY."

"N. B. Any Person may see the Original, by applying next door to the METHODIST PREACHING HOUSE, in John Street."

## III.

[THE FINAL DEFENCE OF MR. WESLEY, BY HIMSELF AND MR. BOARDMAN.

From *The Royal Gazette*, 460, New-York, Saturday, February 24, 1781.]

"Mr. RIVINGTON

"SIR.

"WE send you a copy of a few lines from the Reverend Mr. John Wesley, in answer to a letter published the latter end of August last, accusing him with being an abettor of the rioters in London; together with a copy of a letter from Mr. Richard Boardman, to his correspondent in this city. Your inserting the whole in your next Gazette, will greatly oblige the Society of people called Methodists in New York."<sup>\*</sup>

## IV.

[MR. WESLEY TO MR. RIVINGTON.]

"*London, October 25, 1780.*

"Mr. Rivington,

"I HAVE advice from New-York, that a letter from London has been published there which, after mentioning the riots occasioned by Lord George Gordon, asserts "It is the Dissenters and Methodists who are secretly blowing up the flame." Let the Dissenters answer for themselves, but I will answer for the Methodists.—All of them who are connected with me, fear God and honour the King, and not one of them was any otherwise concerned in the late tumults than in doing all they possibly could to suppress them.

"The letter writer asserts farther, "the Dissenters and Wesley at the head of the Methodists are blowing up the flame." This poor wretch has

\* "The old book" of accounts of "the Society of people called Methodists in New York," shows that on the first of March, 1781, there was "Paid Mr. Rivington for advertising. "Mr. Wesley's letter, &c. £2. 16s. 0d.," and Mr. Wakeley may now understand just "what this [entry] means."—ED. HIST. MAG.

"shook hands both with truth and shame; not one Methodist had any thing to do with the riot, and as for me, I was then near three hundred miles off, namely at Newcastle upon Tyne.

"I am, Sir

"Your humble Servant,

"JOHN WESLEY."

## V.

[MR. BOARDMAN TO HIS FRIEND IN NEW YORK.]

"*London, October 27, 1780.*

"My good Friend,

"WHAT will not prejudice do, or say? No man in England has more steadily and zealously vindicated government, by writings, conversation and preaching, than Mr. Wesley has done, to the no small mortification of the disaffected of all parties; this is well known through these Kingdoms, so that whether the piece published in the New-York Gazette, was fabricated on this, or your side of the water, matters not; it is false and scandalous.

"Wishing you peace and truth, I am,

"Yours affectionately,

"RICHARD BOARDMAN."<sup>\*</sup>

Finally, in the fall of 1784, when the revolted Colonies had succeeded in the establishment of their Independence, Mr. Wesley coldly absolved the members of his Societies in America from their obligations to the Established Church of England, and authorized them to organize an "Independent Church," without a single supplication of Divine favor, in their behalf—he had not even a naked

\* Mr. BOARDMAN had been the "Preacher" in John street, for several years, but was then in England.

He came to America, in company with Mr. Pilmoor, in 1769; preached a short time in Philadelphia, and thence removed to New York. He remained there until 1773, except during occasional tours of duty in New England, &c.; and in the early days of the Revolution, he returned to England, in company with Mr. Pilmoor. (WAKELEY'S *Lost Chapters*, 197-206.)

The latter never left the *Episcopalians*; hence, when he returned to New York, after the war had closed, he was offered as a candidate for the Assistant-ministership of Trinity church, and subsequently became the first Rector of Christ-Church, in that city.—ED. HIST. MAG.

wish for their success nor a kind word of brotherly regard, at the parting, so repugnant were the prevailing ideas in America and so distasteful the position of affairs in that country, to him and to his friends.

But the evidence of the political sentiments of the early Methodists, in England, is not more conclusive of their *TORYISM* than is that of the evidence that their brethren in America had little sympathy for the popular cause, in their own country.

A few days after the commencement of hostilities at Lexington and Concord, their Conference declared for "Peace," notwithstanding their countrymen, everywhere, were hurrying to the field; and on the eighteenth of July,—a month after the action on Bunker's Hill—a General Fast was observed "for the "Peace of America." (*Minutes of Conference, 1775.*) *They were the "PEACE-MEN" of their generation.*

Again: Their meeting-house in John-street, New York, was respected by the British army and their preacher was permitted to continue at his post, as no other meeting-house was respected and no other preacher undisturbed, during the occupation of the city by the Royal forces, except those whose fidelity to the Royal cause was unquestionable and unquestioned. (*WAKELEY'S Lost Chapters, 261-263, 267-278; WATSON'S Annals, 326.*)

The *loyal* Reformed Dutch, under the pastoral care of Domine Lydecker, occupied the old church-edifice in Garden-street\*—in which, also, was accommodated, after the fire of 1776, the *loyal* congregation of Trinity-Church—but the *patriotic* Reformed Dutch, including the Domines Laidlie, Livingston, and De Ronde, were scattered throughout the country and their meeting-houses used

for riding-schools and other secular uses\* The Wall-street Presbyterian and the Lutheran church edifices were respected, it is said, although many of their congregations were in exile, because the *loyal* Scotch and Germans in the Royal armies, needed their accommodations; but the well-trying republican Baptists were in exile, their Pastor was with General Washington, and their church-edifice was desecrated and nearly destroyed.† "The Methodist preaching-house in "John-street" was respected, because "the Society of people commonly called "Methodists in New York" studiously maintained its connection with the Home Government and carefully refuted, as we have seen, even the faintest rumor against the loyalty of its Chief, whose honor, in this respect, seemed to be not less precious in the eyes of the American Methodists, than was their own.‡

Finally, at the close of the war, when the Tories sought safety in exile—preferring, like the Puritan and Pilgrim fathers of New England, to *rule* in a wilderness rather than *be ruled* within a settled community,—“to reign in Hell rather than serve in Heaven”—Rev. John Man and probably Rev. Samuel Spraggs, of the John-street “preaching-house,” and a large number of the members of that Society, removed to Nova Scotia, where, subsequently, Rev. Freeborn Garretson—son-in-law of Chancellor Livingston and a New-York Methodist refugee—became the Presiding Elder. (*SABINE'S History of the Loyalists, i, 463, 464; ii, 45; WAKELEY'S Lost Chapters, 262-266; 293, 296, 297.*

Nor were the Methodists in New York more zealous in the cause of the King than were those who were never sheltered by a Royal army and who

\* Dr. DE WITT'S Discourse, 40.

† PARKINSON'S Jubilee Sermon, 25, 26.

‡ Correspondence concerning Mr. Wesley, ante, pp. 363, 364; WAKELEY'S Lost Chapters, 269 278, 293.

\* BERRIAN'S History of Trinity Church, 171, 172: Dr. DE WITT'S Discourse in the North Dutch Church, 1856, 40.

never basked in the favor of a Royal Government.

The Methodists of Baltimore, also, "almost to a man," were "enemies to our cause under the mask of religion;" and the following letter, from one of the leaders of "The Sons of Liberty," in that town, will further illustrate the subject:

SAML. PURVIANCE JUN<sup>R</sup> TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

From the Schuyler Manuscripts, in the possession of the family.

"Baltimore, 4th May 1777.

"Dear Sir:—I have seen a person "in this place within a few days past, "whom Mr. Hillegas & I from several "circumstances suspect to be a spy; and "could not but conceive it my duty to "acquaint you as a member of Congress "of our apprehensions, that he may be "at least prevented from going to New "York, which I understand is his intention. The person I mean is Capt<sup>n</sup>. "Webb the Methodist preacher, & as I "am informed a half pay officer in the "British service. He came to this place "last Tuesday or Wednesday, & in his "sermon to his followers hinted as much "as that it was the last time they should "see him. I have since heard that he "intends going to New York to embark "for England. The character under "which he travels affords him the very "best opportunities of making observations, which it can't be doubted he will "communicate if permitted to go to New "York. It is a certain truth that all "the Denomination called Methodists "almost to a man (with us) are enemies "to our cause under the mask of religion, "and are countenanced by the Tories. "One of their preachers did lately in "this place tell his hearers that every "man killed in battle would certainly "go to hell. Can the worst avowed "tories propagate a more dangerous doctrine to weak minds.

"Mr. Webb was attended here by a "young man named Carey who appears

"to be a great devotee, and of whom Mr. "Hillegas & I have lately observed some "things that give great room to suspect "he is a travelling emissary of the "enemy's, & increases our suspicions "against Mr. Webb. This Carey about "2 or three weeks ago was taken up on "Elk Ridge as a suspected person, & he "got clear by saying that he was in the "employment of Mr. Hillegas the Continental Treasurer. This person is constantly travelling to and fro betwixt "this, Philad<sup>a</sup>. & the Jersey under the "character of a horse jockey, an excellent "Cloak for an emissary. The evening "before Mr. Webb left town, Mr. Hillegas " & I observed this Carey with a person "who appeared as a rider go into the "house of a tory near Mr. Grants, & after "staying there some time the rider was "despatched in a great hurry, I immediately after got three young gentlemen "to pursue him on horseback, but it "being late in the evening they missed "getting him. Upon enquiry at Mr. Grant "I find that Carey keeps a spare horse constantly at his stable & that he seems to "have plenty of money, altho' he has no "visible means that he knows of to get "money but what I have mentioned & "appears as a gentleman. Carey has been "out of town since Thursday, altho' he "told Mr. Grant that was only going a "little way out of town. I therefore "suspect he is gone to Philad<sup>a</sup>. If Mr. "McCrory who lodges at my house & "who is now at Philad<sup>a</sup>. should not be "left it before you receive this, you may "possibly find him at my brother's house "in Philad<sup>a</sup>. & I suspect that he knows "Carey & can give you a description of "him. You may depend on it that Mr. "Hillegas & I shall take all the pains in "our power to investigate this matter. "For that some inimical plan is carrying "on I am well convinced. I am

"with much respect Sir,

"Your most hb<sup>l</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

"SAM<sup>l</sup>. PURVIANCE Jun<sup>r</sup>."

The suspicions of Mr. Purviance appear to have been correct. Carey had gone to Philadelphia; and at that place, he was arrested on the ninth of May, and cast into prison. While thus confined, he memorialized General Schuyler for relief, in the course of which he admits his intimacy with Captain Webb and that the latter was preparing to return to the city of New York, as had been stated by Mr. Purviance; and he admitted, also, that he was assisting the Captain in making the necessary preparations for his removal. It is true that he claimed to be in the employ of Colonel Cox, who was the Vice-president of New-Jersey and of unquestionable fidelity to the Country; but Mr. Purviance has told us that he had before pretended, untruly, to be in the employ of Mr. Hillegas, the Continental Treasurer, and there is no evidence that his last-told story was any more entitled to respect than the first; while his facilities for obtaining, for Captain Webb, certain drafts on Mr. Chamier, the Royal Paymaster-general at New York, clearly indicated that his associations were rather with those who corresponded with the enemy than with those who resisted him.

The following is the memorial referred to:

[From the Schuyler Manuscripts.]

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEN'L SCHUYLER.

"The memorial of John Carey Humbly sheweth That your memorialist some time ago engaged to work an Iron Forge belonging to Col. Cox in New Jersey, and as workmen were scarce in Jersey & to be had on easy terms in Maryland, Col. Cox thought proper to send your memorialist to the State of Maryland in order to procure a set of men skilled in sd. business. That your memorialist soon after meeting with Mr. Thomas Web who had just disposed of his effects & was preparing to depart for New York, who having a sum of paper money which he could not get ex-

"changed either for hard money or Bills in the State of New Jersey, prevailed on your memorialist to take charge of & endeavour to change in Maryland. That your memorialist was overtaken by Mr. Web in Philadelphia, that they proceeded together to Maryland, where they got part of sd. money exchanged & procured an order from Mr. McCall on Mr. Sharnier of New York for the remainder. That your memorialist after making the necessary enquiries touching the workmen, returned in company with Mr. Web, to the State of New Jersey; and on reporting to Col. Cox that workmen were not to be hired but that there were several to be purchased, Col. Cox immediately put a sum of money in the hands of your memorialist & he again set out for Maryland; but on being informed on his coming to Philadelphia, that some person had wrote up to your Excellency representing your memorialist as an enemy to the states, your memorialist thought it most advisable to wait on your Excellency to know with what he was Charged, on which your memorialist was immediately committed to close confinement where he has remained since the 9th Inst. Your memorialist conscious of his Innocence & sensible that Col. Cox's business must be greatly injured by his being detained in prison, humbly begs that your Excellency would be so kind as to give him a hearing, & if innocent, discharge him. That your memorialist is willing, if it shall be thought necessary, to take the oath to the State, & do every other thing in his power to evince his innocence of the crime with which he is charged, & to convince your Excellency that he is not an enemy to the States. And your memorialist will as in duty bound ever pray.

JN<sup>o</sup>. CAREY.

"Phil<sup>a</sup>. State Prison,

"May 10th, 1777."

We are not among those who suppose that a "Loyalist" of the Revolutionary period was necessarily a bad man, any more than a "Patriot" of the same period was necessarily a good one; but we contend that it is the duty of those who assume to write Histories, so called, to respect the Truth and to follow her, whithersoever she may lead them; and we know no reason for releasing the Historians of American Methodism, or those who talk on the subject, from the obligations to write or speak *truly*, which undoubtedly rest on those who write or speak concerning the History of any other "People."

We hope they will hereafter tell the Truth or remain silent.

*Morrisania, N. Y., 1866. H. B. D.*

## II.—DISCOVERY OF THE ATLANTIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

[These translations, from Spanish works in print, are rendered from some of the earliest and best authorities on American colonial history. They afforded data for the paper read before the New York Historical Society, in June, touching the voyage of discovery made in 1525, to our coasts, by Estevan Gomez.

The Spanish marine league measures sixteen and a half to the degree.—ED. HIST. MAG.

### I.

#### HISTORIA GENERAL DE LAS INDIAS Y NUEVO MUNDO.

BY FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA. EDITION 1555.

#### *Situation of the Indias.*

#### CHAPTER 12.

The most Northerly of the Indias is parallel with Gruntlandia and Islandia. The coast runs two hundred leagues, not yet well examined, to the River Nevado, in 60°; thence to the Bay of Malvas, are other two hundred leagues, the whole of this coast being nearly on the same parallel, 60°, and is what is called Tierra del Labrador, having on the South, the Island of Los Demonios. From Malvas to Cape

Marzo, which is in 56°, there are sixty leagues; thence to Cape Delgado, in 54°, are fifty leagues; the coast afterward running for two hundred leagues, directly West, to a great river named San Lorenzo, which some consider to be an arm of the sea, (it has been navigated two hundred leagues up,) on which account many call it the Straits of Los tres Hermanos, (*The three Brothers*). Here a kind of square gulf is formed, which opens, "boja," from San Lorenzo, as far as the Point of Bacallaos, a distance somewhat more than two hundred leagues. Between this Cape and Cape Delgado, (*Sharp*), are many well inhabited islands, called Cortes Reales, which enclose and cover the Golfo Quadrado, (*Square Gulf*), a place very notable on this coast as a mark and for rest.

From the Point of Bacallaos are set down eight hundred and seventy leagues to Florida, counting as follows:

From the Point of Bacallaos, which is in 48° 30', are seventy leagues of coast, to La Baya del Rio, (*Bay of the River*), which is in rather more than 45°.

Thence are seventy leagues, to another Bay, called that of the Isleos, (*Islands*), which is in less than 44°.

From Baya Isleos to Rio Fondo are seventy leagues; and thence to another, Rio de las Gamas, are other seventy, both rivers being in 43°.

From Rio de las Gamas are fifty leagues, to Cabo de Santa Maria; whence are forty leagues nearly to Cabo Bajo; and thence to Rio de San Anton they reckon more than a hundred leagues.

From the Rio de San Anton are eighty leagues along the shores of a gulf, to Cabo de Arenas, (*Sands*), which is in nearly 39°; and thence to Puerto del Principe are more than a hundred leagues; and from that to the Rio Jordan, seventy; and thence to Cabo de Santa Elena, which is in 32°, there are forty leagues.

From Santa Elena to Rio Seco, which is in 31°, are other forty, and thence to La Cruz are twenty leagues, and thence

to Cañaveral, forty; and from Punta Cañaveral, which is in  $28^{\circ}$ , are other forty to Punta de la Florida. \* \* \* This is in  $25^{\circ}$ , is twenty leagues in length, and from it are a hundred or more leagues, to Ancon Bajo, (*Shallow Bay*), which is fifty leagues from Rio Seco, (*Dry River*), east to west, —the breadth of Florida.

From Ancon Bajo, they make a hundred leagues to Rio de Nieves, (*Snows*;) and thence to that of Flores; more than twenty, and which is seventy leagues to the Baya del Espiritu Sancto, called by another name, La Culata, which disembogues thirty leagues, and is in  $29^{\circ}$ , and more than seventy to Rio Pescadores, (*Fishermen*.)

From Rio de Pescadores, in  $28^{\circ} 30'$ , are a hundred leagues to Rio de las Palmas, near which crosses the Tropic of Cancer; thence to Rio Pánuco, are more than thirty leagues; and thence to Villavica or Vera-Cruz, seventy leagues.

#### CHAPTER 37.

##### *Of the Country of the Labrador.*

Many persons have gone to run the coast of the Labrador, to ascertain where it ends, and to find out whether there is an opening in that direction, to the Molucas and Spice lands, that fall, as we shall elsewhere state, under the equinoctial line, thinking to shorten the distance greatly, should there be a way. Castilliones first sought it, as those Spice islands belong to them, and to see and recognize that country being theirs; Portuguese, likewise, to shorten navigation were it possible, and thus to entangle the case they brought endlessly. Thus Gaspar Cortes Reales went thither in the year 1500, with two caravels. He did not find the straits he sought; but left his name attached to the islands at the mouth of the Gulf Quadrado, (*Squared*), above the fiftieth degree of Latitude. He took over sixty men as slaves from that country; and came back

much afraid of the great snowstorms and ice; for the sea there freezes deeply. The men there are good looking; are brown (*morenos*) and laborious. They paint themselves for show; and wear bands of silver and copper: they dress in the skins of martens and many other animals, the hair inward in winter and outward in summer. They bind the belly and thighs closely with strips of cotton and the sinews of fish and animals. They eat more of fish than other things, especially salmon, though they have birds and fruits. Their houses are made of wood, of which there is much and good; and cover them with the skins of fishes and other animals, instead of tiles. It is said there are griffins, (*alligators*;) and that the bears and many other animals and birds are white.

In this land, and about these islands, the Bretons live and frequent, it being much like their country and of the same altitude and climate. Men have also gone there from Norway, with the pilot Joan Scolvo, and Englishmen with Sebastian Cabot.

#### CHAPTER 39.

##### *Of the Bacallaos and Coldness of that Country.*

That country they call Bacallaos is a long reach of land and coast; its highest latitude is forty eight and a half degrees. They of those parts call certain great fish "Bacallaos," of which there are so many that they obstruct the vessels in their navigation, and are caught and eaten by the bears in the sea. He who brought back the most information of that country, was Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, who fitted out two ships in England, (where he had done business from boyhood,) at the cost of Henry VII., who desired the Spice trade, such as the King of Portugal enjoyed; others say at his own cost, and that he promised the King to go by the North to Cathay, and bring

spices thence, in less time than the Portuguese by the South. He went also that he might see what sort of country was the Indias to colonize; taking with him three hundred men, and laying a course behind Iceland, against Labrador, until reaching fifty-eight degrees of Latitude, though he says many more, stating that in the month of July there was so great cold and such pieces of ice, that he dared go no farther; that the days were very long and almost without night, and were very clear. It is certain that at sixty degrees, the days are of eighteen hours. So Cabot having discovered the cold and strangeness of the country, turned Westward; and, making again the Bacallaos, he followed the coast to the thirty-eighth degree, and thence went back to England. Bretons and Danes have likewise gone to the Bacallaos; and Jaques Cartier, a Frenchman, went twice with three galleons—once in the year thirty-four, the other in thirty-five—and he examined the country, for the purpose of colonizing, from the forty-fifth to the fifty-first degree. It is said those people inhabit there, or will do so, the country being as good as that of France; for the land is free, particularly so to them who first occupy it.

#### CHAPTER 40.

##### *Discovery of the River Sant Anton.*

In the year 1525, the pilot, Estevan Gomez, went along this country in a caravela fitted out in Coruña, at the cost of the Emperor. This pilot sailed in quest of a strait he proposed to find in the country of Bacallaos, through which he might go to the Spice Islands, in a shorter time than by any other way, to bring cinnamon and cloves, with the other spices and medicines that come from there. Estevan Gomez had voyaged several times to the Indias; had been with Magallanes to the Straits; had been of the commission that met at Badajoz, (as will be told afterwards,) of Catillians

and Portuguese, on the subject of the Islands of Molucos, where the great value of a strait in that direction was considered. And as Christobal Colón, Fernando Cortes, Gil González de Avila and others had not found it in all the way from the Gulf of Uraba to Florida, he determined to go farther up; but he likewise discovered nothing, as none exists. He coasted a long reach of land, not seen by any one before; although it is said that Sebastian Cabot first explored it. He returned, bringing as many Indians as the caravela could contain, against law and the wishes of the King, reaching Coruña within ten months from the time of his departure. On his arrival, he stated that he had slaves; and a citizen of that place understanding him to say cloves, one of the spices promised to be brought back, he ran post and came with joy to the King, asking a reward, for that Estevan Gomez had brought cloves. The word spread at Court, to the joy of every body, who were pleased with the good news of the voyage; but, as in a short time the mail came—when the stupidity of the courier was understood, who mistook *clavos* (cloves) for *esclavos* (slaves)—bringing the rueful despatch of the seaman who had promised he knew not what and which did not exist, so the premium was much laughed about; and the hope was lost of the strait that had been so much desired; and some, who had favored Estevan Gomez in his undertaking, were greatly mortified.

#### CHAPTER 102.

##### *Of the second voyage made to the Molucas.*

The Congress of Badajoz being concluded and the line of partition proclaimed, in the manner we have said, the Emperor prepared two fleets to go to the Molucas, one after the other. He likewise sent Estevan Gomez with a vessel to find another strait, by the coast of Bacal-

laos and the Labrador, by which that pilot promised to go more quickly than by any other to bring spices, as before, in its proper place, has been told. He ordered a House of Contratacion to be put in Coruña, (although Sevilla deserved it better, for besides being a very good port, it was convenient on the side of the Indias,) nigh to Flanders, for contracting spices with the Dutch and the northern nations. Consequently, in Coruña, at the Emperor's cost, seven ships were provisioned, from Biscaya, and had put in them many things for traffic, such as canvas, broadcloth, and also many arms and artillery. The King appointed as their Captain General, Friar Garcijofre de Loaysa, of the order of San Juan. \* \*

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## II.

### HISTORIA DE LAS INDIAS OCCIDENTALES.

BY ANTONIO DE HERRERA. EDITION, 1601.

*Tomo III., Dec. 3, Cap. 8.*

*Year 1525.*—After the Pilot Estevan Gomez had disengaged himself from the Junta of Badajoz, he went about getting ready the caravel that had been ordered for the voyage he was to undertake to Cathay, in search of the strait which he had offered to find on the North; for many persons still affirmed its existence, and thought that as a strait had been discovered on the South there was necessarily another on the North. The first Admiral himself had been of this opinion; and thus it was that he went with so much labor in quest of a strait on the coast of Veragua; for, as has been said before, he conjectured one to be in that direction, though it is of earth, rather, and is the Isthmus between Nombre de Dios and Panamá. And in this belief, Don Hernando Cortes, Gil González Dávila, and others, have made search; and now, from the Gulf of Urabá to Florida, it was known that no such strait existed.

Estevan Gomez took his departure

with the determination of discovering far to the North; and ran all along that coast to Florida, a long stretch of land that, before that time, had not been seen by Spaniards, although Sebastian Cabot, Juan Verrazano, and others had run it. Gomez carried off as many Indians as his caravel could contain, and brought them to Castilla, against the orders and wishes of the King, and without having found the passage to Cathay. From Florida, he crossed over to Cuba, arriving at the Port of Santiago, where he refreshed and was entertained by Andres de Duero, for which the King showed him token of satisfaction. Returning, he entered Coruña, ten months after his departure from that Port. Arrived there, he stated that he had brought slaves, (*esclavos*;) and a citizen misunderstood him cloves, which was what Estevan Gomez had promised to bring from the East, and were the desire of that city in particular, that the House of Contratacion might remain permanently there, where it had been established for the greater convenience of commerce with the Northern Provinces. The citizen took post, and hastened to the King to get reward for the news; it was well received, but afterward much laughed about; and when the error became known, the correo (*courier*) was very much corrido, (*run upon*;) as Francisco Lopez de Gomara tells the story; and from that time there was no confidence in making discovery of any sea-strait, on the side to the North.

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## III.

### HISTORIA DE LAS INDIAS.

BY GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO.

*Tomo II., Lib. XXI., Cap. VIII. IX.*

The historian in 1537 writes according to the chart of Alonso Chaves made in the previous year:

\* \* The Island of Sacrificios is in 19° 40', North; thence the coast runs N. N. W., fifty leagues, little more or less, to

Cabo Roxo, (*Red Cape*), which is in  $22^{\circ}$ , with a round islet in front, and between Bahía de la Playa, (*of the Beach*), Ancon de Torreblanca, (*White Tower*), Rio de Almeria, Tierra Llana, (*Smooth*), Rio de Sanct Pedro y Sanct Pablo, Ancon de Cazonas, Rio de Taspas, the land being gradually eaten away in a circular form.

From Cabo Roxo, running twenty leagues, is Rio Hermoso, (*Beautiful*), under the line of the Tropic of Cancer, in  $23^{\circ} 30'$ , the Tierra de los Pavos, (*Turkeys*), coming before that, and then the Rio de Pánuco; on which, to his misfortune and that of others, Francisco de Garey attempted to colonize.

From the Rio Hermoso, North, to the Rio de las Palmas, in  $24^{\circ} 30'$ , are twenty leagues, between them being the Rio Sanct Benito and Rio de Montañas. To this river it was that Pamfilo de Narvaez went with his people to colonize, that were lost.

From the Rio de las Palmas to Cabo Bravo are fifty leagues, more or less, in a North-easterly course, in  $26^{\circ} 30'$ ; Playa Delgada, Montañas Altao, Rio Solo, Costa de Arboledas, El Palmar, all lying between them; the land still curving inward.

From Cabo Bravo to Rio Pescadores, in  $28^{\circ}$ , are thirty leagues, course North-east; and between them are Rio de la Magdalena, Rio Escondido, and Costa Buena.

From Rio de los Pescadores to Rio Espiritu Santo are sixty-five (seventy-five?) leagues, E. N. E.; and between them is Rio del Oro, at the distance of twenty leagues, and thence fifteen leagues, the Road (*Ancori*) and Rio de las Montañas; and twenty leagues farther along is Cabo Desierto, and at other twenty leagues is Cabo de la Cruz, at the outlet of the Rio del Espiritu Sancto, in  $39^{\circ}$  ( $29^{\circ}$ ?)  $40'$ , which river is North and South with the Rio Sanct Pablo, somewhat more Westward than Bahía de la Ascension, or Boca de Terminos, the distance across the Gulf being two hundred leagues.

\* \* \* From the bay and cape of the port of Espiritu Sancto to the Rio de Flores are sixty leagues, running East, and in that bay is the river Espiritu Sancto; and the map calls that bay, Mar Pequeña, (*Little Sea*); and there are from that river to the head of that bay, E. to W., twenty leagues of Longitude, and in parts has ten to twelve of Latitude; but from the mouth of this bay are reckoned the sixty leagues of coast, Eastwardly, to the Rio de Flores, midway of which are certain rich (?) roads (*probably roads of REEF*), called Matas del Salvador; and half way thence in the coast is Rio del Cañaveral. Rio de Flores is in  $30^{\circ}$  and some minutes, at the entrance of which are some islets or shoals.

From Rio de Flores there are a hundred leagues, Eastward, to the most Western side of Ancon Baxo, on the way to which are Los Arrecifes, Rio de Nieves, forty leagues from Rio Flores, Rio del Arenal, Rio de la Playa, and Punta del Cabo Baxo, and from which is begun to be formed Ancon Bajo, for the distance of thirty leagues; but midway in them is the Bahía de Miruelo, in  $32^{\circ}$ , and nearly North and South with the Rio Puercos, in the island of Cuba.

From Ancon Baxo, a well marked point, the land runs a hundred leagues, S. E., to Punta del Aguada, in  $25^{\circ} 45'$ ; the Islands of Sanct Ginés following, Bahía Honda,—which is thirty leagues hitherward of Cabo Hondo,—the Islands of Sanct Clemente, near the coast, the Coasta de Caraciles and then the Bahía of Juan Ponce de Leon, which is North and South with Matanzas in Cuba, and in  $27^{\circ}$ , a little more or less. Farther South is the Rio de las Canoas; and farther, Rio de la Paz; and farther still, the said Aguada, closing here, with the one hundred and twenty leagues.

From Punta del Aguada the coast turns East, twenty-five leagues, the whole way covered with requetas, (*nubs*), and small islands, and many shoals called

Los Martyres, making there a point called Punta de la Florida, in  $25^{\circ} 40'$ . Thence the land runs North-east, forty leagues; and in that distance are three islands, near the shore, and many shoals, to Punta del Cañaveral, in  $28^{\circ}$ .

From Punta del Cañaveral, the coast runs Northerly, forty-five (twenty-five?) leagues, to Cabo de la Cruz, in  $29^{\circ} 30'$ , ten or twelve leagues South of which is Rio de Corrientes, and Cabo de Cruz, being East and West with La Bahia Honda.

From Cabo de Cruz, sixty leagues are run N. E., to Sancta Elena, in  $33^{\circ}$ ; and between is the river Mar Baxa, twenty leagues from Cabo de Cruz, and twenty leagues farther is Cabo Grueso, preceded at the distance of ten leagues by Rio Seco.

From Cabo S. Elena, in a course N. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E., at the distance of a hundred and twenty leagues, is Cabo de Trafalgar, in  $35^{\circ} 30'$ , on the way there being the river Sancta Elena and los Ancones; after which, in  $33^{\circ} 30'$ , is Cabo Sanct Roman, thirty leagues from Cabo Sancta Elena, passing Rio Jordan, Rio de las Canoas, Rio de los Baxos, Rio del Principe, and, more to the Eastward, the Rio Trafalgar. Within this limit, and Northward of it, Ayllon attempted to colonize.

From Cabo de Trafalgar to Cabo de Sanct Johan, in  $37^{\circ}$ , are forty leagues, N. E.; and between is Bahia de Sancta Maria, the mouth in  $36^{\circ} 40'$ , into which bay enter two rivers,—the more Westerly called Espiritu Sancto, the Easterly, Salado,—and in it are some islets.

From Cabo St. Johan to Cabo, or Promontory, de las Arenas, in  $38^{\circ} 20'$ , are thirty leagues, N. N. E.; thence other thirty leagues, North, is Cabo Sanctiago, in  $39^{\circ} 30'$  ( $41^{\circ}$ ); thence the coast turns Southwest twenty leagues, to Bahia Sanct Chripstobal, in  $39^{\circ}$  ( $40^{\circ} 30'$ ); from that bend made by the land, the coast turns Northward, passing said Bay, thirty leagues, to Rio San Antonio in  $41^{\circ}$ , ( $41^{\circ}$

$20'$ ?) which is North and South with the bottom of said Bay.

From the Rio Sanct Antonio, the coast runs North-east  $\frac{1}{4}$  East, forty leagues, to a Point in  $41^{\circ} 30'$ , on the Western side of which is a river, the Buena Madre; and on the Eastern, opposite the Point, is the Bahia de Sanct Johan Baptista.

From the Point of the Bay of S. Johan, running still North-east  $\frac{1}{4}$  East, fifty leagues of coast, is Cabo de Arrecifes, in  $43^{\circ}$ ; and twenty leagues before coming there is Rio Seco. This Cape is one point of the Northern archipelago.

From Cabo Arrecifes to Cabo de Sancta Maria, which is likewise in  $43^{\circ}$ , are twenty leagues; and all between is a road or bay filled with islands, called Archipelago on the modern chart. Thus, in this chapter, a particular account has been given of the coast from Ancon Baxo to the Archipelago and the Punta Sancta Maria, in which are six hundred and forty leagues more or less.

From Punta S. Maria, which is the point of the Archipelago, Eastward, there are thirty-five leagues to Cabo de Muchas Islas in  $43^{\circ}$ .

From  $41^{\circ}$  to  $42^{\circ} 30'$  was discovered by the Pilot, Estevan Gomez, in 1525, who brought an account of what he saw on the northern coast here to Toledo, in the same year.

From Cabo de Muchas Islas to the Cape which is made by Rio de las Gamas on the East, in  $43^{\circ} 30'$ , are twenty leagues of sea, the same being the entrance, or outlet, or bay of that river; thence, from said cape of that river, Gamas, the coast is North-east  $\frac{1}{4}$  East, one hundred and twenty leagues, to the bay called Ensenada, which is in  $45^{\circ}$ .

After Rio de las Gamas is Costa de Medanos (*Sand Hills*); and farther on is another road, called El Golpho; and farther is Rio de Montañas, in  $44^{\circ} 15'$ , fifty leagues from Rio de las Gamas.

Farther on, twenty leagues, is Rio de Castañar, and fifty leagues farther, is

Bahia de la Ensenada, to the mouth of which are ten leagues; and running North  $\frac{1}{4}$  East, one hundred and twenty leagues, come to the Channel made between the Island of Sanct Johan and the main land, at the Northern entrance, the nearest point of which to the entrance is in  $46^{\circ} 40'$ ; but in this one hundred and twenty leagues, Eastward of said bay, is the Rio de la Vuelta, at the distance of twenty leagues, and after that river, forty leagues, is another, Rio Grande, at the mouth of which are three islets, and is in  $45^{\circ} 45'$ .

From R. Grande to said Channel are sixty leagues; and on it is the Cape Breton, in  $47^{\circ} 30'$ , where are sixty leagues of coast, running from the said Western mouth, North-east  $\frac{1}{4}$  East, which seventy (*sic*) leagues cross the said Channel in its width, ten leagues, more or less, the width of said island on the Northern side, being seventy leagues, and on the Southern fifty-five, on the Eastern twenty, on the Western comes to a point, thus having a circumference of forty-five leagues, more or less; and has islands about the Island of San Juan and with the channel, but for being small, they are not named.

From Cabo Breton to the Northernmost part of Cabo Grueso, in more than  $49^{\circ} 30'$ , are thirty-five leagues, Northward, midway being Rio de Dos Bocas.

From C. Grueso, forty leagues, North-east, is a river, in  $50^{\circ} 30'$ , without any name—for the present I call Muchas Islas—the forty leagues being filled with islands, on which the card is marked, within, on the land Isla de Sanct Telmo, which I believe should be Islands. Before coming to that River from C. Grueso, is an entrance of twenty leagues across, which Alonso de Chaves calls to that Cape, which is farther to the East, Rio de Muchas Islas; but in the bay between the capes are one hundred and thirty leagues or more, which I do not affirm or deny, for in this country there is little

exact knowledge of the Northern bays, there being great differences in the charts of navigators and cosmographers.

From the river without a name are ten leagues, to a bay without a name, also in  $50^{\circ} 30'$ ; thence the coast turns South, thirty leagues, to a cape in  $49^{\circ}$ , from which to seaward, thirty leagues, are separated certain islands, called Las Once mil Virgines, in  $47^{\circ} 30'$ . From this point, North and South with the Once mil Virgines, the coast turns twenty leagues to the Northward; then to the Southward, forty, to a cape in  $47^{\circ} 30'$ , called Cabo Sancta Maria, whence the coast runs North  $\frac{1}{4}$  North-east, forty-five leagues; and turns to the Southward, other forty-five, to Cabo Sanct Pablo, in  $47^{\circ} 30'$ .

From Cape S. Pablo, twenty leagues, East, to Cabo Rasso, in  $47^{\circ} 30'$ ; and midway is Cabo de Esperanza.

From Cape Rasso to the River and land of the Bacallaos, in  $50^{\circ} 20'$ , are fifty leagues Northward, whence land is laid down on the map twenty leagues farther,  $51^{\circ} 30'$ , with some islets near the shore, where ends the late map of Alonso de Chaves, which he emended and corrected.

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#### IV.

##### DIEGO RIVEIRO.

According to the chart of the cosmographer, Diego Riveiro, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, with whom Oviedo communicated a short time before his death:

In his charts and maps from Rio Bacallaos, North-west, forty leagues to a Bay,  $51^{\circ} 40'$ ; whence the coast turns Eastward, twenty-five leagues to a cape of the main land, called Cabo de Marzo,  $52^{\circ} 20'$ ; thence North-west, sixty leagues to the Bay of las Gamas, in  $55^{\circ}$ , in which leagues are the islets of Aves and island of Fuego, other islets, and peaks of islands. From Bay of Gamas, the land trends Eastward, forty leagues direct,

little more or less, to Cabo Hermoso, in 55°; thence forty-five leagues, North  $\frac{1}{4}$  North-east, to a cape or promontory, 57° 30', before coming to the islands of Sábalo (Shad) and Island of Sanct Johan; from which cape are twenty-five leagues, North-east, by the high sea, out of sight of land—and in the way are the Island of Tormenta and Island of Fortima—is the Land of the Labrador, 59°; whence the coast runs, South-east one hundred leagues good, without another name; and whence the land runs other one hundred to the North-east, the last, on the card, ending in 60°. This land is East and West with Hibernia, Scotland, and England; and Hibernia, according to the opinion of Riveiro, may be two hundred and eighty or three hundred leagues from the Labrador. Thus, his chart has down one hundred and ninety leagues more—to the Cape or Promontory, forty-five leagues after Cabo Hermoso; and other three hundred leagues more, marked and not named. This difference, Oviedo believes, was not unknown to Chaves and other cosmographers, but the uncertainty of positions give differences of appearance.

### III.—THE INDIAN DEED FOR STATEN ISLAND, IN 1670.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

[There is a curious history connected with this MS. It was presented to the New York Historical Society, by SAMUEL HAZARD, Esq., of Philadelphia, in December, 1846. That gentleman sent with it an original memorandum in the handwriting of his father, Ebenezer Hazard, viz.:

"This original Grant for Staten Island was given to me at Whitesborough in the State of New York, August, 1806, by Sidney Breese, Esq. of Cazenovia.

"Before the American Revolution it was lent to me by Mr. Henry Kip of New York. I took a correct copy of it (which is among my papers) & returned it, but since that time, one half of the third sheet of the Original has been lost.

"Oct<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1806.

E. H."

Mr. Samuel Hazard also sent with the imperfect original, the copy referred to in the above memorandum.

Upon the receipt of these documents, Mr. George H. Moore, at that time the Assistant Librarian of the Historical Society, recalled the fact that among some loose miscellaneous manuscripts which had come into his hands, there was a fragment bearing an autograph signature of Governor Francis Lovelace, which from recollection he was able to identify as a part of this document. On seeking it out, and placing it in juxtaposition, it proved to be "the half of the 'third sheet' missing from the original!

It had been separated at some time between the beginning of the American Revolution and the year 1806—and was thus restored forty years afterwards, by this fortunate concurrence of circumstances. It is a signal illustration of the value of their labors, who gather up such historical fragments, suffering none to be lost.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

THIS INDENTURE made the Thirteenth Day of Aprill in y<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>th</sup> yeare of the Raigne of o<sup>r</sup> Sovereign Lord CHARLES the Second by the Grace of God of England Scotland France & Ireland Kinge Defend<sup>r</sup> of the faith &c & in the yeare of our Lord God 1670. BETWEENE y<sup>e</sup> R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Francis Lovelace Esq<sup>r</sup> Governour Gen<sup>l</sup> under his Royall Highness JAMES Duke of Yorke & Albany &c. Of all his Territoryes in America for & on ye behalf of his said Royall Highness on the one parte, & AQUEPO, WARRINES, MINQUA-SACHEMACK, PEMANTOWES, QUEWE-QUEEN, WEWANECAMECK, & MATARIS, on the behalfe of themselves as the true Sachems Owners, and lawfull Indian Proprietors of Staten Island, & of all other Indians any way concerned therein on the other parte WITNESS [L. S.] ETH that for & in Consideration of a certaine sune in Wampom & divers other Goods w<sup>ch</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> Schedule hereunto annext are Exprest, unto the said Sachems in hand paid by the said Governour Francis Lovelace or his Order, the Receipt whereof they y<sup>e</sup> said Sachems doe hereby acknowledg & to be fully satisfied & thereof & every parte thereof

doe for themselves & all others concerned their heires & Successors<sup>s</sup> & every of them clearly acquitt & discharge y<sup>e</sup> said Governo<sup>r</sup> & his Successors HAVE given graunted bargained & sould & by theise p<sup>r</sup>sents doe fully & absolutely, give graunt bargain & sell unto y<sup>e</sup> said francis Lovelace Governo<sup>r</sup> for & on the behalfe of his Royall Highness aforementioned ALL that Island lying & being in Hudsons Ryver Comonly called Staten Island, & by the Indians AQUEHONGA MANACKNONG, having on y<sup>e</sup> South y<sup>e</sup> Bay & Sandy point, on y<sup>e</sup> North y<sup>e</sup> Ryver & y<sup>e</sup> City of New York on Manhatans Island, on y<sup>e</sup> East Long Island, & on y<sup>e</sup> west y<sup>e</sup> Main land of After Coll, or New Jersey, Together w<sup>th</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> Lands, soyles, meadowes, fresh & salt pastures, Comons wood Land Marshes Ryvers Ryvoletts, Streames, Creeks, waters, Lakes, & whatsoever to y<sup>e</sup> said Island is belonging or any way apperteyning & all & singuler other y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>misses w<sup>th</sup> tháppurtenances & every parte & parcell thereof w<sup>th</sup>out any reservation of y<sup>e</sup> Herbage or Trees or any other thing growing or being thereupon, AND y<sup>e</sup> said Sachems for themselves & all others concerned their heires & successors, Doe Covenant to & w<sup>th</sup> the said Governo<sup>r</sup> & his Successors for & on y<sup>e</sup> behalfe aforesaid in manner & forme following, That is to say, That they y<sup>e</sup> said Sachems now are the very true sole & Lawfull Indian Owners of y<sup>e</sup> said Island & all & singuler y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>misses as being derived to them by their Auncestors, & that now at thensealing & delivery of theise p<sup>r</sup>sents they are lawfully seized thereof to y<sup>e</sup> use of themselves their heires & Assignes for ever according to y<sup>e</sup> use & custome of y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Native Indians of y<sup>e</sup> Country, And further that y<sup>e</sup> said Island now is & at y<sup>e</sup> tyme of Executing y<sup>e</sup> said Estate to be made as aforesaid shall be & from tyme to tyme & at all tymes hereafter shall & may stand remaine & continue unto the said Governo<sup>r</sup> & his Successors<sup>s</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> vse

of his Royall Highness as aforesaid freely & clearly discharged & acquitted from All & everye former Bargaines sales Guifts graunts & Incumbrances whatsoever AND furthermore The said Sachems for themselves & all others concerned their heires & successors doe Covenant that y<sup>e</sup> said Governo<sup>r</sup> his successors & Assignes for & on y<sup>e</sup> behalfe of his Royall Highness as aforesaid shall & may from henceforth for ever lawfully peaceably & quietly haue hould possesse & injoye all the said Island w<sup>th</sup> tháppurtenances & all & every other the p<sup>r</sup>misses w<sup>th</sup> their appurtenances w<sup>th</sup>out any Lett [*resistance\**] disturbance [*or interruption of y<sup>e</sup> said Sachems*] or any [*others*] concerned their heires & successors<sup>s</sup> & w<sup>th</sup>out any manner of Lawfull Lett resistance molestation or interruption of any other person or persons whatsoever Clayming by from or und<sup>r</sup> them or any of them. AND it is likewise lastly Covenanted & agreed That y<sup>e</sup> said Sachems & y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Indians concerned w<sup>th</sup> them now Inhabiting or resyding upon y<sup>e</sup> said Island shall haue free leaue & liberty to be & remaine thereupon untill y<sup>e</sup> first day of May next when they are to surrend<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> possession thereof unto such person or persons as y<sup>e</sup> Governour shall please to appoint to see y<sup>e</sup> same put in Execution, upon w<sup>ch</sup> day they are all to Transport themselves to some other place, & to resigne any Interest or Clayme thereunto or to any part thereof for ever TO HOLD & TO HOULD y<sup>e</sup> said Island soe bargained & sould as aforementioned unto y<sup>e</sup> said Francis Lovelace Governo<sup>r</sup> & his Successors, for & on y<sup>e</sup> behalfe of his Royall Highness his heires & Assignes unto y<sup>e</sup> proper use & behoof of his said Royall Highness his heires & Assignes for ever. IN WITNESS whereof y<sup>e</sup> partys to theise p<sup>r</sup>sent Indentures haue interchangably sett to their hands

\* The words in brackets, which are illegible in the original manuscript, have been supplied from Mr. Hazard's copy, made more than sixty years ago.—ED. HIST. MAG.

& Seales y<sup>e</sup> Day & yeare first above  
wrytten.

FRANCIS LOUELACE'

Delivered in the p<sup>r</sup>sence of

Cornis Steenwyck majior.

Tho: Louelace

C V Reijven,

Oloff Steven V Cortland

Allard Anthonij

Johannes vanbrugh

Gerrit van Trigt

1 Bedloo

Warn. Wessels Constapel

William Nicolls

Humphery Davenport

Cornelis Bedloo

nicholaes Anthonij

} 4 Youths.

THE Payment Agreed upon for  
y<sup>e</sup> Purchase of Staten Island Con-  
veyed this Day by y<sup>e</sup> Indian Sa-  
chems Proprieto<sup>rs</sup> is ( viz: )

1 Fower hundred Fathom of Wam- pom	{ A Firkin of Powder	7
2 Thirty Match Coates	{ Sixty Barres of	8
3 Eight Coates of Duzzens made up	{ Lead	9
4 Thirty Shirts	{ Thirty Axes	10
5 Thirty Kettles	{ Thirty Howes	11
6 Twenty Gunnes	{ fifty Knives	

MEMORANDUM It is Covenanted  
& agreed upon by & betweene y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>th</sup>in  
mentioned FRANCIS LOVELACE Esq<sup>r</sup>  
GOVERNOUR, &c for & on the behalfe  
of his ROYALL HIGHNESS & the  
w<sup>th</sup>in wrytten Sachems on the behalfe of  
themselves & all others concerned be-  
fore thenensealing & delivery hereof,  
That Two or Three of the said Sachems  
their heires or Successors or so many  
Persons Employed by them shall once  
every Yeare (VIZT) upon y<sup>e</sup> First day  
of May yearely after their surrend<sup>r</sup> re-  
paire to this Forte to Acknowledg their  
Sale of the said Staten Island to y<sup>e</sup> GOV-  
ERNOUR or his Successo<sup>rs</sup> to Continue a  
mutuall friendship betweene them. As  
witnesses their hands.

FRANCIS LOUELACE'.

[On back of first sheet.]

MEMORAND. That the young In-  
dyans not being present at the Enseal-  
ing & delivery of the within written Deed,  
it was againe delivered & acknowledged  
before them whose names are under-  
written as witnesses. Aprill the 15<sup>th</sup> 1670

The marke of × Pewowahone  
about 5 yeares old. a boy.

The marke × of Rokoques.

about 6 yeares old. a Girle.

The marke of × Shinguinnemo.

about 12 yeares old, a Girle.

The marke of × Kanarehante.

about 12 yeares old, a Girle.

The marke of × Mahquadus.

about 15 yeares old, a young man.

The marke × of Asheharewes.

about 20 yeares old, a young man.

[On back of second sheet, in more recent  
hand.]

Grant for Statten Island.

[Endorsements on Last Sheet.]

Recorded y<sup>e</sup> Day & year<sup>e</sup>  
w<sup>th</sup>in wrytten by m<sup>e</sup>

MATTHIAS NICOLLS, Secr<sup>y</sup>

13 April 1670

Agreement

Colonel Francis Lovelace

With y<sup>e</sup> [ ]

off Staten Island.

#### IV.—NOTES.

FOREFATHERS' DAY.—On Wednesday,  
November 21st, the anniversary of the  
landing of the Pilgrims occurred. Two  
hundred and forty-six years ago the Pil-  
grim Fathers arrived at Cape Cod, in the  
*Mayflower*, and anchored in Provincetown  
harbor. On the 18th of January  
last, Benjamin Scott, F.R.A.S., Cham-  
berlain of the City of London, delivered  
an able historical lecture, in which he  
supported the following proposition:  
"The Pilgrim Fathers were not Puritans,  
"but Separatists (who were the first advo-  
"cates of perfect freedom of conscience  
"at the Reformation). *They* did not, as  
"has been reported of them by some  
"writers, persecute for conscience' sake  
"either Roger Williams, the Friends, or

"any person." His essay is well worthy of the careful consideration of all historical students.

Boston.

C.

THE MAYFLOWER.—Every isolated fact, however small, bearing on the history of this famous vessel, is interesting to the descendants of the Pilgrims, and to historical students generally. Of her ultimate fate and career, I believe but little is known.

Charles H. Morse, Esq., of this city, who is well known as an intelligent collector of autographs and curiosities, has a leaf of an old account book of 1663, in the handwriting of John Hathorne of Salem, who was one of the Special Judges before whom the witches were tried, which may possibly refer to the world-renowned *Mayflower*. The account book, from which this leaf was taken, was found in the garret of the "Witch house," at Salem, Mass. The leaf in question contains some forty items, all of which it is unnecessary to publish; amongst which are "oyle," "pouder," "shott," "rom," fish, silver lace, &c. The two items, to which attention is called, are, one under date of 1662, in which Wm. Folland is credited:

"24th—7-'62. Recd. 1 buckett bought Mayflower, 00-01-06"  
and on the 1st of the 11th month he is charged:

"1st—11-'62. To ¼ of ye vessell Mayflower, J. B. 137, 018-08-11"

The *Mayflower*, so renowned in the history of the colonization of New England, was but one hundred and eighty tons burthen. She brought a hundred passengers besides her crew, who must have had an uncomfortable time of it, in their crowded state and long voyage, in such dreary weather. Her name appears afterwards as one of the vessels that brought over the emigrants to Salem, Mass., in 1629; and she returned to Massachusetts Bay in 1630. Some of

your Correspondents, who have the leisure and means of investigating her further history, could make an interesting article for the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*.

Washington, D. C.

R.

## V.—QUERIES.

DOWNING-WARE?—In the *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, the volumes famous for the worthy editor's delight in the "feathers in the family cap," it is said on page 50, without citing any authority, that Emanuel Downing, who married Lucy Winthrop, April 10th, 1622, had "for his first wife," Anne, daughter of the elder Sir James Ware; but Burke (*Landed Gentry*, ii. 1519) says that she lived till Oct. 23d, 1641, showing a discrepancy which needs explanation. Is the date an error, or must the "feather" be "relinquished?"

Boston.

PRENDERGAST.

INDIAN WARS.—On the 10th of January, 1698, the "Treacherous Salvages" made a formal peace at Casco Bay, but it lasted only five years, when they broke out again into hostilities Aug. 10th, 1703, and continued to the 13th of July, 1713. I have a manuscript copy of the history of this war, by Benj. Coleman. Has it been published?

On the 25th of July, 1722, they broke out anew, which lasted full three years longer. Has this history been written and published?

L. G. O.

Moreau Station, N. Y.

BISCUIT.—What was the process of making *Biscuit*, which suggested the name?

In the French, *Biscuit*, twice baked, or brown baked. In the Italian, *Biscotto* or *Biscottato*, twice baked.

L. G. O.

## VI.—REPLIES.

HENDRICK SUYDAM. (H. M. x. 290.) We have received the following, on this subject, and take pleasure in placing it before our readers:

HENDRICK RYCKEN, m. — Ida Jacobs; emigrated to this country in 1663; died in 1701, on the 29th of June of which year his will (dated Dec. 13, 1689) was proved. He was a blacksmith by trade. His children adopted the surname of SUYDAM, from having resided *south of the dam*, in Holland. *Issue*: Jacob; Hendrick; Ryck;<sup>1</sup> Ida; Jannetie; Jannetie; Abraham; Jannetie; Gertrude.

RYCK,<sup>1</sup> bap. Oct. 10, 1675, resided at Flatbush, m. 1, Jannetie —, m. 2, Dorretie —; his will dated Feb. 23, 1740, proved Feb. 9, 1741. *Issue*: Ryck; Hendrick; John;<sup>2</sup> Ida or Eitie; Anna or Antil; Gertrude or Geertie; Jane or Jannetie; Christina or Styntie; Mary or Martyie.

JOHN<sup>2</sup> m. Jannetie —, his will dated Dec. 16, 1770, proved March 3, 1785. *Issue*: Ryck; Ferdinand; Hendrick;<sup>3</sup> Rynier; Maria; Catharine; Jane.

HENDRICK,<sup>4</sup> of Hurlgate or Hallett's Cove, Newtown, L. I., bap. Aug. 22, 1735, d. Feb. 9, 1818, m. 1, Letitia Sebring, Aug. 30, 1762, who d. Feb. 14, 1765; m. 2, Harmentia Lefferts; m. 3, Aug. 3, 1770, Phebe, dau. of Samuel Skidmore, who d. Apl. 11, 1832, æ. 87. He had 13 children.

Bay Ridge, L. I.

T. G. B.

## VII.—PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

## 1.—AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

Worcester, November 15.—A special meeting of the Society was held at their hall to-day, to consider the death of Rev. Wm. Jenks, D.D., LL.D., of Boston, the senior Vice-President of the Society, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, the President, in the chair.

The President introduced the proceedings as follows:

*Brethren of the American Antiquarian Society:*

It is my painful duty to announce to you that Rev. William Jenks, D.D., LL.D., the senior Vice-President of our Society, died at his residence in Boston on the 13th instant, twelve days before his 88th birthday. Though we cannot mourn for a good man, who is removed to the rest that remaineth for him, at a period when earthly duties are too heavy and earthly enjoyments have lost their relish, we must consider with painful regret that the instructive presence of one of the objects of our reverence and confidence is taken away, and we who are in the hurry of life may no longer hear his word behind us, saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it, when we turn to the right hand and when we turn to the left." His official service has been prominent, useful and honorable from the foundation of our Society, through its whole history. From 1812 to 1816, he was one of the Corresponding Secretaries. He was afterwards a member of the Council for eleven years, and a member of the Committee of Publication for fourteen years; and he has been our senior Vice-President for the last thirteen years.

With him official position was a subject of conscientious duty; and his constant attendance and his manifestations of interest and willing co-operation were an encouragement and a potent example to his associates. In 1813, he delivered an address in which he presented the claims and objects of the Society, in the first year of its infant life; and fifty years after, in 1863, he came before us again, with an eye not dim and the natural force of his intellect unabated, and made a second address of greater animation and interest, enriched with his industrious gatherings in from the progress of modern learning.

He made some contributions to history, but his favorite and most frequent studies were devoted to the languages, and especially to Oriental learning. The American Oriental Society, which was formed and sustained with his earnest co-operation, will offer a just tribute to his attainments and his influence, in that branch of knowledge. His scholarship and his language had the accuracy and the richness which the old classics will impart, and he did not hesitate to acknowledge his obligations to those great masters of thought and words, in his intercourse with those who could understand him. He considered the work of a Christian minister as the leading object of his life; and whether he had a parochial charge or not, he always exercised the influence of a faithful disciple.

I have glanced at some of the traits of our venerable friend, which are so familiar to you that I need not take time to attempt to describe them. Will you permit me to say a word of other qualities not so easily described, which

you will remember with the most vivid impression? His strength was moral and spiritual, rather than intellectual. His morality was founded on "the chief corner-stone." His temper was gentle, earnest and sympathetic in the first degree. His courtesy engaged the confidence and good-will even of strangers and his welcome was a benediction. All will remember instances of the quaint and happy turns of thought which made his letters and his conversation so graceful and agreeable. How easy it is to recall his image as he appeared at our meetings, constantly, in the city of Boston and, less frequently, in this city.

How patiently and gracefully he carried off the privation of deafness, which he suffered from boyhood, through his long life. I might speak of his personal kindness to myself, as who may not, for his Christian charity made the circle of his friendship very wide. As the figure of our venerable friend will no more be seen at our meetings, I invite you to inscribe on your records such a recognition of his character and his services as you may deem suitable to his merit and to your grateful and enduring remembrance.

Hon. PETER C. BACON then in a few remarks introduced the following resolutions:

*"Resolved, That this Society have received with deep sensibility intelligence of the decease, on the 13th inst., of their honored First Vice-President, the Rev. William Jenks, D.D., LL.D., of Boston."*

*"Resolved, That the long connection of Dr. Jenks with this Society, his earlier, his later, his constant and distinguished services in the promotion of ancient learning, challenge for his memory our most grateful respect."*

*"Resolved, That his large acquisitions in English, Oriental and Biblical literature have given him a place in the front rank of American scholars."*

*"Resolved, That to his intellectual accomplishments he added those graces that gave him the character of a courteous and Christian gentleman."*

*"Resolved, That this Society, as a mark of respect for our departed friend, attend his funeral, as a body."*

*"Resolved, That the Secretary communicate to the family of the deceased a copy of these resolutions, with the assurance of our sincere sympathy and respect."*

In seconding the resolutions, Hon. Henry Chapin expressed his admiration of the character of the deceased, and spoke of the lasting effect his presence and manners had upon those who were personally unacquainted with him.

Hon. LEVI LINCOLN remarked that he found the resolutions appropriate, and he thought it

eminently fitting that notice should be taken of the decease of a man so eminent, who had done so much for the benefit of this Society. He recollected how frequently Isaiah Thomas, the founder of this Society, had consulted with Dr. Jenks in its earlier days, and how often the similarity of antiquarian taste had brought these gentlemen in contact. Dr. Jenks was one of the earliest members of the Society. Of the corporators mentioned in the charter, Mr. Lincoln is the sole survivor. Dr. Jenks was a Christian gentleman, eminent for the purity and simplicity of his character, which an acquaintance of seventy years had given Mr. Lincoln the opportunity of observing. He said, while the association had conferred upon the deceased the honor of a Vice-presidency, it has received full reward from his scholarly service which has been freely devoted to the objects of the Society.

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS spoke of the kindness and Christian charity of Dr. Jenks, as it was evinced in assistance and presents of books to a poor young woman of this city, who was recommended to him only by her desire to be acquainted with Oriental literature.

Hon. IRA M. BARTON spoke of the varied learning of Dr. Jenks, and particularly mentioned that when engaged upon a history of the French Protestant Emigrants to this country, he met Dr. Jenks and found that he was as conversant with that obscure subject as others are with English history.

The resolutions were then adopted, and the Society adjourned.

## 2.—THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

New York, November 6, 1866.—The Society met in its Hall this evening, the Second Vice-President, Mr. Benjamin R. Winthrop, occupying the chair.

The Librarian reported donations from Colonel Andrew Warner, N. Y. State Library, Frederic Kidder and A. B. Underwood, Iowa Historical Society, Edmund Coffin, Hon. Elliot C. Cowdin, Lewis E. Jackson, Frank H. Norton, Erastus C. Benedict, New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Ticknor & Fields, N. Jarvis, Jr., Edward Bill, Middlebury Historical Society, William Alexander, Richard E. Mount, Jr., George W. Trow, Henry B. Dawson, Frederic de Peyster, Henry A. Oakley, James M. McLean, Oscar G. Smith, Henry T. Drowne, R. A. Lewis, and Charles C. Van Zandt.

The Librarian reported his correspondence, which included a letter from the family of the late Rev. Doctor Hawks, offering to the Society certain stone images from Central America, which had been collected by the lamented deceased.

Mr. Benjamin W. Bonney reported from the Executive Committee, the names of Stephen Viele,

Abraham R. Warner, Wm. Healy, David Van Dusen, Edward R. Jones, David Wolf Bruce, and Alexander Diven; and no ballot being asked, those gentlemen were declared elected to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. Bonney further reported that he was instructed by the Executive Committee to announce that the Sixty-second Anniversary of the Society will be celebrated in its Hall, on Tuesday evening, the 20th inst.; and that the address, on "New York in the Nineteenth Century," will be delivered by Rev. Doctor Osgood.

Mr. Bonney further reported that the Executive Committee had prepared a minute and resolutions on the death of the Rev. Doctor Hawks, and that they would be presented, in order, by Hon. Charles P. Kirkland.

Rev. E. M. Stone, of Providence, R. I., was proposed for Corresponding, and fifteen others for Resident Membership, in the Society, and their names were severally referred to the Executive Committee, under the rule.

Mr. Brodhead submitted a resolution, accepting the stone images which were offered by the family of the late Rev. Doctor Hawks, and returning the thanks of the Society therefor.

The Librarian communicated some "Notes on the Dutch Translation of the Book of Common Prayer," embracing information derived from Messrs. Gulian C. Verplanck and J. Romeyn Brodhead; and the members were solicited to communicate any information on the subject which they might possess.

Mr. Moore also read the following ancient Proclamation, relating to the establishment of the first Merchants' Exchange in this city:

"A PROCLAMATION FOR YE KEEPING A PUNCTUALL TYME FOR MEETING AT Y<sup>e</sup> EXCHANGE.

"Whereas his Royall Highness James Duke of Yorke & Albany, & out of his Princely care & favour not only to these his Territories in Gen<sup>all</sup> but likewise of this City of New Yorke in particular wch has been manifested lately by sending to them such dignities and formalities whereby his desires were demonstrated that they should associate themselves into a body Politique & Corporation.

"And whereas amongst y<sup>e</sup> Severall Employments y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants of this City are Conversant in that of y<sup>e</sup> merchants appears y<sup>e</sup> chiefest & most important, to y<sup>e</sup> end therefore that all due order and decorum may be Established for y<sup>e</sup> Advancement of their negotiations of wch one useful part hath hitherto not bene put in practice wch is that a fitt tyme and place to be appointed where Merchants (whether strangers as well as Townesmen) and other artificers may resorte and discourse of their severall af-

fairs according to y<sup>e</sup> Universall custom of all maretyme Corporations To ye end so usefull and laudable a practise may be put in Execution It is therefore ordered by ye Governour & Councell that a tyme and place be appointed within this City for merchants and others to resorte to The tyme & place is declared as followeth That Friday being y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> day of March in y<sup>e</sup> yeare of our Lord God 1670 betwene y<sup>e</sup> hours of Eleven and Twelve before noone shall always be ye tyme & at or neare y<sup>e</sup> Bridge (for y<sup>e</sup> present) to be y<sup>e</sup> Place where all Merchants shall meet as to an Exchange to conferre about their severall affairs as aforesaid & that dayly notice thereof be given by y<sup>e</sup> ringing of a bell when they should come on and when they should goe off & that care be taken by ye Mayor of this city that no interrupcion or disturbance be given to any one that shall frequent that Exchange and likewise that Mr. Mayor cause a solemn publication to be made of this order at y<sup>e</sup> Towne House of this City of New Yorke at or upon the 24<sup>th</sup> day of March 1669 [1670] at y<sup>e</sup> usuall time given under my hand and seale y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> day of March 1669 [70]

"FRANCIS LOVELACE.

"Sent from y<sup>e</sup> Governour  
"by Capt. Lovelace to y<sup>e</sup>  
"Mayor and Aldermen."

Mr. Kirkland, from the Executive Committee, submitted the following minute and resolutions:

"The New York Historical Society has learned with deep regret the decease, on the twenty-seventh day of September last, of its late member, FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D.D., LL.D., at the age of sixty-eight years.

"In the dark days of the Society, he was its steadfast friend, and lent to it the aid, when that aid was invaluable, of his voice and his pen, and of his personal and professional influence. In 1836, the Society was in adversity. Dr. Hawks stepped forward earnestly and energetically to relieve and resuscitate it; and his efforts contributed in an eminent degree to restore it to life and usefulness. During that and the three succeeding years, he delivered before the Society, and for its benefit, several of his brilliant lectures.

"In 1849, after his return from a residence of five years in the Southern States, he became a member of our Executive Committee; and, during a service of ten years in that Committee, he was among its most attentive, devoted, and useful members. He resigned this position in 1859, in consequence of the pressure of professional engagements, but continued to be the last a fervent friend of the Society. His

"last address before it was on the occasion of the death of the lamented Francis.

"Dr. Hawks was distinguished by zeal, sincerity, and eloquence in the pulpit; as a general, as well as a professional scholar, he held a high rank; and his contributions to the historical literature of our country are numerous and valuable. He was genial in society, and ardent in personal friendships.

"His death is a loss alike to the public and to the profession, of which he was a shining ornament, to a large circle of attached friends, and to this Society. It is therefore

"RESOLVED, *First*: That by the death of Dr. Hawks this Institution is deprived of an early and constant friend, of a most distinguished member, and of one to whom its lasting gratitude is due.

"*Second*: That by this event society has lost one of its most genial members, the cause of History a thorough and devoted student, and the Christian religion an eloquent advocate.

"*Third*: That the foregoing minute and resolutions be entered on the records of the Society, and a duly authenticated copy be sent to the family of the deceased."

The resolutions were sustained by appropriate remarks from Rev. William F. Morgan, D.D., Rev. William Adams, D.D., Mr. John G. Lamberston, and Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., and unanimously adopted.

The Society then adjourned to Ninevah.

#### SPECIAL MEETING.

*New York, Tuesday, November 20th.*—A special meeting of the Society was held at its Hall, this evening, to celebrate the Sixty-second Anniversary of its Foundation.

President de Peyster occupied the chair, and an unusually large number of members were in attendance.

The exercises were opened with Prayer, by the Rev. Dr. DeWitt, First Vice-president of the Society.

Mr. Schell, from the Executive Committee, reported the names of Rev. E. M. Stone, of Providence, for Corresponding Membership, and Thomas Roundy, Jr., Samuel Swan, Napoleon I. Haines, Jr., Rev. Thomas S. Hastings, D.D., James V. Shoemaker, Thomas J. McKee, Rev. Edward Anthon, Benj. F. Wardell, Napoleon I. Haines, A. B. Stewart, James R. Leaming, M.D., Haskell A. Searle, James W. MacDonald, and Charles Nettleton, as Resident Members; and no ballot being required the persons named were declared elected.

One gentleman was nominated for Corresponding Membership and eight for Resident Membership, and their applications were referred to the Executive Committee, under the rule.

The Anniversary Address was then delivered by the Rev. SAMUEL OSGOOD, D.D., his subject being "New York in the Nineteenth Century."

Dr. Osgood began with saying that this city itself presented the most interesting subject of discourse, and that he could treat it with more satisfaction, as most of our citizens are strangers to its history, and we see little now of the old times to show us their men and manners. He would consider the subject as a chapter of modern history, and must be content with two points of view—the year 1801, that began the century, and the present year, which brings it two-thirds of the way towards its close.

He then glanced at the antecedents of New York City, its relation to the modern age of liberty and its mission in this nineteenth century, whose especial work it is to reconstruct society on the basis of liberty. He reviewed the English and Dutch elements in its composition, and the education of the people in government and opinions under the Colonial rule and the Revolutionary struggle. He then gave a picture of old New York as it was in 1801, and as it continued in many respects to be till 1825, when the completion of the Erie Canal drew new population and wealth, and gave the city its national preeminence. He regarded the year 1850, with its English and American (its Collins and Cunard) lines of steamers, and its direct communication with California, as the most conspicuous date for marking the city as *cosmopolitan*, and as the third city in Christendom.

He then gave a careful view of the main features of New York in its present position, its wealth and public spirit, its civil condition, its honor and shame, its society and art, its education and religion. He dwelt upon the three stages of evolution—the aggregation, the accommodation and the assimilation of the various elements of our population, and urged the wisdom of doing all in our power to bring out the best capacities and affections of our various convictions and nationalities, and form a strong and generous public spirit. He took in the main a cheerful view of the future, and thought it unwise to take it for granted, as many did, that the prospect is hopeless, and that the majority cannot be educated into an intelligent and honest citizenship. He spoke with respect of the foreign elements in our population, and thought it far wiser to study out and encourage their good traits, than to treat them as enemies, and to lose the powerful help of courtesy and the mighty alliance of liberty in dealing with them. He sketched what seemed to him to be the noblest type of New York character, the large and solid imperial mind that welcomes all diversities of blood and creed, and assimilates all in a generous

patriotism and humanity. He believed that New England and New York were close allies, and were uniting the subjective intuitive thought of the Puritans with the objective institutional habit of the Knickerbockers.

He trusted that Old New York would live in the new age, and not be lost in the mighty invasion of new people and ways. The city life should be like its great historical street—Old Broadway—not broken, but continuous; and the future should extend and adorn the good old paths of the fathers, as even now the vast crowds walk and ride on the road from the Battery to King's Bridge, which the stout old fathers traveled. He urged the Historical Society itself to take the same generous course, and to keep the old lines of remembrance in constant communication with the new lines of progress. He named Gulian C. Verplanck, who was born in 1786, when New York had 23,000 inhabitants, as the man who united in himself more associations with the past than any other citizen, and called on the audience to implore the blessing of God upon his venerable head.

On the conclusion of the Address, Mr. James W. Beekman, after some remarks, submitted the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Rev. Dr. Osgood, for his able and eloquent discourse before the Society, this evening, and that a copy be requested for its use.

A Benediction was then pronounced by the Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D.D.

The Society then adjourned.

### 3.—THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

November 1, 1866.—The Regular Meeting of this Society was held this evening, Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont in the chair.

After the reading of the minutes, Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., D.D., reported that Mrs. James Humphrey had presented to the Society a portrait of Chief Justice Marshall, painted in 1834, by Rembrandt Peale. The following letter was received with the painting:

"161 COLUMBIA ST., BROOKLYN,  
"Oct. 24, 1866.

"DEAR SIR:

"In accordance with the expressed desire of "my husband, I take great pleasure in transmitting to the Historical Society the portrait of "Chief Justice Marshall, by Rembrandt Peale.

"It was painted at Washington in 1834, and "was purchased by Mr. Humphrey in 1847, from "the artist.

"Mr. Peale informed Mr. Humphrey that "while sitting for his portrait the Chief Justice

"was surrounded by his family—his grandchild— "dren climbing about his chair and engaging "him in playful conversation—so that the artist "has given a portraiture of the man as well as "of the jurist. In this respect it differs from "other representations of Judge Marshall, and "gains, as a picture, a greater value.

"Very respectfully yours,

"URANIA B. HUMPHREY.

"MR. GEORGE HANNAH,  
"Librarian."

Dr. Storrs said that he had been instructed by the Executive Committee to present the following minute, at this meeting, for the action of the Society:

"The members of the Long Island Historical "Society return to Mrs. Urania B. Humphrey, "their grateful acknowledgments for the splen- "did portrait of Chief Justice Marshall pre- "sented by her to the Society. Of great his- "torical interest and value in itself—as giving "the faithful and life-like picture of one of the "most eminent of American jurists, from the "pencil of one of the most distinguished of "American artists—it has also for the Society a "peculiar interest, through its association with "one whose memory will always be cherished "by us,—the accomplished lawyer, scholar, and "Christian gentleman, the faithful friend and "counsellor of the Society—the late Hon. James "Humphrey, in whose library for twenty years "this picture has hung, and whose expressed "purpose to add it at some time to our collec- "tion has now been so gracefully and so tenderly "accomplished.

"*Resolved*, That this Minute be entered in full "upon our Records, and that the Recording Sec- "retary be instructed to forward a copy of it to "Mrs. Humphrey."

Rev. Joshua Leavitt, D.D., moved the adoption of the Minute as read, and, in a few eloquent and feeling remarks, dwelt upon the noble character and distinguished services of Chief Justice Marshall.

Mr. Charles Congdon seconded the motion, and the Minute was unanimously adopted.

Contributions to the collections of the Society from the following gentlemen and associations, were reported by the Librarian:

From James Cruikshank, LL.D., H. W. Bryant, of Portland, Hon. John Greenwood, J. Carson Brevoort, Henry Onderdonk, Jr., of Jamaica, Samuel A. Green, M.D., of Boston, Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., D.D., G. Hubert Van Wageningen, Samuel Hart, M.D., N. E. Historic-Genealogical Society, Jacob M. Hopper, and Milan Hulbert: and that nine volumes had been added by purchase.

\* The Librarian also reported the receipt from

Mr. Milan Hulbert of an important collection of manuscript papers, letters, and official documents, of various dates, extending from 1735 to 1798. Among them are Returns of His Britannic Majesty's Forces in North America in 1760, under the command of Maj.-Genl. Amherst; papers relating to New-York, Virginia, and Rhode-Island, of 1757 and after; papers of George Clarke, Secretary of the Province of New-York, and of Goldsbrow Banyar—General Deputy Secretary—of 1765-70; papers relating to the raising of a Corps of Hussars by Capt. Frederick de Deimar, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton; a number of letters and documents signed by Sir Henry Clinton; papers relating to the Bahama Islands, 1760 and after; various official documents, British orders in council; Instructions to Naval Commanders in American waters—one of these being signed by Admiral Keppel; miscellaneous papers, among which is one giving a description of the Coast of New England in 1735; Letters-Patent—with large seals attached—of 1765-70, and a variety of letters and documents, relating to the Revolutionary and ante-Revolutionary period of our history.

The Librarian also reported the receipt from the late Theodore Dwight, of a memento of Sherman's great march, in the shape of a rail from a Southern railroad track, twisted into a spiral form, around what seems to be a fence-rail; and from Mr. Van Brunt Wyckoff, of some relics from the field of the Battle of Long Island.

The following members were then elected: Fanning C. Tucker, O. B. Coomes, Thomas F. Richards, William C. Jones, Henry Hannah, George Hannah, Charles Corey, M.D., Henry A. Brush, Henry W. Brinkerhoff.

Seventeen new nominations were then offered; after which the Chairman introduced Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, of *New York*, who read a paper on the *Life of a Reformer of the 15th Century*.

At the conclusion, on motion of Thomas W. Field, the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Frothingham, and the meeting adjourned.

GEO. HANNAH,

Sec'y pro tem.

#### SPECIAL MEETING.

November 15, 1866.—A Special Meeting of the Society was held this evening: Prof. Charles E. West, Second Vice President, in the chair.

The Librarian announced that papers would be read at the meetings in December, by Mr. William A. Lawrence, and Gen'l Stewart L. Woodford, Lieutenant-Governor elect of the State of New York.

The Librarian also reported the addition to

the collections of the Society during the previous two weeks, as follows:

"We have received from the President of the Society, Mr. J. Carson Brevoort, one hundred and thirty-two volumes, comprising among others, the following works:

"*Annales du Musée et de L'École Moderne des Beaux Arts; Œuvres de Turgot, et de Condillac; Histoire de Paris et de ses environs*, par Dulaure; *Metastasio, Opere*; a volume of the works of Bernardus Freeman, one of the early Dutch ministers of Long Island, and containing his portrait; and a copy of the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*; also from Mr. Brevoort, nine valuable lithographs, after the works of Van Eyck, Schoorel, de Mabuse, and others.

"Rev. Henry Ward Beecher has presented the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* from the beginning, to 1858, in 21 volumes.

"Mr. Henry Onderdonk, Jr., has presented a volume containing: Letters on the Death of General Woodhull, Suffolk and Queens County in the Olden Time, Early Dutch Ministers of New York, and History of the Dutch Church in Queens County.

"Mr. A. Abbott Low has presented four volumes—all that have been issued—of the costly edition of the Chinese Classics, now being published at Hong Kong.

"Mr. John K. Wigg of Boston has presented a sermon preached in Trinity church, New York, in 1706.

"Mr. Nathaniel Paine of Worcester has presented a copy of his *Remarks on the Early Paper Currency of Massachusetts*; and we have also received from the American Antiquarian Society, through Mr. Paine, a nearly complete set of their proceedings.

"Valuable books and pamphlets have also been presented by Natt Head of Concord, N.H.; and by Mrs. James Humphrey of Brooklyn."

The following gentlemen were then elected as Resident Members: Theodore J. Van Wyck, William Lawton, James H. Kirby, Edwards W. Fiske, Jacob Campbell, Charles E. Bill, Horace Webster, William Henry Thayer, M.D., James E. Philip, Charles Mali, Charles P. Gerrish, Alexander Forman, Arthur T. Ely, C. E. Converse, Archimides Burns, Thomas Achelis; and as a Corresponding Member, General John Watts de Peyster of New York.

Twenty-four Resident and two Corresponding Members were then nominated; after which the Chairman introduced Joseph C. Hutchison, M.D., who read a paper on the *History of Asiatic Cholera*.

At the conclusion, on motion of Day O. Kellogg, Esq., the thanks of the meeting were presented to Dr. Hutchison, and the Society adjourned.

# SUPPLEMENT. No. VI.

## I.—GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN.

### A VINDICATION OF HIS CHARACTER AS A SOLDIER AND A PATRIOT.

BY THOMAS C. AMORY, ESQ., OF BOSTON.

In endeavoring to vindicate the memory of General Sullivan from aspersions which, we hope to show, have been unwarrantably cast by Mr. Bancroft upon his discretion and generalship, we could well wish the task had devolved upon one better qualified to do it justice. As no abler writer seems inclined to discharge an obligation imposed by his devotion to the cause of his country, at the critical period of its revolutionary struggle, we throw ourselves upon the candor of the public, in the confidence that its judgment will be reserved until both sides have been heard.

It is unfortunate for his fame, that, with the exception of the brief memoir in the third volume of the second series of SPARKS'S *American Biography*, no account has been given of General Sullivan's civil and military career. The hope had been indulged that some citizen of New Hampshire, familiar with the part taken by that State in the war, and with the character and services of its historical personages, who co-operated with him in his labors, would have felt called upon to become his biographer. But this hope has been disappointed.

General Sullivan was born at Berwick, Maine, on the eighteenth of February, 1740. He was educated by his father, who had enjoyed, himself, the benefits of a liberal and thorough training, before he settled in America, and who, through a long life, extending to his one hundred and fifth year, was diligently occupied in the education of youth.

After a voyage to the West Indies, he became a member of the family of Hon. Isaac Livermore, a lawyer of Portsmouth, in extensive practice; and, under his instruction, prepared himself for his profession. He early exhibited ability of a high order; gained the respect and encouragement of his instructor; and soon attained a distinguished position at the Bar of New Hampshire. Such was his professional success, that he married, and soon after, at the age of twenty, purchased a handsome dwelling at Durham, still

in good preservation, which continued to be his abode during the remainder of his life. For the next ten years, he was constantly employed in lucrative causes, taking elevated rank for his eloquence as an advocate, and as a judicious counselor. He enjoyed the friendship of the Wentworths and Langdons, as well as that of Lowell, Adams, and Otis, leading members of the Massachusetts Bar; and, before the breaking out of the war, had already accumulated a handsome competence.

He had a natural taste for military life; and, although, with the exception of uniting with his father and brothers in the defense of Berwick, from the occasional attacks by the Indians, he had before our Revolutionary period no actual experience of warfare, he is said to have devoted, in his historical studies, particular attention to military movements and engagements. In 1772, at the age of thirty-two, he received a Colonial commission as Major, and improved his opportunity for becoming familiar with the rudiments of military science.

His ardent nature and abhorrence of oppression, his contributions to the political press, and his extended influence and popularity, marked him early as a leader in the impending struggle; and, in the spring of 1774, he was a member of the Provincial Assembly, and in September of the same year, sent to Philadelphia, as one of the New Hampshire delegation to the Continental Congress. His name appears on many of the most important Committees of the latter, and he stood well with his associates.

Soon after his return home, in December, he planned an attack upon the Fort at Newcastle, which was one of the earliest acts of hostility against the Mother Country; and the arms and hundred kegs of powder captured there, were carried to Durham, concealed in part under the pulpit of its meeting-house, and, in the spring of 1775, brought by him to Cambridge, were used at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Immediately after his attack on the Fort, the Governor of the Province issued a Proclamation, declaring the offenders guilty of high treason, and calling for their arrest. In open defiance of his authority, Major Sullivan, Lieutenant Adams, and other citizens of Durham, holding civil or military commissions from the King, assembled

at the Adams Tavern, and moved in procession with Sullivan at their head, to the Common, near the Meeting-house, where they kindled a bonfire and, in the presence of a large number of persons, burned their commissions, uniforms, and all other insignia which in any way connected them with the Royal Government.

Early in 1775, he marched with a company raised in his neighborhood to Boston, but on the tenth of May was again in the Congress. Many of its members, beginning to realize that Independence was intended, hesitated; and Dickinson moved a second address to the King, which John Adams opposed. When he sat down, he tells us, Sullivan followed on the same side, resisting the proposition in a strain of wit, reasoning and fluency, even unusual for him, which filled with dismay those who favored conciliation.

A month later, when Washington was elected Commander-in-chief, Sullivan, who had been appointed one of the eight Brigadiers, went with him to Cambridge, where his brigade and that of Greene formed Lee's division, on Winter Hill, the left wing of the army investing Boston.

His letter from the Camp, dated 12th December, 1775, on the formation of the Constitution of New Hampshire, is replete with wise statesmanship; and the following, to John Adams, proves his zeal and activity in the performance of his military duties:

"CAMP ON WINTER HILL, Dec<sup>r</sup> 21, 1775.

"Dear Sir:

"Did not the hurry of our affairs prevent, I should often write you respecting the state of our army; but it has been my fortune to be employed almost night and day. When I had Winter Hill almost completed, I was ordered to Plough'd Hill, where for a long time I was almost day and night in fortifying. Twice have I been ordered to the Eastward, to fortify and defend Piscataway Harbour; but unfortunately was obliged to return without an opportunity of proving the works I had taken so much pains to construct. This being over, I was called upon to raise 2000 Troops from New Hampshire, and bring them on the lines in ten days; this I undertook, and was happy enough to perform; otherwise the desertion of the Connecticut Troops might have proved fatal to us. I might add that 3,000 from your Colony arrived at the same time to supply the defect. This, with the other necessary business in my Department, has so far engaged my time and attention that I hope you will not require an apology for my not writing. I have now many things to write, but must content myself with mentioning a few of them at present, and leave the residue to another opportunity. I will in the first place inform you that we

"have possession of almost every advantageous post round Boston, from whence we might, with great ease, burn or destroy the town, was it not that we fail in a very trifling matter, namely, we have no powder to do it with. However, as we have a sufficiency for our small arms, we are not without hope to become masters of the town. Old Boreas and Jack Frost are now at work building a bridge over all the rivers and bays, which once completed, we take possession of the town, or perish in the attempt. I have the greatest reason to believe I shall be saved, for my faith is very strong. I have liberty to take possession of your house. Mrs. Adams was kind enough to honor me with a visit the other day in company with a number of other ladies and the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Smith. She gave me power to enter and take possession. There is nothing now wanting but your consent, which I shall wait for till the Bridge is completed; and unless given before that time, shall make a forcible entry, and leave you to bring your action. I hope in less than three weeks to write you from Boston.

"The prisoners taken in our privateer are sent to England for trial, and so is Col<sup>o</sup> Allen. This is glorious encouragement for people to engage in our service when their prisoners are treated with so much humanity and respect, and the law of Retaliation not put in force against them. I know you have published a declaration of that sort; but I never knew a man to feel the weight of chains and imprisonment by mere declarations on paper; and, believe me, till their barbarous use of our prisoners is retaliated, we shall be miserable. Let me ask if we have anything to hope from the mercy of His Majesty or his Ministers? Have we any encouragement from the people in Great Britain? Could they exert themselves more if we had shaken off the yoke and declared ourselves independent? Why, then, in God's name, is it not done? Whence arises this spirit of moderation? This want of decision? Do the members of your respectable body think that the Enemy will throw their shot and shells with more force than at present? Do they think the fate of Charlestown or Falmouth might have been worse, or the King's Proclamation more severe if we had openly declared war? Could they have treated our prisoners worse if we were in open and avowed rebellion, than they now do?

"Why, then, do we call ourselves freemen, and act the part of timid slaves? I don't apply this to you—I know you too well to suspect your firmness and resolution. But let me beg of you to use those talents I know you possess to destroy that spirit of moderation

"which has almost ruined, and if not speedily rooted out, will prove the final overthrow of America. That spirit gave them possession of Boston, lost us all our arms and ammunition, and now causes our brothers which have fallen into their hands to be treated like rebels. But enough of this. I feel too sensibly to write more upon this subject. I beg you to make my most respectful compliments to Mr Hancock and your brother delegates, also to Col Lee and those worthy brethren who laboured with us in the vineyard, when I had the honor to be with you in the senate. You may venture to assure them that when an opportunity presents, if I should not have courage enough to fight myself, I shall do all in my power to encourage others."

After the evacuation of Boston, he took the command of the army in Canada, conducting the retreat beginning with the fall of Montgomery, at Quebec; and in this arduous service displayed skill, activity, and courage, to the satisfaction of Washington. He received from the officers serving under him, amongst whom were Poor, Wayne, Maxwell, Varnum, and others distinguished in the subsequent campaigns of the war, the most flattering testimonials of their sense of his valuable services and of their affection and esteem.

Early in August, he joined the main army under Washington, at New-York. A British force, over thirty thousand strong, had recently arrived from Halifax, and on the twenty-first landed on Long-island, where, before the battle of the twenty-seventh, were arrayed twenty-four thousand troops. Their object was the city of New-York, then occupied by the American army. Our success in compelling the evacuation of Boston, and the recent intelligence of Lee's good fortune in repulsing the British at Charleston, tended to encourage us, though neither in numbers, organization, or equipment were we equal to the enemy. As the possession of the westerly portion of Long-island was indispensable to any effective operations against the city, it was probable that would be the first point of attack. Washington occupied it with about nine thousand men—as many as he could prudently spare from his main force—and, for several weeks, he had caused lines of intrenchment to be constructed for their protection.

Where Long-island approaches nearest to the city, there is a neck of land, about two miles and a half long and containing about fifteen hundred acres, which is capable, on its eastern front, of being defended by works a mile and a quarter in length. Two miles in front of these lines is a range of hills, at points two hundred feet in elevation, somewhat irregular in their general course from North to South, intersected by defiles through which, here and there, were roads

running from the shore to the neighboring villages. As these heights commanded the interior lines about Wallabout Bay, it was necessary for any effective defense, that they should be occupied. Greene had been in command and, with Sullivan and Sterling, engaged in fortifying them, when he was taken ill of a fever and compelled, on the twenty-fourth, to leave the Island. Sullivan succeeded; but, as there were indications of an impending conflict with the enemy, to Putnam, whose age as well as seniority of commission were considered to constitute a claim to the position next in responsibility to that of the Commander-in-Chief, was confided the direction of our forces, on the island.

While, if an effort were to be made to retain possession of New York, it was important to oppose the approach of the enemy, at Brooklyn, his landing on the island might be used as a feint, merely to lure our forces thither, and by the aid of his fleet the city be taken. This compelled the division of our forces and explains why a force so inadequate was left exposed.

While the British were concentrating their forces, the heights were occupied by several of our regiments; and skirmishes occasionally occurred. But as the whole line of the hills to be guarded, extending from Yellow Hook on the Jamaica road to what is now Greenwood Cemetery, was six miles in length, the force we employed to guard them was wholly inadequate. What force we had, from some oversight of Putnam, and disregard of the injunctions of Washington and advice of Sullivan, was not wisely distributed. Sterling, as Sullivan says, was to have commanded outside the lines; while to him was assigned the command, under Putnam himself, of the five thousand, within. As Putnam had reason to believe the enemy would advance by the shore, on Gowanus road, at half past three, on the morning of the twenty-seventh, he awoke Sterling in his tent and sent him to oppose him. Sullivan went out to the heights in front of Flatbush, where Hurd's, Parsons', Hand's, and Miles's regiments were stationed—General Woodhull, with a force of Long-island militia, keeping guard on the extreme left.

When he reached the front, he called for volunteers to ascertain the position of the enemy, but out of twelve selected for the purpose not one returned. In the plain at Flatbush, Van Heister kept his attention occupied by his artillery and occasional attacks in line. Meanwhile, Howe, Clinton, Cornwallis, and Percy, who, with the principal portion of the British army, had, the evening before, fallen back to Flatlands, and thence made a circuit of several miles, during the night, sawing down the trees that obstructed their march lest the sound of the axe should betray their design, had interposed themselves

between the heights and our interior lines, two or three miles, in our rear. By cutting off all our patrols and detachments, they accomplished their object without our knowledge; and when, at half-past eight, we discovered them, it was too late to escape.

Of our force on the island, in all about nine thousand, probably four thousand, including the fifteen hundred under Sterling, were on the heights. Sullivan, when he found his earlier anticipation fulfilled, and that his position was surrounded, made a reconnoissance with four hundred men; and as he was returning he found himself between Van Heister's men, who were pressing up from Flatbush, and Clinton's at Bedford. His small force fought well, in the woods, from half past nine till twelve, when they were killed or scattered, and he himself taken prisoner.

Let candid minds remember it was no disgrace to yield to superior numbers, arms, and artillery; and it seems hardly worthy of an American historian to go out of his way to cast aspersions, for imaginary reasons, why so many of our Revolutionary battles, where the odds were fourfold against us, resulted as they did. The Americans effected all, and more than all, that could have been expected under the circumstances; but in the excited state of the public mind, it was human to attach blame to some one to explain defeat. It was much to the honor of Washington, however, that he never condescended to such injustice, or sought to build his own reputation by creating prejudice against his subordinates. It would be creditable to modern historians, eager to attract attention to their books, if they were equally conscientious, and exhibited more of the fairness and candor that distinguished Judge Marshall in his earlier and more reliable relation of the events of the Revolution.

Mr. Bisbee, who was with Sullivan in the woods, states that when his men, feeling farther resistance useless, dispersed, Sullivan rode toward the enemy with the expectation of sharing the fate of so many of his soldiers who had received no quarter, intending to sell his life as dearly as possible. As he approached the enemy, several of their men, instructed in capturing prisoners, contrived to arrest his course, render useless his weapons, and lift him from the saddle.

Bancroft states, page 91, that Sullivan's party fired with nervous rapidity. Is it not possible the authority on which this statement is made was that of the British officer, who, in relating what occurred on the afternoon of the day before, says that the force with which he was connected opposite Flatbush, experiencing loss from the American batteries on the heights, quietly withdrew into the woods behind the inequalities of the ground, the shot striking the trees over their heads?

The Americans underrated the force opposed to them—some six times their number—or they would have withdrawn earlier within the lines: Howe over-estimated the American force, or he would have proceeded at once to take their lines by assault. The vigorous resistance by Sterling, on the right, and the desperation with which the left, on retiring, sold their lives to the Hessians, who gave no quarter, led the British General, who remembered the loss sustained in attacking our lines at Bunker's hill, to make regular approaches. After two rainy days, Washington withdrew his army, on the twenty-ninth, leaving on the mind of the enemy, the impression that though we might be defeated, we could not be easily conquered.

Our loss was heavy, but not so great as was to have been expected from the vast superiority of the enemy and the mode in which we were surrounded.

Sullivan was received on board the *Eagle*, with the utmost courtesy, by Lord Howe; and his exchange for General Prescott, then held as a prisoner in Philadelphia, immediately approved. In friendly conversation with him Lord Howe stated he had full power, with General Howe, to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America. Sullivan proposed to make his sentiments known to the Congress, in Philadelphia, where he was going, on parole, to effect his exchange.

Mr. Bancroft, in the tone of ungentlemanly denunciation of what was a very simple and natural thing to do, for any one who was a prisoner in a civil war, at a time before any system of exchanges had been effected, loses sight not only of what is just but what is dignified. It does not matter much to General Sullivan, nor will it much affect his historical position among those who are familiar with the events and characters of the Revolution, that Mr. Bancroft, who at times writes very well but is not very reliable as an historian, may think of his discretion. The majority of sensible readers will be puzzled to recognize any connection between the terms and the facts, and conclude, upon the whole, after a serious defeat, with a victorious army against us of double the strength of any we had to oppose to it, that the chance of establishing our Independence was not so great as it had been; and that if we could make peace upon the terms we had always before the war insisted upon—namely, allegiance to the Crown, chartered rights inviolate, independence of Parliament—it was worthy of consideration. At all events, we gained time to recover our vigor, discouraging by negotiation the activity of the enemy and obtaining recognition as belligerents, which, in the event of disaster, might have saved even Washington himself from the scaffold.

That Lord Howe did not divulge any such powers at the subsequent conference with Adams, Franklin, and Rutledge, the Committee of Congress appointed, in pursuance of his overture to negotiation, is neither reason nor argument that he did not possess them. As the Committee insisted throughout upon Independence as the only admissible basis of negotiation, there was no occasion to do so. If the control of Parliament over any adjustment was likely to be paramount, it must be remembered that Magna Charta and the settlement of 1688 had already been constitutionally regarded as concessions from the prerogative that the treaty making power vested in the Crown, and that if terms had been concluded under the powers lodged with the Howes by the King and Cabinet, upon the principle that legislation and representation, in all cases whatsoever, should go together, or upon such a system of government as that now proposed to be carried out in the Canadas, Parliament would probably have assented or acquiesced. It was, therefore, no indiscretion in Sullivan to repose the most implicit confidence in the assurances given him, that adequate powers were possessed by the Howes to effect an accommodation; or inconsistency in them to intimate as much on board the *Eagle*, in confidential intercourse, and yet not make their full powers to treat known when the formal conference took place.

As it was simply intended that Sullivan should communicate, in an informal manner, an *overture* for negotiation through such conference, only to be held if sanctioned by Congress, it was wholly unnecessary that he should have received any written instructions; indeed, instructions were wholly out of the case. He was receiving himself, as one of the acting parties, a proposition affecting his associates as well as himself, compromising no one, upon which he merely consented to consult. To deny the propriety of such a course in civil war, would be to close the door to all negotiation; and if our affairs had been as desperate as they looked at that particular crisis, with thirty thousand men in the field against half that number, in the event of further disaster, would have subjected all concerned in the rebellion to the mercy of the conquerors upon unconditional surrender.

In the freedom of confidential intercourse with his old associates of the Congress, not probably more than thirty in number, General Sullivan no doubt stated with entire frankness whatever had occurred on board the vessel, as no doubt it was the wish of Lord Howe, as well as his manifest duty as an officer appointed under their authority, that he should. When requested to commit to writing what he understood Lord Howe to propose, he was cautious and guarded, and no exceptions were or could be taken to his

words. Subsequently, at the conference, Rutledge, in repeating from recollection, gave a force and color to what Sullivan had said, several days before; in his oral communication, which Howe claimed was beyond the natural import of his language. Of course, he meant if Sullivan had been correctly reported; but any fair and generous mind, knowing how easily expressions may be misinterpreted or erroneously recalled, would never think of impeaching character or impugning veracity on grounds so unsubstantial.

It should be borne in mind, that recourse was had to this indirect mode of opening communications, always of advantage to belligerents, and especially in civil war, from the prohibition of the British Government to the Howes to recognize the Congress. General Washington knew what was intended, and did not consider it proper that the military authority should prevent an appeal to the civil power. It would not have only been churlish to Howe to have declined communicating what was a mere overture to a conference, but it would have been an imprudent oversight to have neglected so valuable an opportunity to ascertain the extent of the boasted powers of the Commissioners, as well as a reflection upon the ability and wisdom of Congress to decide what their public duty demanded. They concluded to accept the proposition, improved it to disabuse their constituents of any expectation of satisfactory concessions, gaining time needed for reorganization after defeat, and inspiring a more determined spirit to persevere in the contest.

All condemn, now, the want of wisdom of the Confederate leaders in declining, in January, 1865, the terms proposed by Mr. Lincoln. In numerous wars, and especially those of a civil character, peace has been brought about by informal propositions. Humanity demands that no reasonable means should be neglected to stay the useless effusion of blood. Sullivan had been a respected member of the Congress. Settlement of the difficulty was as much an affair of New Hampshire as of Massachusetts. John Adams—who resembled the historian in one particular, in entertaining too much respect for himself and too little for others—fearing reaction, might have said that he wished a bullet had passed through the brain of the emissary, as Mr. Bancroft courteously calls him. But this was simply his mode of expressing his extreme unwillingness to enter into any negotiations with the British Government, rather than an indication of an impaired confidence in the integrity or patriotism of that emissary. His relations with Sullivan, then and throughout the War, seem to have been respectful and friendly; and, a few days later, he himself was not unwilling

to go with Franklin and Rutledge to confer with Howe on the same business, though as much convinced when he went as before or afterwards, that no propositions would be made which were based on the Independence of the States. Besides, a few years later, he writes that he would gladly exchange all prospects of success in the War for the condition existing before the commencement of hostilities. We think, therefore, that the whole passage in Mr. Bancroft's volume, to which we have referred, betrays an unreasonable prejudice on the part of the writer against General Sullivan.

In October and November, Sullivan was with Washington, in Westchester county; and, after the army crossed the Hudson, he was placed under the orders of Lee. When the latter was taken prisoner, on the thirtieth of December, Sullivan forthwith obeyed the orders of Washington to join him at Newtown, opposite Trenton; and having crossed the Delaware, at Easton, he effected a junction with the main army on the twentieth. The same day, Gates arrived with five hundred men—all that remained of four New England regiments. Immediate measures were taken for the surprisal of Rahl at Trenton; and, on the twenty-fifth, at three o'clock, with twenty-four hundred men—one-half his whole army—Washington marched to MacKonkey's ferry, and by three o'clock in the morning of the twenty-sixth, had crossed the river. It was bitterly cold; and a storm of snow and hail set in as they started for a nine-miles' march to Trenton. Sullivan commanded the right wing, on the river-road, Greene the left; and both reached Trenton, nearly at the same moment, at eight o'clock. The surprise was complete, Rahl defeated and mortally wounded; and Washington recrossed the Delaware with nine hundred prisoners.

When, on the thirtieth, Washington again passed the Delaware into Jersey, taking post at Trenton, and found Cornwallis on his front, too strong to attack with any reasonable chance of success, he moved, in the night of the second of January, towards Princeton. On his way, several British regiments were encountered, Mercer was killed, Mawhood repulsed by Washington in person, and the Fortieth and Fifty-fifth were pursued by Sullivan to the College, whence, after slight resistance, they fled to Brunswick, nearly two hundred (194) of them being taken prisoners.

During the next six months, Sullivan was busily engaged in front of the main army, which lay during the winter at Morristown; and at that season, incessantly vigilant, he kept the British at Brunswick and Amboy, many times his number, from marauds.

After the British General had embarked twenty thousand of his troops for a destination not then known, Sullivan lay about twenty miles from

Staten Island, whence frequent forays were made by the enemy, on the main. Ascertaining that while sixteen hundred regulars were at the northerly part of the island, about eight miles off, near New Brighton, one thousand Loyal militia were scattered at different posts along the shore, on the twenty-first of August, he gathered what boats he could procure, six in number, and placed one-half his force, under Ogden, in three of them, with orders to land at the Old Blazing Star and attack the regiments of Lawrence, Dungan and Allen, while, with De Borre, he, himself, crossed to attack Colonel Barton, at the New Blazing Star Ferry; General Smallwood being ordered to cross at Halsey's Point, to attack Buskirk.

Ogden says the plan was well concerted and perfectly consistent. The enemy was put to route and many prisoners taken, with little loss. From a mistake of Smallwood, in the night, the regulars became aware of their presence on the island; and following them to the boats, attacked the rear-guard left to pick up stragglers from the ranks. The guard "sold themselves dear," it is said, and after vigorous resistance and some loss, were compelled to the number of two hundred to surrender.

Judge Marshall says, "the enterprise was well planned and, in its commencement, happily executed;" but the boats were insufficient. The boats that carried the force to the island were certainly capable of bringing them back, and would have done so in safety had it not been for a laxity of discipline on the part of his subordinates, which Sullivan, by the strictest orders, had done what he could to prevent. Similar enterprises attended with the happiest results, and consequently familiar, others baffled and forgotten, were constantly occurring; and if ever likely to prove successful, it was at that very conjuncture, when the British army was at sea.

Sullivan was censured; but the Court of Inquiry and the Congress held him blameless. Historical writers, swift to defame, have in some instances, before, as Mr. Bancroft has now, attributed his want of success to negligence in providing transportation. He, no doubt, procured all the boats that he could find; and opportunity, in war, would never be improved if no risks were hazarded. We do not claim for General Sullivan any particular merit for the descent on the Island. Had it resulted, as might have been reasonably anticipated, in the capture of the thousand Loyal militia-men, it would have been considered a very sensible enterprise. Our general officers were encouraged to activity and to embrace all similar occasions of inflicting loss on the enemy, by the leading men of the time; and the letter of John Adams to Sullivan, given in his Biography, (*Works*, i, 259,) probably made him emulous to do all in his power.

The following letter to Hancock explains, in a measure, the malign spirit with which he had to contend in the discharge of his duty :

"CAMP ON METUCHIN HILLS,  
"Octob. 17th, 1777.

"Dear Sir—

"I do myself the Honor to enclose Congress a copy of the result of a Court of Inquiry, respecting my conduct, on Staten Island, after perusing which and examining the evidence, sent by me in a former letter, Congress must be at some loss, to know how it was possible for Lt. Col. Smith, and Major Taylor, to write so warmly against me, to their friends in Congress when there was no colour for it. I shall now give Congress the key to it, and it will no longer remain a mystery. On the 13th August, last, when my Division lay at Hanover, those two gentlemen attacked Majr Sherburn who acted as Depty. A. General on the Public Parade, before all the soldiers, about the severity of the duty, averring that there was no necessity of Piquets, or out Guards, as we were in a friend's country and the enemy at such a distance. This was said with heat on the one side, and replied to with as much warmth on the other; I was much surprised at hearing so dangerous a doctrine had been advanced by Field Officers before the Soldiers of my Division. I knew it was an established rule among military men, to use the same precautions in a friend's country, as in an enemy's; for a relaxation or neglect of duty has proved the destruction of many armies. The fate of Hannibal after his troops had tasted the delights of Capua, was a striking instance of the evil tendency which follows those neglects. I therefore on the next day, issued Orders to my Division (which you have enclosed). This matter being known throughout the Division, it was early perceived against whom they were pointed. This was by them deemed unpardonable, and I suppose retaliation determined on." \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

"But no opportunity offered till the affair of Staten Island. They immediately began to make a party against me, in which they were warmly seconded by General de Borre. This, Sir, was the foundation of all the clamour raised against me, but every Engine was set at work, to raise a report throughout the Country, that my officers in general were dissatisfied with my conduct. This report coming to the hearing of the Officers, they have met on the occasion, and the Regiments have many of them delivered in, and the others are making out papers, similar to the one you have enclosed from Colo. Ford's. I believe some officers in Hazen's will not do it, but many of them have, and some con-

clude by saying that if they were as happy with the Field Officers of his Regmt as with me, they would be as happy as they could wish. "I hope after having dealt thus openly with Congress, and laid every thing before them, the party who have arisen up against me, will at least be sensible that they have injured me without cause. I am happy that my conduct in military life, thus far will bear the strictest scrutiny, & every enquiry into it will redound to my Honour. But I am far from expecting this always to be the case. I well know that I am in common with the rest of mankind liable to errors and it must be a miracle if I escape them all. At the same time, though at a distance from the Senate, I know there is a Party who would improve the first [opportunity?] to work my ruin. This was the only motive that induced me to ask to retire from the army; It was not because I was weary of serving my Country, but to rescue my reputation from ruin; It is exceedingly hard for me to fight against the enemies of my Country, and at the same time combat with the very persons I am fighting for. The last action took off half of my family, perhaps the next may sweep the residue, and involve me in their fate; and what is still more deplorable, my reputation may unjustly perish by my side. This is a poor encouragement to sacrifice that life which I have often ventured in my Country's Cause, and to exchange domestic ease, for the dusty field of Mars. But as every American looks up to Congress, for justice, I cannot persuade myself that it will refuse either to approve my conduct publicly, or grant me leave to retire from the army."

The following is the account of the expedition, by Marshall: "The force of the enemy on the island amounted to between two or three thousand men, of whom nearly one thousand were Provincials, who were stationed at different places on the coast, opposite the Jersey shore. The British and German troops, amounting to sixteen hundred men, were in a fortified camp, near the Watering Place. General Sullivan thought it practicable to surprise and bring off the Provincials before they could be supported by the European troops: and he was the more stimulated to make the attempt by their occasional incursions into Jersey. In one of these, very lately made, they had carried off a number of cattle and about twelve individuals noted for their attachment to the American cause. This expedition was undertaken with the select troops of his Division, aided by a few Jersey militia, under Colonel Frelinghuysen.

"They had to march about twenty miles to

"the place of embarkation, where only six boats had been procured. Three of these were allotted to Colonel Ogden, who commanded one detachment intended to attack Colonel Lawrence, who lay near The Old Blazing Star ferry, and Colonels Dungan and Allen, who lay about two miles from each other, towards Amboy. The other three were taken by General DeBorre, who was accompanied by Sullivan in person, and who was to attack Colonel Barton, near The New Blazing Star ferry, and having secured that party, to assist Ogden. General Smallwood was to cross at Halsey's Point, and attack Buskirk's regiment, which lay near Decker's ferry. All the troops crossed over into the island, before day, without being perceived by the enemy. From being misconducted by his guides, Smallwood began his attack on a different point from that which he intended, in consequence of which the regiment he attacked made its escape; but Ogden and DeBorre succeeded in a very considerable extent. Lawrence and Barton were completely surprised; and both of them, with several of their officers and men, were taken.

"The alarm being given, it was necessary to use the utmost dispatch in drawing his forces off the island. It had been impracticable to obtain a sufficient number of boats to embark them all at the same time; and some confusion appears to have prevailed in this part of the business. General Campbell, with a considerable force advanced upon them; and the rear-guard (about two hundred) after defending themselves for some time with great gallantry, finding the boats could not be brought back to take them over the channel, were under the necessity of surrendering prisoners of war. The enterprise seems to have been well planned, and, in its commencement, to have been happily executed. Its disastrous conclusion is most probably attributable to the want of a sufficient number of boats, without which the expedition ought not to have been undertaken."—*Life of Washington*.

The loss inflicted and sustained was nearly equal, probably about two hundred men rendered ineffective on either side. Sullivan brought away with him from the island, twenty-eight civilians, in retaliation for similar treatment, as above mentioned, towards the friends of Independence.

In his account of the expedition and the ill-natured expressions he uses, Mr. Bancroft loses sight of the fact that it was only after his return that he learned of the arrival of the British fleet in the Chesapeake; and that, while waiting for orders, it was his duty to omit no opportunity to harass the enemy.

Mr. Irving, in terms alike more generous and

truthful, says that "Sullivan, while encamped at Hanover, in Jersey, made a gallant attempt to surprise and capture a corps of one thousand Provincials, stationed on Staten Island, at a distance from the fortified camp and opposite the Jersey shore. The attempt was partially successful; a number of the Provincials were captured, but the regulars came to the rescue. Sullivan had not brought sufficient boats to secure a retreat. His rear-guard was captured while waiting for the return of the boats, yet not without a sharp resistance. There was loss on both sides; but the Americans suffered most. Congress directed Washington to appoint a Court of Inquiry to investigate the matter; in the meantime Sullivan, whose gallantry remained undoubted, continued in command."

Both Marshall and Irving attribute the want of more complete success to an insufficient number of boats. But the subordinate officers, contrary to the earnest injunctions of Sullivan, had allowed men to straggle from their ranks; and a rear-guard was left to collect them, as well as to protect the embarkation of the rest. Moreover, Ogden had taken possession of a small vessel, upon which were placed his prisoners; and their red uniforms led the boatmen to suppose her an armed vessel of the enemy and to keep off.

This was a mischance not to be guarded against, and ought not to work to the prejudice of Sullivan. He had taken part in an expedition of a similar character, eight months before, at Trenton, which had redounded to the honor of all who were engaged, proving of infinite advantage to the cause for which we were contending. It also bore many points of resemblance to his first exploit, the attack on Fort William and Mary, at Portsmouth, in December, 1774, by many considered as the earliest hostile proceeding against the Crown.

Mr. Bancroft says, disingenuously, that Sullivan could not, in consequence of the descent on Staten Island, obey the orders which met him on his return, to join Washington with all speed. In a week, he moved three thousand men from Hanover to the Elk—one hundred and thirty miles, probably more than less. Howe, with twenty thousand men, had effected his landing, by the twenty-sixth of August, and on the eleventh of September, was at Kennett Square, seven miles South of the Brandywine, and thirty South from Philadelphia, of which city it was his aim to possess himself. Washington, on the North side of the river, with his center at Chad's ford, on the direct route to the city, had eleven thousand men, poorly armed, or recent levies. Maxwell commanded the left, down the river; Sullivan the right, above, having under him, besides his own Division, those of Sterling and Stephen,

with Hazen's regiment stationed three miles higher up.

Sullivan, in conversation and by letter, had previously expressed his opinion to Washington, that Howe, as a sensible officer, would cross the river above the forks. Knyphausen, with half the British army, early in the morning, marched towards the river and engaged Washington's attention, with his artillery and occasional attacks in force. At the same time he occupied the right bank of the Brandywine, screening from observation the march of Howe and Cornwallis, who, at day-break, had started up the Lancaster road. The morning was foggy; and their march, from six to ten miles from the river, lay through thick woods and uneven grounds, well guarded on their flanks. Sullivan had but four horsemen, two of whom were needed to keep up communication with Head-quarters, two miles below, and three quarters of a mile from Chad's Ford. It was difficult, therefore, to ascertain the movement of the hostile forces; and Washington remained several hours in suspense.

In a foot-note on page 395 of Mr. Bancroft's volume, *SPARKS' Washington*, v., 109, is cited to prove that the responsibility devolved exclusively on Sullivan to obtain intelligence; and it purports that the letter cited corrects a misstatement of his, on that point. The candid reader, on reference to that authority, will find that the letter, on the contrary, confirms his statement; and that it was alike the constant effort of both Washington and Sullivan, that anxious morning, to obtain intelligence; and what was actually brought to them was as full and frequent as circumstances could have warranted them to expect.

Towards noon came an express from Sullivan to Head-quarters, that Howe, with a large body of troops and a park of artillery, was pushing up the Lancaster road. Washington ordered Sullivan to cross the Brandywine at Brenton's ford, near which he was stationed, to attack the British left. While preparing, in obedience to these orders, to cross the river, Major Spicer\* came in and informed him that he had just come down from the Lancaster road and the country where the British should have been, if coming round by the upper fords; and that they were nowhere to be seen. Sullivan thought Spicer must be mistaken, but felt bound to transmit this, with all speed, to Head-quarters, as Washington said, in the sequel, he was perfectly right in doing. The movement might well have been a feint to lure us to meet the whole British army. That Washington so reasoned, is plain from the fact that he did not send back immediate word, as he might have done in twenty

minutes, to cross, notwithstanding. One hour, at least, passed on, unimproved by Washington, while awaiting more positive information, when Cheyning came in, to confirm the earlier intelligence.\*

As the proposed movement was based on information previously communicated, in reality correct, but now contradicted on authority equally entitled to respect, Sullivan would have been deservedly blamed if he had hesitated to transmit it, and the army had crossed to encounter the whole British force, double its numbers, with a river but partially fordable in its rear, and, as inevitably would have been the case unless by a miracle, been defeated.

Reasoning from the facts as, in reality, they were, if Sullivan had crossed and, with Washington, attacked Knyphausen, the force left at Kennett Square was nearly equal to what would have been engaged against it, and the contest could easily have been prolonged until Howe had reached our rear and enveloped us. It is useless to conjecture probabilities, except so far as they bear upon the claim to credit for prudence and military sagacity of those who, no doubt, took them into account in forming their conclusions. But it would seem that kind Providence saved us, on that day, from a terrible blunder, if not the loss of our cause, by keeping us on the left bank of the Brandywine. We fought because public opinion demanded. It would have been a folly, with such odds, to have expected a victory. The resistance made, although resulting in retreat, was still a step in advance towards Independence.

What followed, we give in Sullivan's own language, in a letter which we claim to be the best evidence as to the facts related, because proceeding from him who had the best opportunity of knowing the truth, whose character for honor cannot be impeached, and where deception, had he been disposed to deceive, would have been impossible, from a whole army of witnesses to whom the incidents of the battle were perfectly familiar. We feel assured that no candid or competent judge, after reading it, will remain of the opinion either that Sullivan made too wide a circuit, had any question of eti-

\* It seems reasonable to believe that the information of Colonel Ross and Colonel Bland, that Howe had marched towards the Forks, reached Washington before eleven. His order to Sullivan to cross was not later than half-past. By twelve the reports of Major Spear and Sergeant Tucker, that the earlier intelligence was a mistake, were forwarded, and by one certainly orders could have been sent to Sullivan still to cross, had Washington deemed it advisable. It was after two when the fact became known to Washington that the British army was actually coming down the left bank of the Brandywine. Ill-natured historians, eager to find fault, overlook completely the fact that Colonel Hazen, who with his regiment was stationed three miles above Sullivan, up the river, was the person mainly relied upon for knowledge of any movement of the enemy in that direction.

\* Most of the authorities write Spear, one of the later, Irving, Spicer.

quette with Sterling or Stephen as to the post of honor, moved his Division from half a mile to the left to their right, or that he was otherwise than worthy of all respect for his military capacity, and his natural and acquired qualifications as a General officer and commander, in critical moments requiring coolness and judgment. If we had many better officers than Sullivan, the standard in our Revolutionary struggle was a most unusual one.

The letter to which reference has been made, is the following :

"CAMP ON PERKIOMY, Sept. 27, 1777.

"*Much Esteemed Sir :*

"I have long been soliciting for a court of enquiry into my conduct in the expedition against Staten Island. I had applied to the commander in chief for one before. I know Congress had ordered it, but such has been the state of our arms, that I have not been able to obtain one, and know not when I shall have it in my power. I however take the freedom to transmit Congress copies of the testimonies I mean to lay before the court, which I beg Congress to peruse, and they can be at no loss what must be the result of an impartial court. I am, however, happy in the assurance, that the evidence will remove every suspicion from the minds of the members of Congress, and from the court, if ever I should be so happy as to obtain one ; and I shall take the proper steps to remove the effects from the minds of Americans at large. I was ever at a loss to find what great evil happened from this expedition, unless a spirit of enterprise is deemed a fault ; if so, *I think it will need but few resolves of Congress to destroy what remains of it in our army.*

"In this expedition, we landed on an island possessed by the enemy ; put to rout six regiments, killed, wounded and made prisoners at least four or five hundred of the enemy,\* vanquished every party that collected against us ; destroyed them great quantities of stores ; took one vessel and destroyed six ; took a considerable number of arms, blankets, many cattle, horses, &c. ; marched victorious through the island, and in the whole course of the day, lost not more than one hundred and fifty men, most

"of which were lost by the imprudence of themselves, and officers. Some few, indeed, were lost by cross accidents, which no human foresight could have prevented.

"Whether Congress will take any steps against persons who have thus scandalously imposed their falsehoods upon them, I shall not enquire. I find it necessary for me to take the proper steps to do myself justice, which I know the impartial part of mankind will justify. I was still more astonished to find that, upon the vague report of a single person, who pretends to know all about the late battle of Brandywine, (though I am confident he saw but little of it), Congress should suddenly pass a resolve, to suspend me from the service, (which resolve was afterwards rescinded.) If the reputation of general officers is thus to be sported with, upon every vague and idle report, those who set less by their reputation than myself, must continue in the service. Nothing can be more mortifying to a man who is conscious of having done every thing in his power for the good of his country ; has wasted his strength, and often exposed his life in the service of it ; than to find the representatives thereof, instead of bestowing on him the reward of his services, loading him with blame, infamy, and reproach, upon the false representations of a single person, who felt as little of the severity of the engagement, as he knows about the disposition of our troops, or that of the enemy.

"I enclose Congress the testimony of those brave and experienced officers, who, with me, endured the hottest of the enemy's fire.

"I have never endeavored to establish my reputation by my own pen ; nor have I, according to the modern custom, employed others for the purpose ; neither have I adopted the still more infamous method of raising my own reputation by destroying that of others. I have always contented myself with a consciousness of having done my duty with faithfulness ; but being constrained to say something at this time respecting the late battle, and some other matters, I hope Congress will look upon it, rather as the effect of necessity, than any desire of making a merit of my services.

"I never yet have pretended that my disposition in the late battle was perfect ; I knew it was very far from it ; but this I will venture to affirm, that it was the best which time would allow me to make. At half-past two, I received orders to march with my division, to join with, and take command of that and two others to oppose the enemy, who were coming down on the right flank of our army. I neither knew where the enemy were, nor what route the other two divisions were to take, and of course could not determine where I should form a

\* There is no more frequent subject of dispute in history than regards the number of combatants, the dead, wounded or missing. Returns are rarely exact, and, except in rare instances, where system is unusually thorough, much is left to conjecture. It was a part of even Washington's policy, full of truth and honor as he was, to mislead the enemy, and the British officers frequently under or over-stated either from design or mistake. If this number seems large, it is quite as likely to be exact as what was stated by the enemy disposed to conceal the extent of their loss, or of persons, from malevolent motives, eager to depreciate the results. Of course in this number are included the reserves of Ogden, who, if we may judge from his own correspondence, was not in an independent command as stated by Bancroft, but formed part of that of Gen. Sullivan.

"junction with them. I began my march in a few minutes after I received my orders, and had not marched a mile, when I met Col. Hazen and his regiment, which had been stationed at a ford, three miles above me, who informed that the enemy were close upon his heels, and that I might depend that the principal part of the British army were there; although I knew the report sent to head-quarters made them but two brigades. As I knew Col. Hazen to be an old officer, and a good judge of numbers, I gave credence to his report, in preference to the intelligence before received. While I was conversing with Col. Hazen, and our troops still upon the march, the enemy headed us in the road, about forty rods from our advanced guard. —I then found it necessary to turn off to the right to form, and so got nearer to the other two divisions, which I at that moment discovered drawn up on an eminence, both in the rear, and to the right of the place I then was at. I ordered Col. Hazen's regiment to pass a hollow way, file off to the right, and face, to cover the artillery. The enemy seeing this, did not press on, but gave me time to form my division on an advantageous height, in a line with the other divisions, but almost half a mile to the left: I then rode on to consult the other general officers, who, upon receiving information that the enemy were endeavoring to outflank us on the right, were unanimously of opinion, that my division should be brought on to join the others, and that the whole should incline further to the right, to prevent our being out-flanked; but while my division was marching on, and before it was possible for them to form to advantage, the enemy pressed on with rapidity and attacked them, which threw them into some kind of confusion. I had taken post myself in the centre, with the artillery, and ordered it to play briskly to stop the progress of the enemy, and to give the broken troops time to rally and form in the rear of where I was with the artillery. I sent off four aide-de-camps for this purpose, and went myself; but all in vain. No sooner did I form one party, but that which I had before formed, ran off, and even at times, when I, though on horseback, and in front of them, apprehended no danger. I then left them to be rallied by their own officers, and my aide-de-camps; I repaired to the hill where our artillery was, which by this time began to feel the effects of the enemy's fire. This hill commanded both the right and left of our line, and if carried by the enemy, I knew would instantly bring on a total rout, and make a retreat very difficult; I therefore determined to hold it as long as possible, to give Lord Sterling's and General Stephen's divisions, which yet stood firm, as much assistance

from the artillery as possible, and to give Col. Hazen's, Dayton's and Ogden's regiments, which still stood firm on our left, the same advantage, and to cover the broken troops of my division, and to give them an opportunity to rally, and come to our assistance, which some of them did, and others could not by their officers be brought to do anything but fly.—The enemy soon began to bend their principal force against the hill, and the fire was close and heavy for a long time, and soon became general. Lord Sterling and General Conway with their aide-de-camps were with me on the hill and exerted themselves beyond description to keep up the troops. Five times did the enemy drive our troops from the hill, and as often was it regained, and the summit often disputed almost muzzle to muzzle. How far I had a hand in this, and whether I endured the hottest of the enemy's fire, I cheerfully submit to the gentlemen who were with me. The general fire of the line lasted an hour and forty minutes; fifty-one minutes of which the hill was disputed almost muzzle to muzzle, in such a manner, that General Conway, who has seen much service, says he never saw so close and severe a fire. On the right where General Stephens was, it was long and severe, and on the left considerable. When we found the right and left oppressed by numbers and giving way on all quarters, we were obliged to abandon the hill we had so long contended for, but not till we had almost covered the ground between that and Birmingham meeting-house, with the dead bodies of the enemy. When I found that victory was on the side of the enemy, I thought it my duty to prevent as much as possible, the injurious consequences of a defeat; for which purpose I rallied my troops on every advantageous piece of ground to retard their pursuit, and give them fresh opposition. How far I exerted myself in this, Congress will readily see by consulting the enclosed testimonies; and that the last parties I assisted to rally and post against them were between sunset and dark. By this means the enemy were so much fatigued, that they suffered our whole army, with their artillery, baggage, &c. to pass off without molestation, and without attempting to pursue us a step.

"I wish Congress to consider the many disadvantages I labored under on that day; it is necessary, in every action, that the commanding officer should have a perfect knowledge of the number and situation of the enemy, the route they are pursuing, the ground he is to draw up his troops on, as well as that where the enemy are formed, and that he have sufficient time to view and examine the position of the enemy, and to draw up his troops in such a manner as

"to counteract their design; all of which were wanting.—We had intelligence only of two brigades coming against us, when, in fact, it was the whole strength of the British army, commanded by General Howe and Lord Cornwallis. They met us unexpectedly, and in order of battle, and attacked us before we had time to form, and upon ground we had never before seen. Under those disadvantages, and against those unequal numbers, we maintained our ground an hour and forty minutes; and by giving fresh opposition on every ground that would admit, we kept them at bay from three o'clock until after sunset. What more could have been expected from between three and four thousand troops against the chief part of the British army?

\* \* \* \* \*

"I now beg Congress to consider whether my services in political and military life, have deserved so ill, as to render me liable, upon vague reports and private opinions, to have my character stigmatized by resolves against me. Though I have never yet wrote, or said anything in favor of myself, I am compelled at once to alter my conduct. My political character is well known in most parts of America, and the part I have taken in the present dispute. I am exceeding happy, that in the military line, I have witnesses of all my conduct. Let the commander in chief declare, who it was that supplied cannon, arms and ammunition to the army, when they were almost destitute at Cambridge, and who brought the troops to guard the lines, when they were almost deserted, and who by his influence prevailed upon them to tarry six weeks after their time was expired. To the officers I had the honor to command on Winter Hill, I appeal whether I was not the means of inducing their men to enlist for the second campaign, and whether during the whole time I was there, I did not cheerfully brave every danger that could arise from the severe cannonade and bombardment of the enemy. To the officers of the Canada army let me appeal for the truth of my having found on my arrival in that quarter, a most miserable army, flying off by hundreds and leaving behind them all their sick, and all the public stores which had been sent into that quarter. Those I speedily collected, and having joined my other forces, made an effort to penetrate into the country, but the unfortunate arrival of ten thousand British troops, put it out of my power. I had then to make a retreat with five thousand sick, and two thousand two hundred and fifty well men, and to secure the public stores scattered throughout the country. This was done in the face of a veteran army, commanded by a brave and experienced officer.

"The sick and the public stores were not only saved, but the mills, timber, and boards were destroyed, which prevented the enemy from reducing Ticonderoga to the same unhappy situation the last year which they have done this. How far I was active in conducting this retreat, which even our enemies have applauded, let the address of the worthy officers in that army, presented at my departure from them declare. In the attack upon Trenton in December last, I appeal to all the officers in the three brigades commanded by Generals St. Clair, Glover, and Commandt. Sergeant, whether I did not enter the town, at the head of my troops, and whether my disposition was not the most perfect that could be devised for carrying the town and preventing escapes, and whether, with my division, I did not carry the town before we received any assistance. To the commander in chief, and to the same officers I again appeal, whether I did not by my influence prevail on those troops to tarry six weeks after the first day of January, which in my opinion went far towards saving America; and whether, at the attack on Princeton, I was not in the front of my line when the enemy began their fire upon us, and whether they ever saw me in the least endeavor to screen myself from the enemy's fire. For the battle of Long Island, I appeal to Major Willis and the other officers who were with me, whether any person could have exposed himself more, or made a longer resistance with such an handful of men, against so great an army.

\* \* \* \*

"It is an observation of one of the wisest of men, that no person can stand before envy; and I am determined not to make the rash attempt. My reputation and my freedom I hold dear. But if I lose the former, the latter becomes of no importance. I therefore, rather than run the venture to combat against the envy of some malicious officers in the army, when cherished and supported, by the influence of their too credulous correspondents in Congress, must, as soon as the court of inquiry have sat, and given their opinion, beg leave to retire from the army, while my reputation is secure. This will afford me an opportunity of doing justice to my reputation, and laying my conduct, with the evidence of it, before the public; and enable me to take the proper steps against those, who, without cause or foundation, have endeavored to ruin one, who has ever shown himself one of the warmest friends to American freedom. I beg Congress will not

\* It was undoubtedly owing, in a great degree, to the exertions of Sullivan and Stark, that a re-enlistment of the troops was effected at this perilous juncture.—See Collections for 1822, p. 100.

"suppose this to proceed from disaffection, but from necessity; that I may quit a place, where I have more to fear, than I could have from the most powerful enemy. If Congress grants me liberty to retire, I shall give in my resignation to the commander in chief, when the court of inquiry have sat, and given their judgment, and if it is against me, when a court martial gives a final judgment, unless that should likewise be against me. But I cannot think that Congress, after examining the evidences, will be at a loss to know what the result of either court must be.

"Dear Sir, I have the honor to be, with much respect,

"Your Excellency's most obedient servant,  
"JOHN SULLIVAN.

*"His Excellency John Hancock, Esq."*

Stephen exposed himself, that day, to reproach for unofficerlike conduct. De Borre, somewhat ignorant of our language, was obstinate, disobeyed orders, and, shortly afterwards, was Court-martialed and resigned.

Sullivan, in defending himself from the charges of Burke—a civilian and member of Congress, who rode out to see the fight—criminate no one of his subordinates, but is generous to all of them, as he is, afterwards, just and discriminating in describing the battle for the public press. It seems difficult to understand, if any remark ever fell from his lips, to which the wildest interpretation could attach the idea of jealousy or etiquette as to position, how any such could have entered his mind. He was commanding the whole right wing; and both Sterling and Stephen were his subordinates, while De Borre commanded the right Brigade in his own Division. How could it possibly have added to his dignity, or responsibility, or consequence, that his Division should have been posted on the right. His words seem unmistakable, that in moving to the right and rear, they were closing up to Stephen, when De Borre's Brigade broke.

Five days after the battle, Washington again sought an engagement, at Goshen, but a storm of two days' continuance spoiling his ammunition, compelled him to withdraw for a fresh supply; and Howe entered Philadelphia.

On the fourth of October, our army marched from Skippack, fourteen miles, and early the next morning attacked the British at Germantown, six miles from the city.

The battle, which lasted three hours, was, where Sullivan commanded, on the right wing, a complete success; and victory had already decided in its favor, when some other portions of the army gave way. Washington had been persuaded to reduce a stone house occupied by Colonel Musgrave and six Companies of the

British Fortieth; and a parley was sounded, summoning them to surrender. This was mistaken for a signal to retreat; a fog, dense with the smoke of the battle, prevented perfect concert of action; and a regiment, led by an inexperienced Colonel, exhausted, unseasonably, its powder. These causes occasioned confusion; but the retreat was effected with little loss. The enterprise was well planned and executed, and inflicted a heavy blow on the enemy, raising in public estimation the character of our troops—so soon after defeat, in condition to encounter their enemies.

Washington, in his report to Congress, says, "In justice to General Sullivan and the whole right wing of the army, whose conduct I had an opportunity of observing, as they acted immediately under my eye, I have the pleasure to inform you that both officers and men behaved with a degree of gallantry that did them the highest honor." Mr. Bancroft, with the same ungenerous prejudice exhibited earlier, ascribes no merit to Sullivan, but cites a letter of General Armstrong to sustain a statement as to his needless waste of powder, which the letter itself fails to confirm.

After other unsuccessful efforts to bring the enemy to a conflict, in December, 1777, the American army—a large portion of it barefooted and without blankets—went into winter-quarters, at Valley Forge, where Sullivan remained, busily engaged in superintending the construction of bridges and in other duties, till March, 1778, when he was ordered to take the command in Rhode Island.

Mr. Bancroft charges him, as a fault, with recommending the appointment of Conway as Adjutant-general, and with being on both sides, in the Cabal which aimed to displace Washington by Gates. Conway had been under his command, was a brave officer who had seen much service; and, among the Sullivan papers, is a virtue denial, under his signature, of ever having written to Gates the offensive passage quoted by Bancroft, which gave displeasure. Sullivan's own correspondence conclusively proves that he had never faltered in his loyalty to Washington; but it would have been highly prejudicial to the cause for which they were all contending, had he taken sides against Gates, who was then the President of the Board of War.

In February, he requested permission to visit his home, while the army remained inactive in Winter-quarters; and states that his daily pay of fifteen shillings and eight-pence, in the reduced currency, provided for a very inconsiderable part of his expenses. He had depended throughout the War, on his private resources; and his available means had become exhausted. At Long

Island, New York, New Rochelle, and Peekskill, his personal effects had been captured; and it was only by returning to New Hampshire that he could procure what was indispensable for his most pressing wants.

When the French alliance, following Burgoyne's surrender, led to co-operation, a combined attack by the French fleet, under D'Estaing, and an army, under Sullivan, was concerted against Newport, then defended by six thousand men.

Sullivan, by collecting the militia and volunteers from the neighboring States, had, for a short time, under his command a force of ten thousand men; only fifteen hundred of whom had had any experience in War. As they approached, the British withdrew from the upper part of the island, within their lines, three miles from the town; and Sullivan crossed on to the island. A gale of unusual severity, of three days' duration, drove off the fleet of the Allies, who, after a partial engagement with the British squadron, under Lord Howe, sailed to Boston to refit.\* Several thousands of the volunteers, disheartened by this seeming defection and by exposure to cold, and wet, and hardships to which they were wholly unaccustomed, went home. Sullivan, with the remainder, proceeded to attack Newport; but the garrison, who, in comfortable quarters, had not suffered from the gale, and were protected by strong intrenchments, equaled in numbers his own troops, and had, besides, a powerful naval force to protect them; while D'Estaing declined to return. Upon consultation, and after taking the written opinions of his General officers advising his withdrawal from the island, he retired to Butt's Hill, in good order; thence repulsing the British who had followed; and, on the following night, recrossed to Tiverton, without molestation or loss. The next day, Clinton arrived from New York with a reinforcement to the garrison, of four thousand strong.

If disappointed, the failure of his expedition was from no fault of Sullivan. In the estimation of the unreflecting, who possess no other criterion of merit than success, he may be cen-

sured for not effecting impossibilities. Washington himself, judged by the same standard, came near falling a victim to unreasonable prejudice.

Greene, always the steadfast friend of both Washington and Sullivan, on the eleventh of September, 1778, wrote, "I have seen as much service almost as any man in the American army, and have been in as many, if not more, engagements than any one. I know the character of all our General officers; and if I am any judge, the expedition has been prudently and well conducted. I am confident there is not a General officer, from the Commander-in-chief to the youngest in the field, who could have gone greater lengths to have given success to the expedition than General Sullivan. He is sensible, active, ambitious, brave, and preserving in his temper; and the object was sufficiently important to make him despise every difficulty opposed to his success, as far as he was at liberty to consult his reputation; but the public good is of more importance than personal glory, and the one is not to be gratified at the expense of the other." On the seventeenth of September, Congress resolved the retreat was prudent, timely, and well conducted; and that their thanks be given to General Sullivan, and to the officers and troops under his command for their fortitude and bravery displayed in the action of August 29th, in which they repulsed the British forces and maintained the field.

In 1779, Sullivan commanded an expedition against the Six Nations whose massacres and depredations at Wyoming, Cherry Valley, and along the frontier settlements called for repression and reprisals. In carrying out his orders, which Mr. Sparks has only partially printed, he laid waste forty of their villages. The ulterior object was the invasion of Canada by the way of Niagara, and Sullivan requested from the Board of War, the supplies he deemed necessary to accomplish it; but secrecy being essential to success, they were not forthcoming; and what was provided was nearly exhausted while they still remained in the Indian country.\*

Gordon, who seems to be the favorite authority of Bancroft, exhibits throughout his work a

\* When agreed the French should land first, it was upon the supposition the landing would be contested. When the British withdrew towards Newport this precedence lost its significance; and when Sullivan, improving time, which was important, and opportunity, which might have been lost had the enemy returned to dispute his landing, crossed, D'Estaing was unreasonably offended. When, after the storm and naval engagement, the French Admiral declined to return, Sullivan, in general orders, to counteract discouragement in his army from this disappointment, expressed his confidence they would effect their object without co-operation, but not a word was used from which any sensible person, however susceptible, could have taken umbrage. Apprehensive his phrases might prejudice the cause, led to subsequent explanations; but no man of common sense can find fault with them now that they are divested of all power to harm.

\* It was remarked by a cotemporary writer that "the instructions given by General Sullivan to his officers, the order of march he prescribed to his troops, and the discipline he had the ability to maintain would have done honor to the most experienced ancient or modern Generals." This is cited as an offset to the slur of Mr. Bancroft, who certainly is no better judge of military character—indeed, his descriptions of military movements indicate a want of attention to a science indispensable to the historian. The instructions, still extant, of Sullivan to officers acting under him in the command of expeditions are minute, sensible and fully prove the injustice of the harsh and unfounded judgment passed upon him by a civilian, confirm the favorable opinion entertained of his military aptitudes and qualifications by Washington, Greene and those who had the best opportunity of knowing them.

carping spirit against nearly all the officers and a prejudice against Sullivan, easily explained, which ought not, in any candid mind, to operate to his discredit.

His health broken down by incessant exposures and hardships, General Sullivan sent in his resignation to Congress, who voted him their thanks for his services.

Washington, on the fifteenth of December, 1779, wrote :

"My dear Sir—

"I had the pleasure of receiving a few days since by Captain Barin your letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant. I assure you I am sensibly touched by so striking an instance of your friendship at a time and in a manner that demonstrates its sincerity and confirms the opinion I have always entertained of your sentiments towards me. I wish you to believe that your uneasiness on the score you mention had never the least foundation. A slender acquaintance with the world must convince every man that deeds not words are the true criterion of the attachment of his friends and that the most liberal professions of good will are far from being the surest marks of it. I should be happy if my own experience had afforded fewer examples of the little dependence to be placed upon them. I am particularly indebted to you for interesting information you give me of the views of a certain party. Against intriguing of this kind incident to every man in a public station his best support will be a faithful discharge of his duty and he must rely on the justice of his country for the event."

"It is unnecessary for me to repeat to you how high a place you hold in my esteem. The confidence you have experienced and the manner in which you have been employed on several important occasions testify the value I set upon your military qualifications and the regret I must feel that circumstances have deprived the army of your services."

In 1780, he was again a member of the Congress; and in committee, on the Vermont Grants, the Pennsylvania mutiny, finance, and other subjects, he was zealous and useful. On his return home, he was created Attorney-general of New Hampshire—an office held by himself and his gifted son and grandson, for nearly half a century.

He took part in the labors of the Convention of 1783, which formed the Constitution of his State; and he was thrice elected its Chief Magistrate. By his vigor, he suppressed the insurrection of 1786; and as President of the Convention, by his influence and eloquent arguments, induced the ratification by that State—which, as the ninth, secured its adoption—of the Federal

Constitution. He had the pleasure, as Governor, of extending to President Washington the hospitalities of New Hampshire: and appointed by him its Federal Judge, he died in 1795 in that office.

In the discharge of his Executive duties, he was indefatigable in promoting every interest of the State, organizing its Militia, and encouraging by example as well as by persuasion its manufacturing and agricultural industry. His writings, clear, vigorous, and sensible, exhibit a thorough knowledge of political science; and, collected, would prove a valuable accession to the literature of the period. His manners were easy and dignified; his address engaging; and his disposition exceedingly amiable. He was a warm friend, generous and hospitable; and his character and public services would seem to entitle his memory to respect and honor.

These have not been accorded to him by the writer from whose judgment we appeal. It is for the public, now and hereafter, to decide if that judgment be correct. It is our duty, who cherish his memory—descendants, kindred, friends of free institutions, the State he so long and faithfully served, the American people—to take heed that every fact, circumstance, motive, be considered before his is unjustly condemned.

The specifications are, **FIRST:** Want of discretion in submitting to Congress, propositions of reconciliation from Lord Howe. **SECOND:** An injudicious descent on Staten Island, August 21, 1777. **THIRD:** Transmitting intelligence to Washington which was subsequently found to be incorrect, disobedience of orders, and marching his troops to the left of Sterling, when he should have gone to the right at Brandywine, September 11, 1777. **FOURTH:** Wasting powder at Germantown, October 4, 1777. **FIFTH:** Recommending Conway as Inspector-general. **SIXTH:** Keeping on terms of courtesy with Gates.

I. That General Sullivan should have gladly embraced the proposal of Howe, to go to Philadelphia, where he could best effect his exchange for Prescott, was far from being an indiscretion. It certainly would have been the height of indiscretion to have refused to communicate Howe's friendly dispositions, in such form as he inclined to make them—not certainly again in writing as they had already been so received—and it was for Congress to determine what notice to take of them.

After such a defeat as that of Long Island, to gain time by negotiation to recover strength for more effectual resistance, was the part of prudence; and prejudice must travel far to find in the course pursued by Sullivan, any ground for censure.

II. Marshall says, the descent on Staten Island

was well planned and conducted; but boats enough were not secured to warrant the attempt; but Gordon shows there were boats enough; but the persons in charge were frightened off from the landing, by seeing the eighty prisoners captured by Ogden, in their red uniforms, on a vessel he had seized.

Smallwood was to have placed a regiment at the Cross-roads, to have intercepted, at the Neck, fugitives from the Provincial regiments routed by Ogden, while on their way to give the alarm to the regulars; but, as Marshall tells us, he was misconducted by his guides. Accidents are apt to attend such attacks by night, and should not be attributed, *as faults*, to any one.

Ogden says, if Congress had not been imposed upon by misrepresentation, no Court of Inquiry would have been ordered; and its decree exonerated Sullivan from all reproach: if the public are not imposed upon by misrepresentations, they will also confirm the decree. Bancroft, while censuring, takes no notice of the reasons why the expedition proved less successful than anticipated. As to any consequent delay in joining Washington, this is absurd. The British fleet was reported in the Chesapeake on the twenty-first, and Sullivan had returned from the island on the twenty-second.

III. The transmission, at Brandywine, of the intelligence of Major Spicer, Washington said was the duty of Sullivan.

As to disobedience of orders, had Washington seen fit to persist in his plan, orders to cross the Brandywine would have reached Sullivan in fifteen minutes; yet two hours elapsed before Cornwallis was heard of, on the left bank.

As to marching too far to the left, instead of going to the right of Lord Sterling, any person familiar with the localities and relative position of the armies—any tyro in military science—knows that instead of marching too far to the left, he was actually marching *from the left*; and that when headed off by the British, he was not far enough to the right to connect with the Divisions of Stephen and Sterling.

Muhlenberg (*page 92*), which has often been quoted, goes to show that *DeBorre* raised some question as to his position on the right, but not *Sullivan*; and neither *de Chastelleux* nor any other authority, certainly not any that are cited, sustains the statement that "Sullivan undertook to march his Division from half a mile beyond the left, to his proper place on the right."

Sullivan's own letter is full and extremely clear, as to what he did. He is the best evidence; and the natural impression given by his letter is, that we were fortunate in possessing Generals as efficient as himself, in our Revolutionary armies. It certainly is unnecessary to disparage them, to find a reason why twelve

thousand British veterans triumphed, after nearly two hours' hard fighting, over four thousand American continentals and militiamen.

IV. As to powder wasted at Germantown, this is stated by Bancroft as a reflection on Sullivan. The only ground on which he makes the statement is, that an inexperienced Colonel, in his wing of the army, in the obscurity of the morning, did not check his men when firing oftener than was worth while, as it was. This is matter of opinion. It was no fault of Sullivan's, who had no means of knowing in the darkness what any particular regiment had in its front.

The loss of the battle is generally ascribed to the loss of time at the Chew house, from Washington preferring the advice of Knox, not to leave a castle in his rear, to that of Pulaski, who cited the case of an Italian army returning from victory, to capture a similar post. Washington no more than Sullivan was infallible: both were liable to mistake: both, in their day, were, and have been since, bitterly censured. John Adams said Washington was no general; but this does not lessen our own faith that he was first, as well in War as in Peace and in the hearts of his countrymen: nor should the views of a writer aiming rather at flippancy than conscientious exactness be entertained to the prejudice of Sullivan.

V. Any one who studies the career of Conway, and realizes how sensitively he must have felt the low estimate Washington formed of his military qualifications, as communicated to Congress, can be surprised at his favoring Gates, whose army at Saratoga had achieved the great success of the War, rather than Washington, who, with the exception of Trenton and Princeton, had met only with disaster. Sullivan had had occasion to think well of him; and Congress, by giving the appointment, appear to have agreed with him.

VI. As to Sullivan siding with Gates, to transplant Washington, as Bancroft would convey by an innuendo, this is sufficiently disproved by other correspondence, as well as the last letter quoted.\*

This brief narrative of his career has appeared to us the best mode of refuting these charges. An extended biography, embracing documents at length, would require time for preparation. But abundant evidence has been adduced to satisfy intelligent minds that they are without foundation, either in fact or reasonable inference. It also compels the conviction that the writer, in making such unscrupulous statements on the testimony, betrays a prejudice and want of fidelity to historic truth and proves him to be far less qualified for his task as an historian of the Revolution, than he would have us believe some of

\* Washington's letter to Sullivan, dated December 15, 1779, here referred to, may be seen on page 175, *ante*.

its most honored Generals were for the command of its armies.

The character and conduct of all historical personages are fair subjects for scrutiny. Neither the descendants nor the friends of General Sullivan can desire he should be exempt from that ordeal which whoever engages in public affairs accepts. They have no reason to apprehend that a thorough study of his life and correspondence, of his Civil and Military career, will otherwise than redound to his glory and honor.

Descendants may well be incensed when a writer, swayed by temper, prejudice, or caprice, is unfaithful to the authorities he quotes, in order to create an unfavorable opinion of their progenitor. No one can compare the text of the book to which we take exceptions with the best evidence left of the facts which the author professes to relate, without being astonished at the unscrupulous disregard for truth which its author displays when he would gain credit to himself by discrediting others.

From early manhood, for thirty years, Sullivan was constantly in the public service. He shared the friendship and esteem of Washington, Greene, Jefferson, the Lees, and the best men of his day. He was elevated by his own State, repeatedly and incessantly, to the highest places of trust and confidence. During the War, whenever censured from temporary misapprehension, he was invariably applauded when the truth was ascertained. He risked life, lost health, sacrificed a considerable portion of his fortune, in establishing the liberty of his country. He considered neither hardships nor privations of any consequence, in her service. If he had little experience of military movements, this was true, also, of Washington and of nearly all our Revolutionary commanders. He ever acted under a deep sense of responsibility to promote the cause for which, if unsuccessful, in common with other more conspicuous personages, he was likely to be selected for the pains and penalties of treason. It does seem a sorry requital for public services of such a nature, to be at the mercy of every unscrupulous writer who chooses to defame.

But we are led to ask who is the man who so boldly judges; and whether, should his memory survive his contemporaries, he is willing to have the same measure meted to him that he has thus cruelly and unjustly accorded to some of the noblest characters of the Revolution. We trust it will prove, if his ruling motive be malice or vanity, that his misrepresentations will work no permanent prejudice to their fame, either as Generals or Statesmen.

Mr. Bancroft also reflects upon Greene, Putnam, Heath, and several other revered names, for what justifies no such censure. It is unfortunate

for the cause of truth that a writer, whose works circulate where no vindication can follow, should make such unworthy use of his position, in a measure beyond the reach of responsibility, to tarnish reputations which are amongst the most precious heir-looms of the American people. Our generals may not have been accomplished officers; they had few opportunities of learning the profession of arms, they made occasional mistakes, and so did Caesar and Wellington, but they patiently sacrificed fortune, health, life in the cause of our national independence, and it seems a sacrilege in these degenerate days to pass harsh judgment upon their services or deprive them of their well-earned laurels.

Boston, November, 1866.

## II.—PRESIDENT REED OF PENNSYLVANIA.

*To the Editor of the Historical Magazine.*

SIR,

The enclosed correspondence is at your service if you think it worth printing. It has some historical interest. It took place in 1859, and should have been sooner printed but for the pre-occupation of the public mind by matters of graver interest than the resuscitated scandals of the Revolution.

Very Resp. yr

WILLIAM B. REED.

Philad. Nov. 13, 1866.

### I.

WILLIAM B. REED TO JOHN C. HAMILTON.

PHILADELPHIA, August 26, 1859.

My Dear Sir,

I have been, as you are aware, for the last two years absent from this country, on public service, at so great a distance that very little of its current literature reached me, and it is only since my return that I have seen your work entitled "*History of the Republic of the United States of America as traced in the writings of Alexander Hamilton, &c.*" To a portion of your second volume my attention has been painfully attracted by what seems to me a very offensive and unjust attack, repeated elsewhere in various forms, and with an asperity which I confess myself unable to understand, on the memory of my ancestor President Reed of Pennsylvania. Not only is a Section of your Appendix specially devoted to this topic, but, wherever, in your text, Mr. Reed is spoken of or even distantly alluded to, it is in terms of extreme and offensive disparagement.

To me, this is matter of great regret, not only, because I know it to be unjust to the memory of one whom I have been taught to regard among the honored dead, but for what may seem the more practical reason that it shows an unkind personal feeling on your part which I never supposed to exist. You and I, at times not very

remote, have talked over these subjects — I mean subjects connected with revolutionary history — in confidence and friendliness, and hence it is that, while I do not pretend to say that relations ever existed between us which should compel you to suppress any historical truth necessary for the illustration of your fathers' fame, it is matter of surprise and you will, I am sure, not be offended if I repeat, of sincere regret that, without notice, without asking or giving explanation, you should go out of your way to make this new and most superfluous assault.

So much asperity is mingled in all you say of Mr. Reed that the fear suggested itself to my mind that there might have been unconscious provocation, either, that in the heat of ancient politics, my ancestor had left on record some phrase which you might consider an aspersion of your father, or that I might have written something of the kind myself. I was quite sure I never meant to do so, having been taught from boyhood to revere Hamilton's great intellect and pure patriotism, but it occurred to me, so entirely unintelligible and gratuitous did your attack otherwise appear, that, without intending it, I might have written something to give you pain. With this impression I have examined with great care Mr. Reed's published and unpublished correspondence and I do not find General Hamilton even remotely alluded to. Mr. Reed died in 1785, before your father had attained any prominence. I have also as carefully revised my volumes of biography published in 1847—and do not find a word or sentence derogatory of your father.

Failing to find a reason for the course you have thought fit to pursue, in any personal wrong my ancestor or I may have done, I am willing to believe that it has been prompted by your sense of what is due to the truth of history. Even then, I do not clearly see how this chapter of disparagement was in any way essential to your biography, for such it is, or why, in what is really a *Life of the Second Secretary*, it was at all necessary to break down the character of the First. • Be this as it may, I do not at all question your right to hold or express the opinion of Mr. Reed that you do, but it entitles and requires me, by a direct appeal to your own good judgment, to try and correct and persuade you to retract it. In this spirit, with a very distinct recollection of our past friendly relations, and within the well-ascertained limits of literary discussion, do I address you. It is, you will permit me to say, a matter of wonder to me that this necessity should arise now, for when I recollect that no one of Washington's accredited biographers,

neither Judge Marshall, (a contemporary—one who knew well Washington and Reed,) nor Mr. Sparks, nor Mr. Irving, tho' with all the materials before them—ever spoke of Mr. Reed but in terms of respect, I repeat my regret and surprise that I should be compelled to vindicate him against the son and biographer of Hamilton, but so it is, and I do not despair of convincing you you have done a grievous wrong. When Mr. Irving discussed the very points to which I shall presently refer, he did so in a tolerant and gentlemanly spirit, and, tho' his judgment on one was adverse to my ancestor, it would have been childish and unreasonable to complain of it. Into how different a temper you have been betrayed, I think I can satisfy you; and if I do, I indulge the hope that among the inheritances of which you are so justly proud is that heroic magnanimity which acknowledges and deplores injustice.

The main point of your attack on Mr. Reed, and which forms the subject of the Appendix to your second volume and is reproduced with variations elsewhere, is the correspondence with Charles Lee, in November, 1776, which if I understand you, you now refer to as proof of Mr. Reed's infidelity to the Commander in Chief if not to the cause itself. I presume you allude to this in your other Appendix (xiii.) when you complain of Mr. Irving having "cursorily adverted to the infidelity of one of Washington's "staff." You must be quite aware of the force of the words you employ, and that no grosser imputation could be cast upon a confidential Secretary or Aid-de-camp, than that of "infidelity." At least I so consider it.

I do not propose at this time of day, to discuss with you the question of the propriety or impropriety, the expediency or in expediency, the delicacy or indelicacy, of Mr. Reed's letter to Lee. The matter was fairly stated in my biography, without the suppression of a word or fact. Mr. Irving afterwards narrated it, but the idea that such a letter could ever have been made to bear the offensive gloss you have put on it, and on Mr. Reed's subsequent conduct in relation to it, certainly never entered my mind till your book forced it upon me. It is therefore with your special attack that I have now to deal.

You will permit me in the first place to observe that the reason you give for introducing the subject at all, is one which on sober second thought and in common candour you will hardly reassert. You say "The letters of Washington" to his former Secretary, Joseph Reed, are expressive of a continuing regard and confidence "which, unexplained, subject the former to the "charge of a want of frankness" and hence your defence. If you meant to intimate that I, in

publishing these letters in my biography, as I did with great pride, for they were the outpourings of Washington's affectionate regard for my ancestor, meant to insinuate a charge of want of frankness, or anything else, you do me great injustice. I do not see how such an interpretation of motives could have entered the mind of any one. Nothing was further from mine. Quite as unjust is your insinuation, on the next page of your Appendix, that Washington's private and other letters to Mr. Reed were reproduced by me in order to contrast them with the more finished productions of his Secretary's pen. That I may do no injustice, here are your words "Letters are published from Washington's pen, of curious interest, probably in part to show the difference of style between that of the General and of his Secretary." When Mr. Sparks published these letters, years ago, long before I did, no such motive was imputed to him. When, later still, Mr. Washington Irving referred to them, in how different a tone from yours was his generous estimate of their value! By way of contrast with your unpleasant comment, I beg to remind you of what he said: "How precious are these letters! And how fortunate that the absence of Mr. Reed from camp should have procured for us such confidential outpourings of Washington's heart at this time of his great trial!" Yet you find in my motives, in publishing the letters, one which, as a gentleman, I should be ashamed of. I most earnestly disclaim any such impulse. Nay I go further and ask you in all friendliness, and fully appreciating your sensitiveness on this point, as apologetically stated in your Preface, whether you would not think it great injustice, if you were charged with the same intent when, in close conjunction with Hamilton's graceful and luminous English, you publish, as you do several times, Washington's private letters with an almost ostentatious obtrusion of his cumbrous but vigorous style, his confused grammar and occasional bad spelling. I do not see that it was at all necessary for you to show that Washington spelt "tone"—"Ton"—"pork" Porke &c., but you think differently, and I should never dream of imputing to you a sinister motive for having done so. You therefore have done me great wrong in this ascription of motives.

Had you been content with reviving the old charge against Mr. Reed, in connexion with the Lee correspondence, *per se*, I should hardly have troubled you with this letter, satisfied that the recorded judgment of other less prejudiced writers would suffice to vindicate Mr. Reed's memory, but you have gone much further and elaborated a grosser accusation. For fear of misstatement, I quote the words in which you follow up your chase of my ancestor's reputation:

"The arrest of Lee," you say, "it would seem, had in the meantime quickened Reed's apprehension of exposure. Aware of his headlong character, and fearful lest his hostility to Washington might prompt him to inflict a wound upon the pride of the Commander-in-Chief, by the publication of the haughty letter of his confidential Aid from Hackensack, Reed resorted, as his only hope, to the expedient of obtaining the promise of Lee, not to expose him. He addressed to him a letter, on the 8th of July, 1778, the answer to which shows it was well adapted to pique his sense of honor and for the time proved entirely successful. Lee on the 22d of July, 1778, acknowledged it with a *crescendo*."

Surely a deeper infamy could hardly be heaped on any one, living or dead, than you have concentrated in this paragraph; and I might be excused for some expression of just resentment in criticising it. But I much prefer continuing the friendly appeal which I have begun. I do not pause to point out the defect of logic in the inference from an answer with a *crescendo*, as to the precise contents of an original letter, especially when the answer was written by one so much addicted to *crescendos* as Charles Lee, but I respectfully ask you to furnish the actual evidence of the contents of Mr. Reed's letter by producing the letter itself, if you have it, or, if you have only seen it, referring me to it. You give the precise date, *the eighth of July, 1778*. Lee's answer does not refer to it by date—and if you have not the letter in your possession and never have seen it, I am at a loss to know how you fix the date with so much precision. I ask, therefore, for its production or reference to it, challenging you to it by a positive, precise, and most comprehensive assertion, that the letter does not in any sense bear the interpretation you put upon it. Dates cannot be imagined or guessed at. I do not permit myself to suppose that, having made such a charge, you will evade my reasonable request for the best and only evidence to prove it. Your answer will very much determine to what extent I shall modify the tolerant opinions that I still endeavor to cherish.

But I regret to say you do not stop here; for, utterly as it seems to me misunderstanding the spirit of the honorable explanations that afterward occurred about this very letter, taking no notice of Mr. Reed's account of this very correspondence, in writing to Greene, on the 5th of Nov., 1778, you conclude your acrimonious speculations by saying: "Thus it was that Washington was led to continue with him his kindly intercourse. This was not of long duration. By whom and at what time the con-

"duct of Reed toward him was made known, "is not ascertained. His correspondence with "Reed appears, on the part of Washington, to have "ceased on the 20th of November, 1780."—and at p. 26 of your text you say, "This letter, "written for Washington by Hamilton, on the "contrary, closes with an assurance which would "not have been made if it had not been felt, 'of "esteem and regard.' The truth had not yet "been unveiled." Assuming as I do, that you do not mean merely to make an insinuated charge against Mr. Reed, I can only interpret all this as being an allegation that at some time after the 20th of November, 1780, Washington discovered what you call "the truth"—that is what Mr. Reed actually wrote to Lee in 1776—and that in consequence of this he broke off all friendly correspondence. Now of this, I mean Washington's discovery and his consequent resentment, I ask of you the proof. You say you derive all these facts from the *Life of Reed*. I ask you to turn me to a word or line or document in that book, confirmatory of what you say; and if I have misunderstood you, and it is outside of my biography that you have this proof, then I repeat my demand for its production. I deny it most explicitly.

With one other remark I dismiss the matter of the Lee letter on which this whole superstructure of invective is raised. You insinuate that the letter of Lee to Robert Morris (at least this I suppose to be the one, though it is oddly misprinted) of the 16th June, 1781, would confirm this theory of yours. I beg to say that within the last few days, through the kindness of Mr. Edward Waln, who has Mr. Morris' letters, I have again read the letter in question; and, aside from incidental vilification of Mr. Reed and almost every body else, there is not one word in it to support your views.

There are many other incidental passages in your book to which I might take exception, but they are of less moment than those to which I have directed your attention. To discuss some of them freely, might endanger personal relations of friendliness among the living. One other, however, remains unnoticed; and as to that I am a little at a loss, though rather inclined to attribute it to some mistake of copying or of the press. If it be so, you will thank me for pointing it out for correction—and if it be not, it is as grave a wrong as any of which I have complained.

In your second volume, at an early page, you refer to Mr. Reed's election to the Presidency of Pennsylvania and his connection with the Executive authority—and though you have occasion, very often and generally, in terms of censure, to refer to our chief magistracy, you never indicate any change in the incumbency of office,

so that the careless and ignorant reader might easily infer that Mr. Reed was the obnoxious Executive of this Commonwealth, during the whole period of which your volume treats. Where you discuss the very painful incident of the military revolt at Philadelphia, in 1783, when Congress was driven away by a few mutinous soldiers, and quote Colonel Hamilton's indignant letter to the Executive Council, the unjust inference I have referred to is very obvious, that you mean to convey the idea that it was Mr. Reed of whom you were speaking, and Mr. Reed to whom Hamilton wrote. This inference, I admit, I should not have drawn; but you may imagine my painful surprise when turning to your *Works of Hamilton*, published under the authority of Congress, I find (*Volume I*, p. 374) this indignant letter of your father's headed in large capitals, "Hamilton to Reed," 1783. Now I affirm that no such letter ever was written to Mr. Reed. It was written, and so you say in your last book, to the President of the Executive Council, who was Mr. John Dickinson. Mr. Reed's term of office expired in 1781, and, in 1783, he was a private citizen. I ask therefore an explanation of this.

I hope you will receive this letter in the spirit in which it is written—of surprise and deep regret, certainly not of animosity. I don't permit myself to doubt that you will promptly and explicitly answer the questions which I have taken the liberty to address to you and which, lest there may be any misunderstanding, I now distinctly repeat.

1. Have you in your possession, or if not, have you not seen, and can you refer me to, Mr. Reed's letter to Charles Lee which you describe as dated 8th July, 1778.

2. Have you any evidence, written or not, which you can produce or refer me to, to show that after the 20th of November, 1780, or at any time, Washington saw or knew of the actual contents of Mr. Reed's letter to Lee, of the 21st Nov., 1776—and that it caused an estrangement between them.

3. On what authority, at p. 374, Vol. I, of Hamilton's *Works*, do you print Hamilton's Letter to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, or its President, as a letter to Mr. Reed.

I have the honour to be,

Very respectfully Yrs,  
WILLIAM B. REED.

JOHN C. HAMILTON, Esq.

## II.

JOHN C. HAMILTON TO WILLIAM B. REED.

SARATOGA SPRGS,  
Aug. 29, 1859.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> inst is this moment received. It is my wish to meet it in the spirit in which it expresses a hope that it may be met.

But I regret, that I must defer my answer longer than I desire to do not having at this place the means of replying, by reference either to your work or to my papers.

The illness of my family may detain me here later than usual, and may cause some delay, after I reach my residence in the city. It is my intention, however, that my reply shall not be deferred later, if so late, than the middle of October next.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully yrs

JOHN C. HAMILTON.

Hon. WM. B. REED  
Philadelphia.

## III.

JOHN C. HAMILTON TO WILLIAM B. REED.

NEW YORK Oct. 3<sup>d</sup> 1859.

Dear Sir,

My note from Saratoga Springs, mentioning the illness of my family and absence from my books and papers, informed you, that my answer to your letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> August last would be deferred until this time. Having just returned to this city, after a second absence, I proceed to reply to it. The tone of your letter, notwithstanding many expressions calculated to convey the idea of the existence of relations almost of intimacy in the past, & others of regret at the possibility, that those relations might be impaired by the discussion of the subject to which it refers, you must excuse me for saying, I deem highly exceptionable; nor do I consider the language employed as "within the well-ascertained limits of literary discussion." With this passing allusion to the personal relations which have subsisted between us, I enter upon the literary discussion of the subject matter of your letter.

The frankness and sincerity of Washington were marked attributes of his character, and were of great importance to those who had received testimonials of his confidence—Hamilton especially—; and among the strongest exhibitions of feeling, while Commander-in-Chief, & subsequently while President of the United States, are

seen those of his just resentment at the implication or charge of duplicity or insincerity.

The reconciliation between Washington and Reed, as you represent it, after the letter by Reed to Lee of the 21<sup>st</sup> of November 1776, seemed materially to impeach these attributes; and hence the plain importance of shewing, that this reconciliation was the effect of partial and un candid statements.

This was the object of what I have written, and for this, I resorted to no other authority than that of your own work, merely collating its different parts. If it has given you pain, so far as this I regret it, but I cannot regret, even were it a matter appertaining to the general history of the Revolution, and not to the more especial object of my work, that I assisted to extricate an important fact from the inaccuracies of a preceding writer or narrator.

I regret to say, you have not convinced me, that in referring to President Reed's explanation of his letter to Gen' Lee, that I have done him the least injustice, or have taken even an unnecessary step to explain how it was, that, the reconciliation you dwell upon with so much emphasis, was brought about. I wish sincerely that your letter had adverted to this part of the case, which is the foundation of the whole. I assure you, with sincerity, if you had shown me any incidental error in your statements, in regard to the reference of Reed's letter to Lee to circumstances *preceding* the fall of Fort Washington and with a view to avert that catastrophe, and not to comment upon it; or, if I had perceived in President Reed's public statement, any the least possibility of reconciling it with the then unknown date of that letter, and with the epoch of the fall of Fort Washington, I would have turned away from the notice of it or seized upon such explanations to do him justice. Or, if even, at this time, you can point out the error in my statement, even though the error of your own book, I will lose no time in rectifying it. Apologize for it, I cannot, for if it be an error, it has proceeded solely from yourself. But, if the facts are rightly stated, I must represent to you with great plainness, that you have suffered yourself to be surprised into a quite unproportionate warmth in questioning my use of the word *infidelity* in regard to the letter to Lee, supposing it not to have been written before the fall of Fort Washington, but afterwards; and when the army was on the retreat. If it was not this, it was nothing. The word has meanings more or less grave. I have taken no pains to aggravate its meaning. I must observe also, that, it is, by no means, a permissible course on your part, to turn away from the fact, as a question not to be discussed with me at *this time of day*, and to advert only to the terms in which I

have spoken of the fact. Nearly the whole of your letter does involve this question, and this question only; and whether you ask explanations of what I have said, or make your vehement protestations against it, I must carry you back, whether it be agreeable or not, to that fact. This is not only just to myself, but logically necessary.

As to what I have incidentally remarked as to your probable motive, in part, for publishing the early letters of Washington written by Colonel Reed, I saw this passage in your work; "The well known letters to General Gage are in the handwriting of a clerk, endorsed by Mr. Reed, and it may fairly be inferred as well from the internal evidence of strong contrast with the well marked style of the Commander in Chief, as from the manner in which Mr. Reed refers to the correspondence in his letters to his friends at home, that his pen was employed in it also." This passage suggested my remark, nor did I for a moment think of imputing the publication by you to an improper purpose. But as it may be regarded as subject to such a construction, I will avail myself of an early opportunity to place this matter right, and any others, as to which I shall be convinced of error, if I am not, against my own will, deprived of this pleasure.

As to the *mode* of publishing "Washington's private letters," to which you thus refer, I find this sentence quoted from you by Mr. Sparks: "At the time of their publication," (Washington's letters) "I had no doubt that it was my duty to print them exactly as they were written." This is precisely what I have done. But I have not, as you have done in your letter, called attention to "his cumbrous but vigorous style, his confused grammar and occasional bad spelling."

Nor are the circumstances of the publication by yourself and by me, *without a difference*. In reply to a request from Reed to Washington of the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1782 to permit his making use of sundry letters received by him at a time when Mr. Reed states "he appeared to repose an undeserved confidence in me," Washington wrote to him, "It is rather a disagreeable circumstance, to have private and confidential letters, hastily written, as all mine of that class are, upon a supposition that they would remain between the parties only, produced as evidence in a matter of public discussion; but, conscious that my public and private sentiments are at all times alike, I shall not withhold these letters, should you think them absolutely necessary to your justification."

No such restriction existed as to the letters of Washington published by me. They are letters addressed by the Commander in Chief

to my father, the chairman of a Committee of Congress for Peace arrangements; and, though not official, were and still are of great public interest, essential to the history of the period and of the parties and redounding greatly to their honor. Of the letters published by you, Washington retained no copies; of those published by me the autograph draughts exist, among the public archives, in the Department of State, parts of "The Washington papers," carefully preserved by him, as monuments of history.

The more material point in your letter is that which regards Lee's letter to Reed of 22<sup>d</sup> July 1778, and Reed's letter to Lee to which I have assigned the date of 8th July 1778. I deem this a very material point—not the *date* of Reed's letter, but the existence of it. My reasons for giving that date, it is unnecessary at present to mention, as it is equally unnecessary to dwell on Lee's '*crescendo*.' The more considerable matter is the existence of such a letter from Reed, either of that or any other date, to which Lee's letter, which you have yourself published, can be assigned with any reasonable propriety, as a reply. And I have looked with care through your long letter, to see, if you, who have the "published & unpublished" papers of President Reed, have any where denied expressly or by implication, the existence of such a letter, or asserted that you have looked for it and cannot find it, and further I perceive, that there is no such averment as that you cannot find any copy of a letter from President Reed to Lee, after that letter was received by President Reed. President Reed certainly received Lee's letter, for you publish it from his papers. His habit of keeping copies of his letters you have shewn throughout your work. I need say nothing of the vigilance which his relations with Lee at that time must have prompted him to—surely, you could not suppose, that I would read your letter, with its interrogatories, prepared with almost professional particularity and repetition for me, as if I were an unwilling witness, to get from me the date, to produce the letter, to give a reference to it, when there is not a single averment on your own part, that you have no copy of the letter, nor of any letter on the subject, that you have looked for it and cannot find it, and do not believe that there is any copy of such a letter or anything like it in President Reed's collection, or your own. Excuse me for saying further, that this is the more extraordinary, when you make what you call "a positive, precise and most *comprehensive* assertion, that the letter does not in any sense bear the interpretation put upon it." You are speaking of this letter of President Reed, surely. You possess it then. You know what it does con-

tain. You must admit that Lee told President Reed what it did contain, or at least how *he* understood it. Why, if your object was to counteract Lee's unfounded construction, as it seems to have been your object, did you not forego the interrogatories, and this rather vehement tone, send me a copy of that letter, and let me read it, and consider how far I could correct an error, which Lee's letter published by yourself had led me into? Most willingly I would have read it, with a full purpose to undo what I had done, by your own misleading; for you publish the letter of Lee, without a single comment, to the effect that President Reed never wrote such a letter to Lee, as Lee said he had received, that Lee had mistaken his object, and that Reed told him so.

The first duty, it seems to me, of one who asks for explanations, is to do it in such a manner as bespeaks the candour and single mind of the writer; and to free the opposite party from all embarrassment in saying what he may have to say. I have not been without difficulties from a want of consistency in your letter in answering any part of it. Whatever I may have said, you must therefore take my answer as evidence of my good will.

In reference to another point in your letter, the subject of Hamilton's letter to the Executive Council, published in his works, in describing that letter as from Hamilton to Reed, there is an error of haste, as it is notorious that Reed was not in the Executive Council at that point of time. I will take care to avail myself of your correction.

On one other point, only, do I think it necessary to add anything to these remarks—the subject of Washington's relations with President Reed after the 20<sup>th</sup> November 1780. Here also, and in something of the same tone, as that part of your letter, which regards President Reed's asserted letter of 8th July 1778, you propound questions to me, which, if I am wrong, you have the means of shewing among President Reed's papers.

The affirmative of continued kindly correspondence must be shewn by letters; the negative by the absence of them. If you have letters of friendly correspondence from Washington to Reed after that date, *there* is to be found the refutation of any error I may have fallen into. If you have them not, then it seems to me, that pointed interrogatories to myself, for negative proofs, is not altogether appropriate. The date cannot be precisely marked. But that these relations were interrupted, is not a matter in regard to which I think it necessary to explain away any thing that I have written. That which was intended to be stated as an inference will be stated, with precision, as a fact.

I have had power to enlarge more upon this point, than my work exhibits, for I possess the copy of a letter previously quoted, of 11<sup>th</sup> September 1782 from Reed to Washington on the very subject of these relations, and of Washington's reply from Verplanck's Point, on the 15th Sept. 1782, both of which you are probably aware of. The tone of the letters, both Reed's and Washington's, it is, in my judgment, impossible to misunderstand.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully y<sup>rs</sup>

JOHN C. HAMILTON

WILLIAM B. REED, Esq.

#### IV.

WILLIAM B. REED TO JOHN C. HAMILTON

PHILADELPHIA, October 5th, 1839.

Dear Sir

I lose not a moment's time, in answering your letter of the 3rd inst. received by me, this morning. Your comments on the tone of my letter, I pass by, simply because I desire very much to narrow the grounds of controversy; if such there is between us, and am resolute not to have my attention diverted from those points on which, as it seems to me, you have done injustice. My letter was meant to express the exact feeling of which I was conscious; disappointment, regret, and in candor I may add, of some irritation. I regret to find that you think I desired to exaggerate our past friendliness; for, you must be aware, that a more painful mode of repelling all idea of maintaining or restoring it, could not have been resorted to. Still, all this is aside from the main object of this reply, which is to renew my request for the production of the letter from Mr. Reed to General Lee, which you speak of as dated the eighth of July, 1778, or a reference to the source whence you derived it.

If I understand you, you decline doing this, until you receive from me the assurance that I have not the letter, or a copy. Now I submit to you in all candor, this is hardly fair. It is a subject I have not revived. In your book, you refer to this letter, as the basis of a charge of the grossest character against Mr. Reed—that of begging his correspondent to suppress the evidence of his "infidelity." This charge, on this evidence, is formally made in your book, in the passage which I quoted in my former letter, and which I now re-quote.

"The arrest of General Lee, it would seem, 'had, in the mean time, quickened Reed's apprehensions of exposure. Aware of his headlong character, and fearful lest his hostility to Washington might prompt him to inflict a wound

"upon the pride of the Commander-in-Chief, by the publication of the haunting letter of his confidential aid from Hackensack, Reed resorted, as his only hope, to the expedient of obtaining the promise of Lee, not to expose him. He addressed to him a letter on the eighth of July, 1778, the answer to which shows it was well adapted to pique his sense of honour, and for the time proved entirely successful."

Now, have I not a right to ask you, who make this charge, to exhibit the proof of it, when, by giving the very date of the letter, you claim to have that proof within your reach, without purging myself of the possession of a copy? The charge is as distinct and precise, as is the reference to the evidence on which it rests.

But, in order that you may be relieved from the difficulty which seems to prevent you from answering my perfectly respectful request,—and in the reasonable expectation that if I do make the disclaimer you desire, my demand will be complied with, I beg leave to say that I have never seen the letter in question, have no copy of it, never have seen nor had a copy of it, and until I saw the reference to it, in your Appendix, did not know its date. My denial of the correctness of your description of its contents, or, to be more accurate, my positive, precise, and most comprehensive assertion that the letter does not in any sense bear the interpretation put upon it, was founded on my conviction that Mr. Reed was incapable of such marvellous duplicity and weakness. That conviction is still perfectly clear. If I am mistaken,—if you will do me the kindness to produce the letter, or a reference to it, and it in any sense bears the interpretation you put on it, I beg you to believe that I will, at any expense of feeling, admit I have been in the wrong. Surely there is nothing in a request thus made, at which exception can be taken. So far am I from treating you as an unwilling witness, I assure you, I receive in entire integrity the reasons you give for withholding your reply, and promptly make the disclaimer you suggest.

I thank you for the disavowal of any intention to impute to me an improper motive in publishing Washington's early letters, and for your offer to correct the error in the Congressional edition of Hamilton's *Works*, as to the letter of the Executive Council, in 1783.

I defer any notice of what you say as to the fact of the interruption of the friendly relations of Washington and Reed, begging however to correct one very serious mistake in your letter of the 3d, which, I presume must be an error of your copyist. It is too important to be passed by. You refer to Mr. Reed's letter to Washington of the 11th of September, 1782,—and say, that Mr. Reed asked permission to use certain

letters received by him at a time when (here the verbal quotation begins) "he (Washington) appeared to repose an *undeserved* confidence in me." If you will refer to this letter, you will see that no such words as "undeserved confidence," are to be found there. The words, are "*unre-served* confidence," which, I need not say, are very different. Do me the favor to correct this mistake.

I sincerely trust that I have put this renewed application to you, on a ground which will enable you to answer it in a frank and friendly spirit.

I have the honour to be,

Very Resp'y Yours,

WILLIAM B. REED.

JOHN C. HAMILTON, Esq.,  
New York.

V.

JOHN C. HAMILTON TO WILLIAM B. REED.

NEW YORK, Oct. 12th, 1859.

Sir,

Your letter of the 5th instant was duly received. Having been again absent from this city, I have deferred to this moment acknowledging it.

There is nothing in my letter that implies or can be construed into an assurance of any kind whatever, that I either could or would furnish you with any information as to the letter of President Reed. On the contrary, my letter to you clearly and entirely precludes any such implication or construction. I quote your letter of the 26th of August last, and my answer to it of the 3d instant.

You give in your letter what you call "a positive, precise, and most comprehensive assertion, "that the letter" (of Reed) "does not, in any sense, bear the interpretation put upon it," by me.

In my reply of the 3d instant, I ask you "to send me a copy of that letter, and let me read it, and consider how far I could correct an error which *Lee's letter*, published by yourself, "had led me into;" adding, "Most willingly I would have read it, with a full purpose to undo what I had done by your own misleading, for you publish the letter of Lee, without a single comment, to the effect that President Reed never wrote such a letter to Lee, as Lee said he had received, that Lee had mistaken his object, and that Reed told him so."

In yours of the 5th instant you, nevertheless, call upon me for this letter in the following terms:—"My denial of the correctness of your description of its contents, or, to be more ac-

"curate, my positive, precise, and most comprehensive assertion, that the letter does not, in any sense, bear the interpretation put upon it, "was founded on my conviction that Mr. Reed "was incapable of such marvelous duplicity and "weakness."

My statement of the purport of the letter of Reed is expressly founded on Lee's "answer" to Reed, in which Lee asserts what the substance of it is to the writer himself.

Inasmuch, as to the offer on my part to correct the error, as you aver it is, accompanied with an avowal of my readiness, on sufficient evidence, so to do, you furnish me with no evidence; and, as a further discussion of the subject is not likely to lead to any useful results, I now inform you that I decline any further correspondence in relation to it.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN C. HAMILTON.

Wm. B. Reed, Esq., Philadelphia.

## VI.

### MEMORANDUM.

The tone of Mr. Hamilton's last letter prevents me from continuing the correspondence. I cannot write to him again without exposing myself to a personal indignity, and there is no alternative but to embody in this "Memorandum" the purport of such an answer as his letter seems to require.

It will be borne in mind, that Mr. Hamilton made the attack, and did so in the gross terms I have twice quoted. He alleged that Mr. Reed had written a deprecatory letter to Charles Lee. He gave the date—8th of July, 1778—and the contents, not derived or inferred from Lee's answer, as he now pretends, but as if the letter was before him. The words are:—

"Reed resorted, as his only hope, to the expedient of obtaining the promise of Lee not to "expose him."

This is explicit enough, and no one can read it without supposing, especially as the date is given, that the letter was before him. He says:—

"He addressed to him a letter, on the 8th of "July, 1778, the answer to which shows it was "well calculated to pique Lee's sense of honour, "and, for the time, proved entirely successful."

Seeing this remarkable accusation, and believing it to be entirely without foundation in truth, but perplexed, I confess, by the boldness with which a date was given, or one fabricated, I addressed my first inquiry to Mr. Hamilton, connecting with it one or two other errors and misrepresentations which he has admitted and prom-

ised to correct. I made a positive denial of the existence of such a letter as Mr. Hamilton described, for the obvious reason that, dealing, as I feared I was, with an evasive witness, I was confident he would decline answering my question till a denial was given, and, what lawyers know as an issue, was formed. I made the denial positively and comprehensively, and asked for the proof of the charge Mr. Hamilton had made.

His letter of October 3d, 1859, speaks for itself. I understood it to say that, before he could be called upon to produce the letter, I must disclaim having a copy. This disclaimer, so anxious was I to see this "8th of July" letter, I made, as fully and precisely as I was able, and again, I hope, in terms of decorum, called for the proof. Suspecting, from the tone of Mr. Hamilton's letter, that he meant to find an excuse for breaking off the correspondence, and, perhaps, fearing my first letter was marked by some asperity, I adopted a tone which I meant to be friendly and respectful. I incidentally pointed his attention to a most remarkable mistake in his own letter—for, certainly, "undeserved confidence" and "unreserved confidence" are very different things;—but, not then supposing any design, I attributed it to a mistake of copying. Again, I asked for the production of the dated letter, or any letter to the same effect, from Reed to Lee, or a reference to it.\*

Conscious that he had no such letter—that he had never seen such a letter, and that he had invented a date—Mr. Hamilton wrote his note of the 12th inst., and I have, I repeat, no alternative but to put this remarkable detection of a literary imposture into print. It is due to candor to say, that if, at any time, a genuine letter from Mr. Reed to Lee, of the 8th of July, 1778, or any date, is produced of the tenour now imputed to it, I hold myself bound, by the assurance given to Mr. Hamilton, to admit that I have done him injustice and thought too well of my ancestor.

It has always seemed to me that this whole matter of the Reed and Lee correspondence as to Fort Washington has been much exaggerated. Certain am I that it does not become the descendants of Colonel Hamilton to say much on the subject. Mr. Reed wrote to Lee these words after a military catastrophe:—"This (Greene's "advice) kept the General's mind in a state of

\* Mr. Hamilton has a facility of misquotation which is marvelous. At p. x of the Appendix to Vol. II., he says:

"Thus Lee was held to his engagement—not to publish the "letter actually written, though the version of it was turned "against himself. It is not surprising to learn from the *Life* "of Reed, from which these facts are derived, that 'there is "among the MSS. of Mr. Morris a letter from Lee, dated "Berkley County, Virginia, June 16, 1781, filled with very "virulent denunciation of Lee and his friends.'" The passage in the *Life of Reed*, vol. I. p. 270, is "filled with very "virulent denunciation of Mr. Reed and his friends." Mr. Hamilton actually puts his own blunders in italics.

"suspense till the blow was struck. Oh! General! an indecisive mind is one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall an army. How often have I lamented it this campaign." This may have been indiscreet, but Washington three years later said there was by contradictory opinions "a warfare and hesitation in his mind" "which ended in the loss of the Fort"—very much what Mr. Reed himself said.

If ever Washington had a moment of sore trial, amounting to agony, it was when Major André's doom was in his hand—not the mere doom of death, but of the form of death, whether the stern technicalities of military law might not be relaxed, and shooting substituted for the gibbet. André's direct appeal for this change cannot be read now without emotion. Washington felt it his duty to refuse, and never did he seem more heroically grand than when he did this duty. Yet, on the very day when this anguish was endured, Hamilton, his confidential aid, wrote a letter, ostensibly reproduced by Mr. John C. Hamilton, in which he says:—"I send you my account of Arnold's affair; and to justify myself to your sentiments, I must inform you that I urged a compliance with André's request to be shot, and I do not think it would have had an ill effect, but some people are only sensible to motives of policy, and sometimes, from a narrow disposition, mistake it." Without imputing "infidelity" (Mr. John C. Hamilton's favorite phrase) to the Aid who wrote thus of his Chief, I ask—and have a right to ask—what would Washington have thought or said had such a letter come to his knowledge? or, to run the parallel more closely, had the exaggerated echo of such a letter been heard by him? "Motives of policy" in matters of awful justice, and "a narrow disposition," are worse phrases than "lamentable indecision." Nay, further, Mr. John C. Hamilton might well be asked, if among the writings of any other of Washington's staff—of Reed, or Harrison, or Tilghman—he has found the expression of regret at having joined his family, accounting for it "by being infected with the enthusiasm of the times and an idea of the General's character" (vol. II., p. 174), or such a declaration as Hamilton made to Schuyler, from Washington's very household: "It has been often with great difficulty that I have prevailed on myself not to renounce it" (the post of Aid); "but while, from motives of public utility, I was doing violence to my feelings, I was always determined, if there should ever happen a breach between us, never to consent to an accommodation."

These revelations I might have brought to Mr. Hamilton's recollection had our correspondence continued. I do not now condescend to make them the basis of aspersion on the elder Hamil-

ton's integrity, or fidelity, or patriotism. Such work of defamation I am not fit for. I do refer to them as showing what room for misunderstanding there may be in the genuine letters of other actors in heated and troubled times.

My view of the duty of any one who writes American history is very different from Mr. John C. Hamilton's. He who writes of the past in a cautious, tolerant, and, I may say, reverential spirit; who refers to the painful controversies of excited times, as, one may hope, the parties would have done had they lived to see animosities subside, who judges gently the motives and tempers, and actions of the men of hours of trial, and takes no pleasure in dragging from their dread abode frailties not peculiar to any age, will look back, when the retrospect has to be made, on what he has done and left undone, with quite as much contentment as he who, erecting an idol of his own, thinks the most fragrant incense to be the sacrifice of the characters of every other competitor for fame. Such, I aver, to be the theory of Mr. John C. Hamilton's volumes.

W. B. R.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 20, 1859.

### III.—SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

#### MR. MOORE'S REPLY TO HIS BOSTON CRITICS.

"Pudet hæc opprobria vobis  
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli."

To the Editor of the *Daily Advertiser*.\*

When Aristeidēs was requested by his ignorant and unknown fellow-citizen to write his own name on the shell, in order that he might receive the compliment of ostracism, we read that he did so, without a word, after hearing the reason for the request. If he had argued the point, the story would have lost its brightest feature. And if he had been himself the chief trumpeter of his own fame, making the *Stâtes* of Greece ring with the echoes of his own sonorous self-esteem, the whole tale might have had a different moral. As it is, I see no impropriety in the suggestions of Mr. Grote, that "the purity of the most honourable man will not bear to be so boastfully talked of, as if he were the only honourable man in the country; the less it is obtruded, the more deeply and cordially will it be felt, and the story just alluded to, whether true or false, illustrates that natural reaction of feeling pro-

\* The Editor of the *Daily Advertiser* having declined the publication of this reply to his strictures in consequence of its length, it appears in the *Historical Magazine* as an original contribution.—ED. HIST. MAG.

"duced by absurd encomiasts, or perhaps by insidious enemies under the mask of encomiasts, who trumpeted forth Aristeidēs as *The Just* man of Athens, so as to wound the legitimate dignity of every one else."—*History of Greece*, IV. 461.

The modern champions of Massachusetts, glittering in historic brass, have assiduously challenged comparisons with all her contemporaries in all periods of their respective history. I have furnished, in my volume on *Slavery in Massachusetts*, the materials for a comparison between the facts of her history and the pretensions which have been set up by her historians, on that topic alone.

Is it my fault if the sharp contrast of the truth with the false pretence strikes like satire? if the simple, straightforward statement of facts, amply sustained by due reference to unquestionable authorities, sounds like an indictment? The indictment if any must be found not against Massachusetts, but those who through ignorance or design have so utterly misrepresented this portion of her history hitherto. The just fame of Massachusetts cannot be diminished; in it her children have an inheritance, which is a possession forever. Its glory is only obscured by false lights. Massachusetts has no reason to shrink from the truth, whether her self-righteous historians can bear to face it or not. Her part in the earlier, as well as later history of American Slavery will no longer be obscure; and the efforts of the earliest champions of Human Freedom within her borders will no longer be concealed because they were unsuccessful. The faithful witness to the truth that is in history will not be intimidated by abuse, nor restrained from telling the whole truth, lest her enemies may be glad, or the multitude of the uncircumcised rejoice. She is far more likely to suffer from the cowardice of her friends than the courage of her enemies. But this is no new phase of historical sensitiveness in Massachusetts. When that pious Independent, Daniel Neal, wrote his famous history of New England, a century and a half ago, he disappointed the most godly by "taking merely the task of a historian upon him" instead of writing the lives of the Puritan saints, and narrating the marvels of their Christian experience, in humble imitation of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*. And "the freedom" he took "to expose the persecuting principles and practices of the first planters, both in the body of the history, and his abridgment of their laws" was "displeasing" and "offensive" to some in England, and probably more in Massachusetts. The venerable Dr. Watts took upon himself the duty of remonstrance, and told the historian he "could wish he had more mollified some of these relations, and had

"rather left out those laws, or in the same page had annexed something to prevent our enemies from insulting" the brethren "on that subject." His answer was—says Dr. Watts himself, in a letter to Cotton Mather—"THAT THE FIDELITY OF AN HISTORIAN REQUIRED HIM TO DO WHAT HE HAD DONE," adding, "THAT IT IS A NOBLER THING TO TELL THE WORLD THAT YOU HAVE RECTIFIED THE ERRORS OF YOUR FATHERS, THAN IF MERE EDUCATION HAD TAUGHT YOU SO LARGE A CHARITY." The good Psalmist, in communicating Neal's manly reply, also ventured some practical advice to his Massachusetts friends which he thought would tend to promote "a happy effect of that part of the history which now makes us blush and ashamed."—*M. H. S. Coll.* I. v. 200.

It is a remarkable fact that the chief champions of the Puritans in these days are men who reverse the ordinary methods of demonstrating the integrity of their subject. They start with the conviction that the theories of religion and morals, if not of politics and society, of their ancestors were entirely wrong, but their lives and actions were almost invariably right. The modern Massachusetts Christian, whose entire intellectual being is nothing if not ultra-protestant and liberal, with no starting-point of protest but the last results of Puritan Orthodoxy, and no limit to his liberality short of spiritualism or absolute infidelity—builds his historic Valhalla out of the old walls of the New England Jerusalem, and fills it with images of the grim heroes of Puritanism.

And their stern lineaments show but shabbily in the straw-stuffed canvas, which the new school of Puritans bear about in their solemn processions, like the wax figures with which the Romans in the days of their degeneracy were wont to inflame the imaginations of the mob. It is the peculiar province of a just historical criticism to demonstrate the fallacy of those subjective processes in reasoning by which the theories of the present day are translated into the remote past, and the Fathers of New England are glorified for thoughts and feelings absolutely impossible to them, and justified for their actions by principles from which they would have shrunk in horror, as impious, blasphemous, and utterly wicked.

The *old* Puritans were the genuine—and their history is not wanting in examples of that magnanimity which submits to just reproof without resentment, and that higher grace which is at once the sign and the blessing of repentance—that real Christian courage which could humiliate itself by confession.

SAMUEL SEWALL, whose fame is justly though imperfectly celebrated in my book, as the first Massachusetts abolitionist, was also a judge in that bloody Assize of Witches at Salem, and his

voluntary confession before God and men of his sin in that thing, ought to be cherished as one of the most precious memorials of the history of Massachusetts. That solemn sad figure, handing the confession to his minister "as he passed by" in the meeting-house, "and standing up at the reading of it, and bowing when finished in the afternoon" of that winter's day, is to me personally more beautiful and glorious than all the heroes of the Magnalia. Yet Cotton Mather, and all the other trumpeters, whether trumpeters of silver or trumpeters of brass, are most seen and heard throughout all the generations of New England.

History will one day demonstrate that they were not the men who did the "generation-work" so near to the hearts of the Fathers, and not yet wholly forgotten by their true children. And History must now reject with scorn the "fables agreed upon," for the question of which I have been denounced as "the Devil's advocate, opposing the canonization of Massachusetts!"

I. The first division of the exceptions taken by my critic is somewhat miscellaneous, but I follow his discourse. He thinks it does not appear that the negroes who formed a part of the return cargo of the "Desire" in 1638, were imported by "the authorities"—nor that the Indian captives were disposed of according to "previous practice." It is clear, from all the documents, that "the authorities" controlled the disposition of these captives "whom the Lord had delivered into their hands" in that bloody war against the Pequods,\* and Winthrop himself invariably says, "We sent them to Bermuda," etc. Is the inference improbable that the same authorities who shipped them out for sale or exchange were interested in the proceeds, whether "cotton, tobacco, negroes," or "etcetera?" The sales made by Pierce must have been like those in 1675, "on the country's behalf." "We" sent them, and "we" undoubtedly received the returns.† It was at a much later period of the history of Massachusetts that the laws were passed to encourage private as well as public enterprises against the "Indian Enemy and Rebels." In these acts, a strong discrimination was made

in favor of volunteers, although the soldiers in regular pay were amply provided for. In 1694, volunteers were to have for every Indian, great or small, which they should kill, or take and bring in prisoner, 50 pounds, as well as all plunder. Soldiers under pay were to receive, over and above pay, 10 pounds. In 1695, "the reward for any Indian woman or young person judged to be under the age of 14 years that shall be killed or taken and brought in prisoner, shall be henceforth 25 pounds and no more." In 1697, fifty pounds were to be paid for the scalps of adult Indians, and "for every Child of the said Enemy, under the age of Ten years, that shall be by them slain, the sum of Ten Pounds, and that such Party or Parties shall also have and keep unto their own use all Plunder and prisoners by them taken of the enemy." This appears to have been the earliest resignation by the Provincial Government of their sovereign right to prisoners and captives. In the later laws, liberal premiums continued to be offered for the scalps of male Indians above the age of 12 years, as well as "the benefit of all Indian Prisoners, being Women and Children under the age above said," subject only to the condition that they should be "Transported out of the Country." *Mass. Laws: 1694-1722.*

But to return—as to the doubt concerning Lieut. Davenport's charge, the reader must take his choice of the probabilities suggested. Whether there had been more or less "previous practice" is not very material. I do not know that it would better their case, if it could be shown whether John Winthrop and his associates were the first to commence it or not, or that they did not begin until 1637. The fact is indisputable that they did so then; and that this was not an isolated, solitary instance—the law of 1646, providing for the export for trade of Indians for negroes, bears emphatic testimony—as well as to the further fact denied by my critic—that the trade was followed up. To support this denial, he cites Bradstreet's report to the Lords of Trade in 1680—that there were but 100 or 120 slaves in Massachusetts, of whom 40 or 50 had been imported two years before. To say nothing of the obvious imperfections of this report, does my critic suppose that the "Desire" brought 60 or 70 negroes from Providence Island in 1637-8, who all lived to be counted in this enumeration of 1680-2, or does he acknowledge that the losses by death were more than made good by the increase of these chattels—by such as were "born in the house?"

Admitting the facts which I demonstrated that slavery existed as a social fact in Massachusetts almost from the beginning of the Colony,\* and

\* Wood refers to these in 1633. "The Pequants be a statelie warlike people of whom I never heard any misdemeanor; but that they were just and equal in their dealings; not treacherous either to their countrymen or English, requiters of courtesies, affable towards the English." *N. E. Prospect, Ed. 1764, p. 72.* Four years afterwards they were exterminated by the Puritans! Those who escaped the sword, were sold into slavery, in foreign parts! Yet Winthrop himself said (in 1643) that "they had done us no injury."

† In the war against the Narragansetts, etc., Captain Mason's Commission (July, 1645) concludes thus, "What booty you take or prisoners, whether men, women or children you may send them to Seabrook fort to be kept and improved for the advantage of the Colonies, in several proportions answering their charge," etc. *Plymouth Records: IX. 35. Hazard: II. 31.*

\* There are traces of the presence of negro slaves in Massachusetts as early as 1633. See Wood's *N. E. Prospect, Ed. 1764, p. 91*, with reference to the fright of certain Indians, "worse

that its legislative history dates from the Statute of 1641—my critic indulges in a little fault-finding with my use of the word “established.” He confesses his ignorance how that which had previously existed as unwritten law could “in any sense” be established by a statute. I claim no credit for superior wisdom, when I declare my belief that the formal enactment into a statute or declaration of fundamentals in the form of liberties by the competent legislative authority must be regarded as “establishing” the doctrine thus promulgated. I never referred the *origin* of negro slavery in Massachusetts to this or any other legislative enactment. Probably there is not an instance to be found in all history of its being originated by statute. But it is equally true that all history may be challenged to produce a nearer approach to a statutory introduction of slavery than the Massachusetts law of 1641, by which it was established. My statement, therefore, is strictly correct. It was “the first statute establishing slavery in America.”

In view, however, of the admissions of my critic, I cannot resist the temptation to inquire what has become of the theory so long, so steadily and so recently maintained in Massachusetts, that slavery is “so odious that nothing but positive law will support it?”

II. But however doubtful of the effect of the Act of 1641 in establishing slavery, my critic finds great satisfaction in contemplating its authority as a “provision explicitly in favor of liberty,” and expressly “limiting the original law of slavery.” Now, what were the limits to which the prophetic wisdom of the framers of this law restricted this ancient evil? Establishing the institution under a convenient and comprehensive exception, they admitted the slavery of three specified classes, viz.:

1. Lawful captives taken in just wars,
2. Such strangers as willingly sell themselves,\*
3. Such strangers as are sold to us:

and added the significant proviso, after promising all the liberties and *christian* usages which the *Jewish* law seemed to them to enjoin, that all this should exempt none from servitude who were judged thereto by authority. This law was subsequently amended. Whether the motive suggested for the omission of the word “strangers” be correct or not, the fact is beyond dispute. It cannot easily be determined what was the intention or

practical effect of the omission; but whether by “strangers” they meant to distinguish those not born in the land, or those who were “strangers” by race, as has been suggested by my friend Mr. JOHN C. HURD (whose authority I am glad to see recognized in Boston), it is not necessary to decide at present.\*

All the effect of limitation now claimed for this famous “provision explicitly in favor of liberty” is that it did not provide for slavery by birth—only this and nothing more—that the law “does not cover hereditary slavery, either by express terms, or necessary implication.” And I am challenged with an air of triumph, to point out the words extending slavery to the children of slaves.† Now, the fact is undisputed that by the recognized common law of nations, as well as the civil law, and what is more to the purpose here, by the Jewish law—the natural increase of slave property belonged to the owner, whose right to it was never questioned any more than his right to his calf or his colt. Nobody supposed that the child of a slave was born free, or that the young of domestic animals were *feræ naturæ*. The issue of slaves were unquestionably at that time among “such as were sold” commonly and constantly, and if their condition had been at any time brought to the test of judicial decision, there is no room whatever for a doubt what it must have been “adjudged” to be “by authority.” But there is not a particle of evidence to show that the matter was ever thought of as questionable. I have quoted in my book the statement of Saltonstall of Connecticut in 1704, in which he declares that “according to the laws and constant practice of this colony and all other plantations (as well as by the civil law) such persons as are born of negro bond-women are themselves in like condition, that is, born in servitude, nor can there be any precedent in this government, or any of her

\* Cotton Mather (*Magnalia*, Book VI., Chap. vi., Section 1) furnishes an illustration of the status of “Foreigners and Strangers.” In his sketch or account of the Indians, he mentions an inferior class, whom he calls a sort of Villains “who had been for many generations ‘known to be Strangers or Foreigners, who were not privileged with common right, but in some measure subject,’ etc.”

† There was yet another description of slaves for which I omitted before to challenge a lawful place in my classification. Perhaps my critic will thank me for calling attention to it. Fugitive slaves sometimes preferred freedom among the savages to servitude among the Christians. This of course led to demands upon the children of the forest, by which they were required to send back the runaways. Failing to obtain a prompt compliance in all cases, the General Court, on the 2d of June, 1641, passed an order by which, “It is declared to be the mind of the Court, that if the Indians send not back of run aways then, by commission from the Gov<sup>r</sup> and any 3 of the magistrats to send and take so many as to satisfy for the want of them, & for the charge of sending for them,” *Mass. Records*: I. 329. Thus they might “give commission to any master to right himself upon the Indians, for his fugitive servant.” *Winthrop’s Answer*, &c in *Hutchinson’s Collection*: p. 124, also, in *Hazard*: I. 509. Should such be considered as “lawful captives taken in just wars,” or simply as “judged to Slavery by authority”?

“scared than hurt, who seeing a blackmore in the top of a tree looking out for his way which he had lost, surmised he was *Abamacho* or the devil: deeming all devils that are blacker than themselves; and being near to the plantation, they posted to the English, and intreated their aid to conjure this devil to his own place, who finding him to be a poor wandering blackmore, conducted him to his master.”

\* It is not improbable that in some instances this consent was like that of the Gibeonites—if not willingly, then by compulsion as the alternative.

"Majesty's plantations, produced to the contrary." I have given a more signal illustration in the semi-judicial action of the legislature of Massachusetts in 1716, in the case of William Brown, the son of a Freeman by a Servant Woman, who had been sold as a slave. His master offered to give him his freedom—if the Court would indemnify him from the law relating to the manumission of negroes—the law of 1703, in restraint of emancipation. None of the learned lawyers of that day in the legislature ventured the suggestion that he was "by law free." Neither lawyers nor judges, of whom there were several in the House of Representatives and Council, could see any mode of relief but the act of indemnity prayed for, which was duly passed. The facts present the same phase through the entire colonial and provincial era down to the time immediately preceding the Revolution, when slavery was first formally challenged in Massachusetts. And among the most prominent and wisest suggestions then made was that of providing by legislation for the emancipation of the children of slaves—whose condition under the existing laws was thus undeniably admitted to be that of slavery; and in 1777, in the most emphatic, if, indeed, it was not the only, direct attack on that institution in all the legislation of Massachusetts—the recognized doctrine of hereditary slavery was included in the denunciations of the law which was proposed.

But "the question as to the legality of hereditary slavery has been the subject of judicial consideration"—and it is in this part of the subject, that I am treated with specific charges of "suppressing inconvenient authorities," "pre-ferring convenience to honesty," "violating the record," and what is perhaps regarded as equally discreditable if not criminal, I am given to understand that my presumption in questioning standard authorities in Massachusetts is painfully conspicuous. It is my present purpose to show that the accusations of suppression, misrepresentation and dishonesty are utterly without foundation—and at the same time to vindicate the justice of my previous criticism of the authorities in question. And here I must be permitted to say that I am unable to find in my book any "degree of acerbity" towards the distinguished gentlemen from whose views I have been obliged to differ. If they have done me the honor to read the work, I am quite certain they must be as much astonished as I am to learn from my critic that I have transgressed the limits of a proper courtesy and due respect. If I have anywhere deviated into a way "foreign to the spirit of historical investigation," I am ignorant of the fact as well as the intention. If my critic had been as cautious as I was, his high tone on this point would be more in harmony with his own performance.

There is no pretence that the legality of hereditary slavery was ever formally questioned, much less denied by any contemporary authority, private or public, legislative, judicial or executive, during the period in which the institution flourished in Massachusetts. If among the earlier cases (between 1766 and 1774) in which the general subject of slavery was involved, there was one in which the modern doctrine was declared by anybody, on or off the bench, it has escaped all my research. The case of *Newport vs. Billing* in 1768, presents the most positive and emphatic record as to the legal condition of the negro who attempted to obtain his freedom by process of law, and if it could be ascertained that he was a native of Massachusetts, would be decidedly "a case in point." I have only been able to learn that he was a young Negro Boy on the 15th of March, 1728-9, when he was purchased by Billing for £50. It was found by the highest court in Massachusetts, on appeal from a similar decision in the inferior court "that the said Amos [Newport] was not a freeman, as he alledged, but the proper slave of the said Joseph [Billing]." *Records*: 1768, Fol. 284.

But the judicial oracles to which we are to go for instruction with authority on this topic belong to a much later period. The first in the series of these modern cases, which are claimed to have settled what the ancient law of slavery was, is that of *Littleton vs. Tuttle*, in 1796. It is reported "in part" (as Dane says) in a note to C. J. Parsons' decision of the case of *Winchendon vs. Hatfield*, 4 *Mass.*, 128. The decision in the latter case was made at the March Term, in Suffolk, in 1808, and it was published in 1809. The subject of the former suit was a pauper negro, born of slave parents, in 1773, sold in 1779 by the owner of his mother, to the defendant in the suit, who retained him in his service until he became lame and unable to labor, at the age of 21 years, January 18th, 1794, when he carried him and left him with the overseers of the poor for support. The record of the case shows simply that the town brought an action of assumption against the master, which resulted in the recovery of costs by the defendant. *Records*, 1796, 302.

It is stated in the partial report above referred to, that "the Court stopped the defendant's counsel from replying, and the Chief Justice charged the jury, as the unanimous opinion of the Court, that Cato [the pauper] being born in this country was born free; and that the defendant was not chargeable for his support after he was 21 years of age. And the jury found a verdict accordingly, without going off the stand."

There is an earlier report of this case furnished by James Sullivan, Attorney-General, who was of counsel in the case, for publication in 1798.

It is a noticeable fact that he does not state that the judges declared the negro to have been born free. His statement is that "the judges were of opinion that, as he was born in the town, he was a proper inhabitant, and that the town was obliged to maintain him, as it would have been if he was a white man." *M. H. S. Coll., I. v. 47.*

Nathan Dane, too, in his statement of this case, speaks of it as reported "*in part*" only, in 4 *Mass.*, 128, and adds the remark that "the idea in this case, of the defendant, was that Jacob was the slave of his *mother's* master, not the *father's* master; and the same idea is stated by Parsons, C. J., in *Winchendon vs. Hatfield*," *Abridgment, II.*, 413. Both parties to the suit must have been equally astonished at the opinion of the Court.

The next case in the order of time is that of *Perkins vs. Emerson*, tried in Essex in 1799. My critic does not take this in order, although he "affects" disappointment with my notice of it. His language is worthy of examination here. Beginning with the expression, "Mr. Moore's brief note of it," he soon regards it as "Mr. Moore's broad statement," which is presently converted into "Mr. Dane's loose statement," and this at last into "Mr. Dane's broad statement." Now the statement is true, and Mr. Dane's summary, which I followed, is not (as my critic alleges) "incorrect"! and the charges of ignorance on the part of Mr. Dane, and dishonesty in the use of the MS. Record by myself, are equally groundless. That Nathan Dane, who was of counsel, and was defeated, should not have known or could have forgotten what was decided in the case, is preposterous; and he not only gives the summary as I quoted it, "correctly," but he expressly contrasts it with the decision in *Littleton vs. Tuttle. Abridgment, II.*, 412. Again, in another place, he refers to it, where he says of the Act of 1736, "This Act extended not to *slaves*," citing *Perkins vs. Emerson. Abridgment, II.*, 417. And yet again, after he had seen the new light of the decision by Chief Justice Parker, in *Lanesborough vs. Westfield*—in his continuation of chapter 53, Art. I., Section 21, giving a summary of that case from 16 *Mass.*, 74, he adds: "See S. 23-25, the case of *Perkins, Treasurer, vs. Emerson*, was three years after the case of *Littleton vs. Tuttle. Abridgment, Vol. IX., Supplement, p. 190.*"

James Sullivan also was of counsel with Nathan Dane, for the appellant. He had been counsel for the plaintiff in the previous case of *Littleton vs. Tuttle*. As for Chief Justice Parsons, whether he remembered the case or not, he declared the doctrine of it most distinctly, not only in the "desperate suggestion" that "the issue of the female slave (according to the maxim of the civil law) was the property of her master," but

in the express statement that *slaves* were not within the statute of 10 Geo. II., c. 3 (the Act of 1736). 4 *Mass.*, 129. That he does not refer to the decision of 1799, in support of either point, does not weaken his opinion—of which I have more to say hereafter.

But all my critic's reasoning from probabilities is utterly futile and worthless; as I now propose to show from the record itself, independently, without reference to Dane or Parsons, whose evidence he discredits.

The court declared that the pauper in question in this suit was "not within the meaning of the act." The act made any inhabitant responsible for *any person* not an inhabitant whom he should admit or entertain in his house for more than twenty days without the prescribed notice, etc.; and the description of persons among whom she was denied a place by the Court is not limited, as my critic represents, by the words inmate, boarder or tenant, but includes all non-inhabitant persons whatever "under any other qualifications." She was certainly not an inhabitant, and the decision of the Court therefore in terms excluded the pauper in question from recognition as a person under any qualification whatever! And, so far from having been misunderstood, misrepresented, exaggerated, garbled, or otherwise maltreated by Nathan Dane or myself citing his authority, it fully sustains the doctrine of hereditary slavery in Massachusetts. How far short is it of a declaration that, instead of having been free-born because born in Massachusetts, this child of slaves was not a "person" in the eye of the law? An absolute formal denial of that character of personality which would distinguish her from a *thing*? Attributing to her that peculiar legal incapacity for *rights* which belongs to the nature of a *thing*? so that she could be the object of the rights of persons, but not the subject of rights? She was not a person *sui juris*! She was a chattel-slave! She could not be separated from her owner, and removed by the selectmen of the town, any more than his horse, or his cow, or his hog!

In all the judicial history of America, perhaps of the world, it may well be doubted whether a parallel can be found for this decision of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts in the last year of the eighteenth century. Is it strange that it has been studiously kept out of sight by the historico-legal champions of the Old Bay State?

The remarks of Chief Justice Parker, in deciding the case of *Andover vs. Canton*, in 1816, state so clearly the recognized doctrine of the slave's incapacity for civil rights in Massachusetts, that I quote them at this point, although I have to refer to the case again in its order. He said with reference to a slave in Massachusetts

during the period in which slavery existed there: "*The slave was the property of his master as much as his ox or his horse; he had no civil rights but that of protection from cruelty;\* he could acquire no property nor dispose of any without the consent of his master. His settlement in the town with his master was not for his benefit, but to ascertain what corporation should be charged with his maintenance, in case his master should become unable to support him, or should die, leaving him a charge to the community. We think he had not the capacity to communicate a civil relation to his children, which he did not enjoy himself, except as the property of his master.*" 13 *Mass.*, 550. This is not Chief Justice Taney who is speaking, neither is this the language of the Dred Scott decision, but it is the language of the Chief Justice of the State of Massachusetts, declaring the opinion of the Supreme Judicial Court, sitting in bank, forty years before!

The next case in the order of time is that of *Winchendon vs. Hatfield*, 4 *Mass.*, 123, which is so little to the taste of my critic, that he not only denies it place as a leading case, but disposes very summarily of Chief Justice Parsons, whose *dicta* are not to be regarded on this topic, excepting as "desperate suggestions" or "loose statements." I am happy to differ from this opinion. No man was more thoroughly versed in the early history, laws, institutions, manners and local usages of the early settlers of Massachusetts than this honored and conspicuous "Giant of the Law." No man knew better than he did what was the law of slavery in his native State. And when he declared in this case, that "the issue of the female slave, according to the maxim of the civil law, was the property of her master," he was careful to introduce the unanimous opinion of the Court in 1796, and to brand it as spurious—"certainly in opposition to the general practice and common usage." He spoke the truth, candidly and sincerely, for he loved it. He belonged to the old school of lawyers and judges, and never learned the dialect of the later Euphemists, or the ritual of the modern Brahmins of Massachusetts.

The next case is that of *Andover vs. Canton*, 13 *Mass.*, 547, in which Chief Justice Parker confirmed the doctrine of hereditary slavery in Massachusetts. His caution (to which I referred in noticing this case in my book) was due to the doubt, not whether the children of slaves were slaves but whether they were the property of the owner of father or mother. The manner in which this case is treated by my critic "seems" vastly

like "dissembling." I did not quote or refer to the *semble* as authoritative, but to the Chief Justice's unqualified declaration, after the very emphatic statement before quoted of the slave's incapacity for civil rights in Massachusetts, that "his children, if the issue of a marriage with a slave would immediately on their birth, become the property of his master, or of the master of the female slave." *Ibid*: 551.

I cannot wonder at my critic's alacrity in getting over this dangerous footing, to what he regarded as "firmer ground;" but I must say, with due deference, that, as he could not have been misled by my caution or my reference to that of the Chief Justice, I am surprised at his eagerness to charge me with tripping, or something worse, so soon after his own fall over this *semble*. But he will find it difficult to make anybody else take up his hue and cry in this instance, or fix on me as the proper object of pursuit. I bear with me neither the consciousness nor evidence of guilt.

It is in the case of *Lanesborough vs. Westfield*, 16 *Mass.*, 74, that my critic finds "firmer ground." In fact, he "seems" to rest and breathe more freely. But his first blow is foul! as he renews the attack. His principal charge of suppression is with regard to this case, which I do "refer to" and "cite by page" as one of the principal authorities relied on by Mr. Sumner, Mr. Palfrey and Mr. Gray, in their statements on this subject. If I had given no reference whatever, I could not recognize the justice of the charge so offensively made; and I sincerely regret that my critic could invent no better motive for me than sheer dishonesty. If I was guilty of any error in this part of the subject, it was in failing to show that the new interpretation of the law of 1641 first dawned upon the historical-legal mind of Massachusetts in 1819, in this very case!

It was the case of a certain pauper negro woman and her child, which was made to depend on the condition of her mother. She was born in 1778, continued in the family of her mother's owner till the formation and adoption of the Constitution of the Commonwealth. How much longer does not clearly appear, but she remained in the same town (Westfield) until 1803, without acquiring any legal residence. She removed to Lanesborough in 1803, was married in June, 1804, and dwelt in the latter place until the time the action was brought which was to determine the *main question* in this as in all these suits—who was to support these negro paupers? On this state of facts, Chief Justice Parker declared the opinion of the Court, as follows:

"By the colonial law of 1646, no bond slavery could exist except in the case of lawful captives taken in just war, or such as willingly sold

\* This was a "civil right" which the slave enjoyed in common with "any brute creatures, which are usually kept for the use of man," the latter being protected by a special statute against cruelty. *Laws* 1672, p. 39.

"themselves, or were sold to the inhabitants (*Vide Ancient Charters, &c.*, 52). Of course, the children of those who in fact were, or who were reputed to be slaves, not coming within the description, could not be held as slaves. And in the year 1796, it was solemnly and unanimously decided by the Court, that the issue of slaves, although born before the adoption of the Constitution, were born free. 4 *Mass., Rep.* 128, "note, *Littleton vs. Tuttle*."

It will be observed that in this decision the Chief Justice has changed his base, and occupies a position considerably in advance of that which he occupied at the termination of the action in Essex, November Term, 1816—*Andover vs. Canton*.

An examination of his authorities gives us a clue to the motive as well as support of his advance. The "Ancient Charters, &c.," edited by a commission of whom "the venerable legal antiquary," Nathan Dane, was the Chief, was published under the authority of the legislature in 1814. In its pages was reproduced for the first time in a century and a half the Massachusetts statute of Slavery. This law was sandwiched in one and the same separate chapter between an act respecting the assignment of bills, and the famous order of the General Court in 1646, for the restoration to his native country of a kidnapped African. It is proper to add here that this special order was never printed among the Colony Laws by those who made it, or at any time afterwards, until in this collection as above stated. The language of the Chief Justice, however, shows conclusively that he was influenced by this new combination, for he refers the law of 1641 to the year 1646, and evidently gravitates towards the mild views of interpretation adopted by the index-maker of that volume, whose summary of the whole law, as given in the Index, is "Slavery forbidden."\*

This is the only new light indicated in the opinion, for the decision of 1796 was before him, when in *Andover vs. Canton*, he not only acquiesced in the law of his predecessor, but his open disregard, if not undisguised contempt, of that decision. Both were undoubtedly well aware that it had been authoritatively and unquestionably reversed by the same judges who made it, in their careful settlement of the law in the deci-

sion of 1799, which I am still obliged to regard (notwithstanding the sneer of my critic) as "a notable instance of judicial retraction."

But my critic adds still another Ossa upon Pelion to the vast "weight of legal authority" on this point. In the case of *Edgartown vs. Tisbury*: 10 *Cushing*, 408, Mr. Justice Metcalf has "followed his leader"—in Bristol, Plymouth, &c., October Term, 1852. The facts in this case were entirely clear, and embarrassed by no doubt. The daughter of an unmarried female slave, born in 1772, upon the death of her mother's master, in 1778, was included in the inventory, and appraised and sold at auction, as a part of his property. She was taken away by the purchaser on the day of the auction and continued with him several years. With these facts before him, Mr. Justice Metcalf said:

"As she was born in Massachusetts, she was 'freeborn, although her mother was a slave, and she could not be held as a slave by Allen [the purchaser at the auction, as above] under the sale made to him. The relation of master and slave never existed between Allen and the 'pauper.' The authorities are *Littleton vs. Tuttle*, 4 *Mass.*, 128, note. *Lanesborough vs. Westfield*, 16 *Mass.*, 74. 2 *Dane's Abridgment*, 211-13. 2 *Kent Com.* (6th Ed.) 252. The last is the only new one. In the passage referred to, Chancellor Kent quotes the decision in *Littleton vs. Tuttle*, and adds—"But, though this be the case, yet 'the effect of the former legal distinctions is still perceived, for by statute [not repealed until '1843] a marriage in Massachusetts between a 'white person and a negro, Indian or mulatto, is 'absolutely void.'"

Such are the records—such are the authentic reports. In the face of such facts, what are the later decisions and opinions worth? To what extent can such authorities be held to govern either law or history? Is a question of history the same thing as a question of law, and exclusively a matter of judicial determination? The conspicuous jurists of the Boston school ought to know that on a matter of history the opinion of a Judge, even on the bench, is of no authority, but at best is only evidence to be weighed as such. If it be presumption in me to remind them of this fact, I must take the consequences. If I should be crushed under the weight of such legal authorities, it certainly will be "in spite of my conviction of the unreasonable-ness of their conclusions." There may be force in my critic's suggestion of something more than indifference among the Puritans to the principles of the laws of heathen Rome. But the more recent magnates of the profession as well as some of the "Apprentices to the Bench" in Massachusetts appear to have extended their inquiries into the Civil Law far enough to learn one im-

\* As my critic derives some comfort from such little helps, and refers to the marginal note in the Edition of 1672, "No Bond-slavery" as an "epitome" of the law of slavery in Massachusetts, I will add to his collection of "epitomes" by the information that, although the Edition of 1660 gives no marginal note whatever and the Index reference is simply the title itself and number of pages where found—in that of 1672, not only the words "No Bond-slavery" appear in the margin, but the Index reference is the title, with an addition, as follows: "Bond-slavery, not allowed, but servitude declared." Perhaps a judicial determination may yet be obtained that slavery had no legal existence in Massachusetts after the publication of that Index!

portant maxim said to be derived from it—"boni judicis est ampliare suam auctoritatem"—it is the business of a good judge to enlarge his authority. But are we to receive our history as well as law from the Bench? Jeremy Bentham thought it more than enough that the Judges should make law as well as declare it. What would he say to the "conspicuous judicial instincts" of Massachusetts, whose opinions are to be not only law but history? "Instinct is a great matter." And no man who is familiar with "the way of putting it" in Massachusetts can doubt for a moment that the champions of her historic fame are subjected, not less than inferior tribes, to the influence of certain fixed impulses or active tendencies, which, like the instincts of animals, are constant and invariable. It does not by any means follow that their results are as infallible as the processes of nature. It is only in men's fables that the instincts of animals are portrayed like the human passions which color every line of human history. Men may be hypocrites and Pharisees—animals never.

It is hardly necessary for me to dwell upon the contrast and opposition between the facts before the Court, and the decisions in these later cases which are held to have settled the law. The decisions absolutely contradict the facts, and rest upon very doubtful grounds, to say the least. They are specimens of "legal construction," interesting chiefly as individual opinions of the judges concerning what might, could, would or should have been the "intention of the founders of the Commonwealth," but as my critic says of this question of legal construction, "not bearing upon the subsequent course of the history of slavery" in Massachusetts. If he had frankly admitted that the hidden virtue of the law of 1641 was never manifested to the world either in theory or practice, until the time arrived in which it had no possible bearing on the character and conditions of slavery in Massachusetts, I could return his slur on my discernment by a sincere tribute to his candor on one point, at least.

But these decisions are "confirmed by the opinions of jurists"! making the round and top of this legal sovereignty—which it is to be high treason to question or deny. Mr. Sumner has said that "in all her annals, no person was ever born a slave on the soil of Massachusetts." Mr. Gray has said, "all children of slaves were by law free." And the historian of New England has said "in fact no person was ever born into legal slavery in Massachusetts." "The child of slaves was as free as any other child. No person was ever legally held to servitude in Massachusetts, as being the offspring of a slave mother."

I should be very unwilling to believe that

either of these distinguished jurists and scholars would repeat their statements now, or would fail to correct them upon a proper occasion or opportunity, with cheerful alacrity and due acknowledgment of the new light thrown upon the subject.

To sum up, I may apply the precise argument of my critic in his own language. We have then as a matter of law on this subject an organic act by the people, contemporaneous interpretation of it, and uninterrupted acquiescence in that interpretation by the legislature, the courts and the people for nearly a century and a half. If the effect of any legal provision can be more conclusively ascertained, I should be glad to know the process.

But the argument from the continued practice of hereditary slavery is declared to be "not even worthy of a layman's law," and the further assertion is ventured that it "does not touch either the historical or legal question whether slavery was hereditary by law in Massachusetts." It strikes me that if this means anything, it is a very unworthy quibble. Let us test the doctrine. If the law of 1641 did not cover hereditary slavery, it must have excluded it. If this is the true construction, how is it that not a single example can be produced, not one solitary contemporary fact or instance, to sustain the doctrine, from the entire history of Massachusetts, before the Revolution. If we are to accept this construction, where is the apology to be found for the conscious, wilful, systematic violation of so humane a provision from beginning to end of the history. But in view of the facts, this hypothesis is absurd. It admits that the children of slaves were held as slaves by birth, but denies that they could legally be so held! In a juristical view, it is a contradiction in terms. Acts which are done, and conditions which exist without a challenge for generations, are law, by the very definitions of law.

There is no attempt to deny that in point of fact from the beginning to the end of the institution, the children of slaves were actually held and taken to be slaves. My critic recognizes "the foothold which hereditary slavery obtained" and favors us with an "explanation easily found." It were indeed a pity if so rare a specimen of historical philosophy should be lost. Such keen insight into the remote past, and such critical sagacity in solving all the difficulties of the problem presented can belong only to a critic of "conspicuous [historical if not] judicial instincts." I quote "the facts" which constitute "the explanation," in his own language.

1. "For fifty years the number of slaves was so insignificant as not to attract attention to questions of this sort."

Then we are to understand that the fathers of

New England in 1641, making a statute "explicitly in favor of liberty," recognized the institution of slavery, and had their attention sufficiently attracted to limit it by providing carefully against its hereditary quality! And straightway not only forgot all about it themselves, but forgot it so earnestly that none of their descendants ever discovered it until in the year 1796, in the excitement of the question how the wretched scattered remnants of the slave races should be provided for as paupers, a Court was found eager to pronounce judgment, without hearing an argument, that a negro, who had been in fact held as a slave from the hour of his birth until he became useless through disability, and his owner rejected the burthen of his support, was born free! That this judgment had to be reversed three years later by the same judges, to meet another phase of responsibility connected with the pauperism of the Massachusetts freedmen, and it was not until there was no longer any danger of their rising from their unhonored graves to claim maintenance and support from those who had exhausted their bodies and souls, that the judges and Courts of Massachusetts could confidently declare that hereditary slavery never was legal in the Old Bay State!

2. "In a thinly settled colony, with scanty means of communication and almost no regular channels of general intelligence, the chances of such a point being brought to the attention of those most concerned must have been extremely small."

Slave-owners have never been forward to suggest doubts of their own authority, or to question their own titles to such property before "those who are most concerned"—the slaves themselves; but I am unable to see how a greater density of population, or an increased service of mail and passenger coaches, with a weekly or even daily newspaper, would improve their "chances" in this respect. It certainly did not work in that way farther South than Massachusetts.

3. "The acquaintance of the public with their own laws and institutes bore no comparison with what is seen at the present day."

It is hard to reconcile the standard authorities on the subject hitherto received in Massachusetts, with this suggestion of the comparative ignorance of the people of that State in any period of its history. It has the merit of novelty, whether true or not. The reader will give it due weight in this discussion.

4. "In that state of society an erroneous construction of the law might easily be acquiesced in for generations, which in the present condition of things could not pass unchallenged for a single year."

Was this the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay, during the first century and a half

of its existence? Can the people of Massachusetts be brought to believe and acknowledge that the state of society among the Puritans and their immediate descendants during several generations was such that although they had carefully framed and solemnly enacted a public law expressly to exclude hereditary slavery—not a single child of slaves was born in freedom under its provisions, but they continued to buy and sell, to hold and treat as slaves the children and children's children whom they had thus pretended to emancipate, for nearly a century and a half, without challenge or compunction? Truly "a slander of the Puritan Fathers and their children more unfounded, or more discreditable to the moral sense of the utterer was never heard from the enemies of Massachusetts!" It is "an erroneous construction of" the morals and manners of that people "from generation to generation," which cannot "easily be acquiesced in," or pass unchallenged for a moment anywhere.

III. As I have nowhere suggested any "difficulty in understanding the legal effect of the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights, as applied by the Courts," or declared "the doctrine of the practical insignificance of the clause"—and as my critic is unable to cite or refer to any account of the process by which the Declaration of Rights was made to extend to enslaved Indians and negroes more complete or more thoroughly faithful to the record than my own—the main question between us in this last division of his labors concerns the history of the first clause of the first article of the Bill of Rights. He appears to maintain what I stated as the received opinion in Massachusetts, for which I am still, even with his help, unable to find the slightest trace of positive contemporary evidence. He challenges my view of "the family traditions which have designated the elder John Lowell as the author of the Declaration, and assigned the intention to abolish slavery as the express motive for its origin." Regarding it as "unfortunate that I did not undertake an historical criticism of those traditions," he proceeds to "establish" them himself in his own way. First, he brings in Dr. Belknap, then the traditions, and then the announcement that "several facts in the life of Judge Lowell make the statement intrinsically probable." Of the latter he mentions but one—the "freedom suit" in 1773, of which a particular account is given in my book.

1. "Dr. Belknap's positive statement made from his own knowledge only fifteen years afterwards." What his *whole* statement was will appear below, *unabridged*.

Probably Belknap's statement in 1795 is the earliest. In 1784, he does not appear to have been aware of the new view of the Declaration of

1780. Referring to this subject of slavery, and the return of the *stolen* negroes to Africa in 1646, he adds, "if the same resolute justice had always been observed, it would have been much for the credit and interest of the country; and our own struggles for liberty would not have carried so flagrant an appearance of inconsistency." *Hist. of N. H., Vol. 1, p. 75.* His letter to Moses Brown, July 15, 1786, concerning slavery, does not intimate any knowledge of the new views, but he did acquire the light before June 14th, 1790, when he wrote to David Howell, who had urged upon him the establishment of an abolition society: "I am of opinion that such an association is entirely needless here, as we have no slavery to abolish; all persons who can claim the privilege of being descendants of Adam being declared free by our constitution." He adds also, "I sincerely wish that the multitudes of blacks among us might enjoy the same blessings which other people enjoy, as the fruit of their liberty; but, alas! many of them are in a far worse condition than when they were slaves, being incapable of providing for themselves the means of subsistence."

In 1792, he wrote in his history as follows: "In Massachusetts, they [negroes] are all accounted free by the first article in the declaration of rights;" and he is evidently unable to see why a similar clause in the Constitution of New Hampshire should fail to produce a similar result. But that people were the descendants of men who did not pretend to have come over to worship God, but to catch fish!

In 1795, he published the following statement, partly quoted by my critic, who omitted the clause which I have italicized. The first article of the Declaration of Rights "was inserted not merely as a moral or political truth, but with a particular view to establish the liberation of the negroes on a general principle, and so it was understood by the people at large; but some doubted whether this were sufficient." This doubt is significant. It impairs, if it does not destroy, the whole theory which the passage is held to support. But this is not all. The uncertainty which prevailed is further illustrated by the reply which Belknap gives in the same document to the direct query of his correspondent—"At what period was slavery abolished?" He says "by comparing what is said in answer to queries 4th and 5th, it appears that the complete abolition of slavery may be fixed at the year 1783." *Ibid., p. 206.* His correspondent also asked in query 5th, "The mode by which slavery hath been abolished? Whether by a general and simultaneous emancipation, or at different periods? Or whether by declaring all persons born after a particular period, free?" The general answer is, that slavery hath been

"abolished here by *publick opinion*, which began to be established about thirty years ago." [1765] *Ibid., p. 201.* And yet again, referring to the census, and the fact that no slaves were set down to Massachusetts, he says, "This return [in 1790] made by the marshal of the district, may be considered as the formal evidence of the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts, especially as no person has appeared to contest the legality of the return." *Ibid., p. 204.* A good thing for Massachusetts! The curious reader may find in my book an explanation of the way in which this census was made to bear testimony to the abolition of slavery in that State. It will also enable him to appreciate the satisfaction of Dr. Belknap, that no person had appeared to "contest the legality of the return." *Notes, p. 247.* It would have been melancholy, indeed, if the Constitution of Massachusetts, an organic act by the people, "backed by a contemporaneous judicial interpretation of it, and uninterrupted acquiescence in that interpretation by the Legislature, the courts and the people," for even ten years, had been made void and of none effect by a single slaveholder's challenge of the marshal's false though flattering return!

Secondly, come "the traditions," or more properly the tradition of the Lowell family. It is already obvious that this tradition is to be tried on its own merits, for Dr. Belknap says nothing whatever about Judge Lowell's agency in the matter. This omission in his history of the subject is more significant in view of the circumstance that they were contemporaries in Boston and probably familiar acquaintances at the time when Dr. Belknap wrote his account of slavery in Massachusetts, for which he collected the materials by circulating printed queries among such gentlemen as were supposed to be well informed or likely to be interested. There is another historian of Massachusetts, who may properly be referred to here. Alden Bradford, born in 1765, graduated at Harvard in 1786, was one of the earliest if not an original member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose historical researches and publications justly make his statements and corrections highly important. In his *History of Massachusetts*, (Vol. II., p. 227,) published in 1825, he says of the first article in the Declaration of Rights: "This was inserted, no doubt, as a general axiom. But it was also said, at the time, that there was a reference to the condition of the Africans, which had been held in slavery in Massachusetts," &c. In his revised edition, published in 1835, he gives the following account: "In 1783, the involuntary slavery of the people of color in Massachusetts was in effect condemned and prohibited, by a decision of the highest judicial tribunal in the State. \* \* \*

"The case appears to have been decided on great constitutional principles recognized in the declaration of the bill of rights 'that all men are 'born free and equal.' " *p.* 305.

Judge Lowell died in 1802. The late Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell was the third son, born in 1782. His elder brothers, John, born in 1769, died in 1840; Francis Cabot, born in 1775, died in 1817.

The earliest public notice of Judge Lowell's alleged authorship of the freedom clause in the Bill of Rights may be found in a communication to the Editor of the *Boston Courier*, from Dr. Charles Lowell, dated May 17, 1847. It appears to have been elicited by some previous discussion of the question of intention in the framers of the Constitution of 1780, in the introduction of the clause referred to. Dr. Lowell says: "I have the authority of my late brother, John Lowell, for saying that he knew that his father, the late Judge Lowell, who was on the committee, introduced this clause for the express purpose of settling the question about slavery in the State, and that, as soon as the Constitution was adopted, he declared that every black in the State was free, and offered his services gratuitously, to any such person whose right to his freedom was contested. My brother further told me that he believed my father wrote that article himself.

"\* \* \* I well remember myself, when I was a boy at Andover Academy, being often told by an intelligent old black man who sold buns, that my father was the friend of the blacks, and the cause of their being freed, or something to that effect, and that I often had a bun or two extra on this account."

In 1852, Dr. Lowell communicated the notice to the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is printed in the *Collections*, IV. i. 90. The statement of Dr. Belknap in 1795 is quoted in part and is followed by these words: "I feel an honest pride in saying, as I have authority to say, that this clause was introduced by my father, the late Judge Lowell, for the purpose above stated, and that, on its adoption by the convention, he offered his services as a lawyer, gratuitously, to any slave in the Commonwealth who might wish to substantiate his claim to freedom."

In the following year, 1853, Dr. Lowell addressed Mr. Bancroft, the historian, on the subject, referring to his "brief statement" published by the Massachusetts Historical Society as being "founded on the authority of my [his] father himself." He adds: "At any rate, he inserted 'y' preamble from y' Declaration of Independence for y' express purpose of abolishing slavery. As a lawyer, and an eminent one, he knew y' effect & gained the first cause tried in Essex Co., on y' subject, on the ground

"which he himself had placed y' subject by his 'clause in the Bill of Rights.' "\*.

In 1856, Dr. Lowell addressed a note to the author of "Anthony Burns a History," in which he said, "My father introduced into the Bill of Rights the clause, by which slavery was abolished in Massachusetts. You will find, by referring to the Proceedings of the Convention for framing the Constitution of our State, and to Eliot's N. E. Biographical Dictionary, that he was a member of the Convention, and of the Committee for drafting the plan, &c., and that he suggested and urged on the Committee the introduction of the clause taken from the Declaration of Independence a little varied,† which virtually put an end to slavery here, as our courts decided, as the one from which it was taken ought to have put an end to slavery in the United States. This he repeatedly and fully stated to his family and friends. \* \* \*

"In regard to the clause in the Bill of Rights, my father advocated its adoption in the Convention, and, when it was adopted, exclaimed: 'Now, there is no longer slavery in Massachusetts; it is abolished, and I will render my services as a lawyer gratis, to any slave suing for his freedom, if it is withheld from him,' or words to that effect."

A later statement of this tradition is to be found in the biography of the elder John Lowell, understood to be furnished by the family for the New American Cyclopædia in 1860. It is as follows: "He inserted in the bill of rights the clause declaring that 'all men are born free and equal' for the purpose, as he avowed at the time, of abolishing slavery in Massachusetts; and after the adoption of the Constitution he offered through the newspapers his services as a lawyer to any person held as a slave, who desired to establish a right to freedom under that clause. The position maintained by him on this question was decided to be constitutional by the Supreme Court of the State in 1783, since which time slavery has had no legal existence in Massachusetts."

A comparison of the preceding series of statements, which illustrate fully the birth, growth and progress of "the tradition," with the facts and authorities set forth in my "notes," etc., will enable all who are interested to decide for themselves whether it will "stand the test of history."

\* The "freedom suit" in Essex here referred to was tried in 1773, seven years before the adoption of the Bill of Rights.

† This does not appear either in the proceedings of the Convention, or in Dr. Eliot's Biographical Dictionary. Yet Dr. Eliot was a contemporary and deeply interested in biographical and historical researches. He co-operated with his friend Dr. Belknap in establishing the Massachusetts Historical Society. He published his Biographical Dictionary in 1809. In his life, he notices very particularly the services of Judge Lowell in the constitutional convention, which renders his silence on the main point more remarkable.—*Biog. Dict.*, 301.

"cal criticism." One feature appears throughout the series, which is of itself a refutation of the intentional theory. It is the recognized necessity for a suit in the Courts to establish the rights of slaves to freedom. This would probably appear with greater distinctness and force *if the newspapers in which Judge Lowell offered his legal services should be brought to light.* The elder John Lowell was undoubtedly among the friends of the black man in Massachusetts at a time when it was less fashionable to be so than it is now. The most conclusive evidence of the fact may be derived from my book, though not to be found in any of the biographical sketches previously published. It is probable that the dramatic story of his action concerning the origin and adoption, etc., of the Bill of Rights, grew out of this general fact, and particularly the illustration of it in 1773, in the Essex "freedom suit."

I do not think it is necessary for me to point out the particulars of inconsistency and conflict with established facts, in all this testimony of the late Dr. Lowell, which rests entirely on his remote recollections of what he had been told by his brother. The statement of my critic, that Dr. Lowell "derived it himself from his father," is not sustained by any evidence whatever which I have been able to discover—certainly, not by the authority referred to. It is not necessary to infer the presence of any intention to violate the truth of history in any of the statements of Dr. Lowell. It is neither difficult nor improper to account for his mistakes, when we remember how imperfect are the recollections of age, and how apt such errors are to become identified with truth among the cherished remembrances of filial piety. Suggestions not intrinsically improbable, uncorrected by judicious historical criticism, readily come to be regarded and firmly held as "credible statements of history," especially when, as in this instance, they suit the prejudices of the time, and fall in with the current of popular opinion. But, when once questioned and exposed, the writer who repeats them cannot plead, for his excuse, the same want of intention to deceive.

I have thus re-examined the leading points of animadversion presented by my critic in lieu of that general review of my book which he thinks that it invites from the hand of the careful and candid investigator. The reader who has had the patience to accompany me through the details which I have given, will doubtless indulge me a little further. He must judge whether I have effectually disposed of the specific charges of suppression, dishonesty and misrepresentation, or not. He will also be able to estimate the value of those general accusations with which the former are repeated at the close of the review, as well as the

opinion that "in no part of the work is it safe to follow the author upon trust." This opinion would be stronger in everything but expression if my critic had pointed out a single statement of fact which is not sustained by a formal reference to the authorities on which it is based, or any passages in my work which justify his wholesale denunciation.

But, after all, he tells us that there is nothing new in my book, nothing which was not already well known in Massachusetts! "NOBODY HAS DENIED THAT SLAVERY WAS A MARKED FEATURE IN THE PROVINCIAL HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS, AND TOO MUCH HAS BEEN SEEN OF THE SPIRIT OF SLAVERY IN OUR OWN DAYS FOR ANY ONE TO SUPPOSE THAT IT COULD EXIST ANYWHERE WITHOUT SUBSIDIARY EVILS OF THE MOST REPULSIVE NATURE." No Massachusetts writer ever made such a confession before. Her historians have never recognized or acknowledged this "marked feature," or indulged its exhibition anywhere; and if I have added nothing to their knowledge of the subject, those who may study it hereafter will not fail to admire the art with which the champions of Massachusetts have hitherto contrived to conceal the truths with which they have always been so familiar.

As for the imputation of local or political prejudice against Massachusetts, I have neither; nor do I know what there is in my work to justify the suggestion that I have written "to please the personal resentments of literary friends." Neither do I believe it possible "so to write the history of the best of mankind that they shall seem to have been the worst." The true history of every community must present its lessons of humiliation as well as pride—that of Massachusetts must acknowledge among her generations, some of the best and some of the worst—

"Non omnes cœcicolas, nec supera alta tenentes."

I cannot accept the views of my critic as to the motto of my book. Fidelity to the truth of history, and manly confidence in its results, are far more honorable than any cowardly sensitiveness to that sort of criticism whose chief weapon is the "*suspicio gratiæ, aut simultatis*"—the insinuation of favor or the imputation of bad motives. Cicero did not counsel cowardice in the face of such hostility. And he who conscientiously obeys the laws of Truth may bid defiance to an enemy who can only insinuate a groundless suspicion of his motives.

GEORGE H. MOORE.

New York, November 10, 1866.

## IV.—BOOKS.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*A Reconstruction Letter.* New York: Privately printed. 1866. Octavo, pp. 13.

On the third of September last, *The Tribune* contained a satirical piece, in verse, purporting to be a letter from William H. Seward, at "The 'Cataract House,' Niagara-falls, to Thurlow Weed, at the Astor House, New York city, communicating to the latter the circumstances of the trip of the Presidential party toward Chicago.

It was very cleverly done; and, although it is violently partizan in its character, we read with considerable interest, on account of the sharpness of many of the hits which the author dealt on the heads of his unfortunate victims. It has been reproduced in the elegant style of "The Bradstreet Press," in the tract under consideration; and, in view of the result of the expedition which it describes, we have re-read it with much pleasure.

It is privately printed, in the most elegant style of the day; and the edition numbered one hundred copies.

2.—*Obsequies of Abraham Lincoln, in the City of New York, under the Auspices of the Common Council.* By D. T. Valentine, Clerk of the Common Council. New York: Edmund Jones & Co. 1866. Octavo, pp. vi. unpagged; 254.

This is, by far, the finest volume of *Lincolniana* that we have seen; and it has been edited with decidedly better taste and good judgment than are generally seen in public documents of this character. We are not insensible of the fact, however, that one of our respected contemporaries has condemned the introduction into it of Mr. Bancroft's *Oration* at Union Square; but we do not perceive the justice of that criticism, nor do we very well see how that production, no matter what its defects may have been, could have been omitted from such a volume, with the least propriety.

We suppose that this is the only memorial of the murdered President that the city of New York will send down to posterity; and we are disposed to be charitable, in view of that fact, when we read that twenty thousand copies of this magnificent volume were ordered to be printed at the expense of the already over-burdened city.

3.—*Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York.* 1866. By D. T. Valentine. [Sine loco, sine anno.]

We have here the last issue of this widely-known public document, just as the year for which it has been issued is about to expire.

We have not had time to examine its contents with much care; and we are not, therefore, prepared to pass a carefully-prepared opinion on its various parts. We notice, however, that the

gaudy pictures which gradually crept into former volumes of this work, have been more numerously scattered through this; that the series of extracts from old newspapers, on every conceivable subject, have been continued; and that the survey of the leading streets of the city, commenced last year, has been extended to Wall-street, the Bowery, and Chatham-street.

The book is not what it should be, by any means; but it probably answers the purpose of its publication just as well as it would do if it was very much better.

4. *Jonas Galusha, the Fifth Governor of Vermont.* A Memoir read before the Vermont Historical Society, in presence of the General Assembly of Vermont, at Montpelier, 16th October, 1866. By Rev. Pliny H. White. Montpelier: E. P. Walton, 1866. Octavo, pp. 16.

A very handsome pamphlet edition of Mr. White's interesting paper on the fifth Governor of Vermont, whose life and services are admirably and minutely narrated.

It is news to us, however, that after Baume had been overcome at Bennington, "*Burgoyne*" came up with reinforcements, and the *Green Mountain Boys* were compelled to fight and "win the battle a second time," as Mr. White has told his readers on page 6. We rather fancy, instead, that one *Breyman* will be found to have "come up with reinforcements," and that *Burgoyne* never "came up" an inch to support Baume. We have supposed, also, that one *Stark*, a *New Hampshire* man, commanding a brigade of *New Hampshire* troops and "some militia from Berkshire county," in *Massachusetts*, played quite as prominent a part, with his command, to say the least, as "the Green Mountain Boys" referred to; by which term, we suppose, "what militia was at this place," [Bennington,] and Colonel Warner's regiment of Vermonters, are described by Mr. White.

We have looked in vain, also, for the least attempt, in Mr. White's description of the condition of Vermont in 1781-7, to make treason odious, or to condemn it, even, ever so slightly. At the period referred to, what is now Vermont was a part of the State of New York, and the inhabitants were in a state of revolt against the legal authority of the Government to which alone they were legally subject—in short, they were *secessionists*, as well as *nullifiers*, disagreeable as that fact may be to those who have descended from them. Not a word, however, has been written in this memoir to indicate that ugly fact: not a syllable in condemnation of those lawless desperadoes who, without the pretence of any political authority whatever, became the first of all traitors to their Sovereign—if we except the general treason of 1776—and the first of all those who practically displayed their hatred of a republican form of government by a voluntary

attempt to return to the embraces of the King of Great Britain.

If History is to be thus written by the learned President of a Historical Society, from whose pen may we reasonably expect to learn the whole Truth, or by whose shall Falsehood be condemned?

5. *Agriculture—Its Dignity and Progress.* An Address delivered before the Society of Agriculture and Horticulture of Westchester County, at the Annual Fair at White Plains, N. Y., September 20, 1866, by Elliot C. Cowdin. New York: Baker & Godwin, 1866. Octavo, pp. 20.

This is one of the best addresses of the kind which we have ever read. It is well-written, as every such address should be; it displays no impertinence in its author, concerning either Agriculture or Politics, which is as uncommon as it is judicious; it affords no evidence that the author had swallowed a dictionary, or crammed from the classics, before going on the rostrum, as is too often the case on such occasions. Calm, judicious, instructive, appropriate, Mr. Cowdin's *Address* affords to all who shall follow him a model which they may safely and judiciously imitate.

6. *The Forest Tree Cultivist: a Treatise on the Cultivation of American Forest Trees, with Notes on the Most Valuable Foreign Species.* By Andrew S. Fuller. New York: G. E. & F. W. Woodward, 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 188.

7. *Woodward's Architecture, Landscape Gardening, and Rural Art. No. I.* 1867. By G. E. & F. W. Woodward. New York: The Authors, 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 120.

The characters of these handsome little volumes are fully described in their respective titles; but those titles fail to convey a proper idea of the beauty with which they have been gotten up, whether the letter-press or engravings shall be considered.

We have carefully examined these volumes, and cheerfully commend them to such of our readers as are interested in the subjects treated of. They are creditable alike to the authors and to our young friends who have published them.

8.—*How New York City is Governed.* By James Parton. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 48.

The widely-known article of Mr. Parton, written for *The North American Review*, has been reproduced in this form, mainly, we presume, for the use of one of the parties of the hour in the recent municipal election; yet we are glad to possess it in so neat a volume.

Mr. Parton will bear witness that it is not our habit to screen the guilty, in any case; yet we are inclined to believe that, in this instance, neither

the city of New York nor those who govern it, have had fair treatment at the hands of the reviewer.

The city of New York harbors a vast amount of crime—where can a million of people be visited wherein crime is not found, and that in abundance, especially where the naked word of their avowed enemies affords the principal testimony on the subject? We will venture a guess, however, that bad as she may be, the city of New York is no worse, relatively, than the city of Boston; and we have reason to know that she is less vicious, the records of crime in both localities being the evidence, than any rural district in the Union where one man in every five hundred is kept, well paid, (\$1200 per annum) with nothing to do but to watch his neighbors, complain of their most trivial breaches of the law, and add to the enormity of the record of the badness of those among whom he moves.

The city of New York may, also, be a community of ignoramuses—it certainly seems, if all we hear of it is true, that its inhabitants need guardians, to which position the gentlemen in Boston are ready to be called, if the quantity of advice which they give on the subject may be taken as a criterion of their disposition. Is there any State in New England whose educational statistics afford a comparison with hers, either for the liberality with which she provides an "impartial" education for all classes, or the care which she exercises in selecting teachers of the highest grade? Are our own rural districts, who willingly sponge from this over-taxed city nearly a million of dollars per year, to pay the salaries of their country school-marms, any better off? We wait for a reply.

The city of New York, if bad, pays for her own sins, without calling on her neighbors to help her. The remedy is in her own hands to be applied whenever she shall see fit to do so. Until that shall be done, her neighbors had better follow her example, by attending to their own business.

AGATHYNIAN CLUB.—We have received a beautifully printed prospectus of the proposed publications of this club, which we are told "will be that of the Bradstreet Press, and will equal, if not excel, the best productions of the Shakspeare, Chiswick, and Didot Presses."

The objects in view are the reproduction of original publications and reprints of rare and curious American, English, French, and Latin works, on all subjects, and in limited editions. The first work to be reproduced will be Captain Grose's *Advice to the Officers of the British Army*, with an Introduction and Illustrative Notes by a competent hand.

# INDEX.

Adams, C. F., 64; John, 15.  
 Agathynian Club, *Supp.* 200.  
 Alden, Col. Ichabod, 174, 175.  
 America, Skin diseases in, 83, 124; Early Voyages to, 368.  
 American Academy of Fine Arts, *Supp.* 15; flag in Thames, 187, 224; army of the Revolution, Slaves in it, 223.  
 Amory, Thomas C. Vindication of General Sullivan, *Supp.* 161.  
 Andre, Major John. Vide Smith, Joshua Hett.  
 Andrews, Loring, 360.  
 Andros, Gov. Proclamation in Maine, *Supp.* 144.  
 Applewoman, The old one, in New York, *Supp.* 12.  
 Archæological items, 332.  
 Arctic discoveries, 20.  
 Arnold, Gen. B. See Smith, J. H., Letters from, 302.  
 Arrowstick Is., Me., *Supp.* 78.  
 Art and Artists in New York, Notes on, *Supp.* 74.  
 Astrology, 121, 124.  
 Anchmuty, Sir Sam'l, 5.  
 Auctions. Book, 30, *Supp.* 128, 158; Coin, 133, 134.  
 Bache, B. F., Extracts from his diary, 213.  
 Backus, Col. Electus, papers on Siege of Monterey, 207, 255; diary of campaign in Florida, 279.  
 Bakehouse, Phila. The old one destroyed, 16.  
 Ballard, Capt. Wm. H., 172, 174, 176.  
 Baltimore, Lord, Agreement between him and T. & R. Penn. 1760, 95.  
 Baltimore, Md. Unitarian church in, 261.  
 Bangor, Me. Historical Society of, *Supp.* 96.  
 Baronets, American, 4, 57.  
 Beef in N. J., 1788, 57.  
 Belknap, Dr. J., His *Pennycook Egg*, 260.  
 Bernard, Sir John, 5.  
 Berwick, Me., *Supp.* 78.  
 Bible, The first printed in America, 31.  
 Bill, Ledyard, 167.  
 Biscuit, Origin of the word, 378.  
 Board of War, Letters from, 305.  
 Boardman, S. L., *Supp.* 77.  
 Book Auctions, 30, *Supp.* 128, 158; Gossip, 29, 63, 91, 132, 166, 195.  
 Books in preparation, 92, 93, 128, 157; Notices of New Publications—Willis's *McKinstry's family*, Patterson's *Address*, N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register, 28; Shea's *Southern Tracts*, Field's *Garden's Anecdotes*, *Yonkers Gazette*, Round-Table, Weaver's *Windham County Genealogies*, 29; Shea's *Address from Roman Catholics to General Washington*, *Tribute of respect from citizens of Troy to memory of Mr. Lincoln*, Anthony Pasquin's *Hamiltoniad*, Burch's *Long Island*, 30; De Peyster's *Rip Van Dam*, 31, 62; *Brooklyn Corporation Manual*, 31; Shea's *Colden's*

*Five Nations*, 31, 61; Ireland's *Records of N. Y. Stage*, 31; Parkman's *Pioneers of France*, 37; Bergen's *Bergen family*, 61; Palmer's *Lake Champlain, Heraldic Journal*, Worth's *Random Recollections of Albany*, Syle's *Sermon*, Duyckinck's *Freneau's Poems*, 62; Tuckerman's *Francis's Old New York*, Kidder's *Expedition of Capt. Lovewell*, Wiggan's *Tracts on New England*, Boston *Sunday Times*, 63; *Bibliographie Historique de la Compagnie de Jesus*, Waltham *Free Press*, 91; Perrot's *Memoire sur les Mœurs, Coutumes, et Religion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 103; Coppee's *Grant and his Campaigns*, Hopkinson's *Battle of the Kegs*, *Historical Notice of the Essex Institute*, Smithsonian *Institute Reports* for 1864, Hough's *Pouchet's Memoirs*, Patten's *Biog. Sketches of American Clergy*, Squier's *Petruvian Researches*, 132; Coles' *History and Antiquities of Ecton*, 167; Dawson's *Gazette Series*, 195; Do. *First Flag over Richmond*, Dean's *Jared Sparks*, Washington Club publications, 196; *Constitution of R. I. Numismatic Association*, Phillips's *Confederate Paper Currency*, 231; Halleck's *Fanny, Supp.*, 14; Dawson's *Case of Rutgers vs. Waddington*, Bartlett's *Literature of the Rebellion*, 17; Washburn's *Bill of Rights in the Constitution of Massachusetts*, 18; *Dinner to Sig. Romero*, *Letters to Alex. Hamilton*, *King of the Feds*, 21; Frothingham's *Life and Times of Joseph Warren*, 22; Hayden's *Washington and his Masonic compeers*, Fisher's *Prof. Silliman*, 26; *Works of Edmund Burke*, 27, 153; Mrs. Kirkland's *Patriotic Eloquence*, Coffey's *Commemorative Discourse*, Newell's *Sermons on Drs. Sparks and Breck*, 27; *Portraits of Washington*, 28; Lange's *Commentaries on Mark and Luke*, Colton's *Lacon*, Woodward's *Graperies*, 29; Jacques's *Garden*, Do. *Barn-yard*, Do. *Farm*, Do. *House*, Woodward's *Country Homes*, Schuler's *Grape*, 30; Deane's *Smith's True Relation*, 46; Mrs. Gibson's *Bordley Family*, 47; Moore's *Notes on Slavery in Massachusetts*, 47, 81, 186; Booth's *Martin's History of France*, 57; N. Y. *Directory* for 1866-7, 58; Vinton's *Deborah Sampson's Female Review*, 86; Shea's *Charlevoix New France*, Paine's *Early Paper Currency in Massachusetts*, *Official Register of Rhode Island officers and soldiers*, Sabin's *Stith's Virginia*, 87; Harper's *Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion*, *Collections of N. H. Historical Society*, 88; Marcy's *Thirty Years of Army Life*, Field's *History of Atlantic Cables*, Gilmour's *Four Years in the Saddle*, Spencer's *An-*

*dersenville*, 89; *Relation des affaires du Canada*, en 1696, Bigot's *Relation*, 1702, Gravier's *Lettres sur les affaires de la Louisiane*, 1708, Budd's *Good Order Established in Penn. and New Jersey*, 90; Froude's *History of England*, *Records of Rhode Island*, Bloodgood's *Sexagenary*, 91; Marshall's *Niagara Frontier*, Hawley's *Origin of the Erie Canal*, Booth's *New York*, Marsh's *Temperance Recollections*, 92; Fireland's *Pioneer*, *Testimonial of Respect of the Bar of N. Y. to the memory of D. S. Dickinson*, Kirkland's *Address*, 93; Poole's *Hamlet Travestie*, 127; *Trip of the Oceanus*, Whitmore's *Elements of Heraldry*, 128; Bancroft's *United States*, Stewart's *Historical Discourse at Tarrytown*, 150; *National Academy of Design*, Howell's *History of Southampton*, L. I., Pollard's *Lost Cause*, 151; Napoleon's *Julius Caesar*, Alden's *Science of Government*, 153; Ferris's *Memorial Discourse*, Youth's *History of the Great Civil War*, *Annual Report of L. I. Hist. Society*, 1866, *Catalogue of the Museum*, &c., N. Y. *Historical Society*, Neal's *Account of the Great Conflagration at Portland*, 154; *Reports of Common Schools of New Hampshire*, 1861-5, *Reports of the American Institute*, 1861-4, *The Strong-Bennett Libel Suit*, 155; *Improved Order of Red Men*, White's *Ecclesiastical History of Vermont*, Yale *Catalogue*, 156; *The Magazines*, 157; *A Reconstruction Letter*, Valentine's *Obsequies of Abraham Lincoln*, Valentine's *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York*, 1866, White's *Jonas Galusha*, 199; *Agriculture*, Fuller's *The Forest Tree Culturist*, Woodward's *Architecture, Landscape Gardening and Rural Art*, Parton's *How New York is Governed*, 200; *Old Bay Psalm Book*, second edition, Do. English edition, 18; for the Indians, 20, 92; on indices to, 71; prayer-book west of the Alleghenies, 73; rare ones described, 79, 92, 120, 121, 159, 316, 317, 320, 348; Privately-printed books in America, *Supp.*, 43; Washington's text-book, 47; Wanted, 232, 328.  
 Boston, Pastors in, 17, 81; *The Courier*, 45; Improvements in, 95; New South Church, 59; Prince Library, 60; Fourth of July Address, 1866, 62; Old firm there, 96; old buildings, 95; model of, 156; Concert Hall, 292, 347.  
 Boston, New, 292.  
 Boston. Old and New, *Supp.* 82, 119.  
 Braddock, Gen., 261.  
 Bradstreet, Dudley, 159.  
 Brady, Gen. Hugh, on Battle of Lundy's Lane, 272.  
 Brandt, Joseph, 20, 57.  
 Brandywine, Battle of, 202.  
 Brinton, D. G., M.D., on the Shawnees,

- 1; on Mound builders of the Mississippi Valley, 33; on early Spanish mining in Georgia 137.
- Bristed, John, *Supp.* 15
- British frigates in North River in 1776, Attempt to destroy, *Supp.* 84.
- Broadhead, Hon. J. Romeyn, paper on proffered re-cession of N. J. to the Duke of York, 202; on Hennepin never in Albany 268.
- Brown, Gen. Jacob's report on Lundy's Lane reviewed, 253.
- Brunswick, Me., *Supp.* 79.
- Bull's Head Tavern, N. York, 320.
- Bunker's Hill, Battle of, 291, 292, 346.
- Burnett, Gov. Wm., 189.
- Burr, Aaron. His grave, 293.
- Calhoun, Mrs. J. C., *Supp.* 96.
- California, Bibliography of, 200.
- Camden, Battle of, 244.
- Cape Cod, *Supp.* 95.
- Cape Neddock, Me., *Supp.* 115.
- Carr, Col. Robert, 199, 224.
- Carterett, Governor to Commander Brockholls, 297; his widow's petition to Governor Dougan, 298; Mrs. Elizabeth, 157.
- Casco Bay, 378.
- Chatham, Lord, 223.
- Chelsea, Mass., 325.
- Cherry-Valley, N. Y., 172.
- Chickamauga, Derivation of, 123.
- Christ Church, Boston, *Supp.* 120.
- Chronology. Errors in English, 15.
- Church in N. Y., in 1705, *Supp.* 13.
- Citizen Genet 329
- City-Halls in N. Y., *Supp.* 41, 73.
- Clubs. Hamilton, O. 64, *Supp.* 21; Narragansett, 92, 159; Knickerbocker, 93; Washington, 196.
- Codfish in the Capitol of Massachusetts, 197.
- Coffin, Adm'l Sir Isaac, 6.
- Coin. The new one, 327.
- Coinage in England 135.
- Colden, Cadwallader, Jr., 145.
- Coleman, Rev. B., 378.
- Collections of Autographs, 99.
- Colorado. Ancient works there, *Supp.* 95.
- Columbus, Portrait of, 21; descendants of, 316.
- Combs, Gen. Leslie, on the death of Tecumseh, 204.
- Connecticut and Nullification, 223; Slavery in, *Supp.* 160.
- "Contraband," Meaning of 84.
- Convention of States in 1777, 223.
- Cooper, Rev. Sam'l. His Diary, 1753-4, *Supp.* 82.
- Copley. Paintings, in America, by him, 22, 85.
- Couch, Robert, 347.
- Coxe's Head, Me., *Supp.* 79.
- Croakers, *The Supp.* 16.
- Cromwell, Richard. His grave, 200.
- Cruise, Corp'l Walter, 292.
- Current Events, 323, 360. *Supp.* 59, 93, 158.
- Dallas, A. J., 221, 336.
- Davidson, Capt. David, on death of Tecumseh, 204.
- Davie, Sir John, 5.
- Davis, Geo. T., on Moore's *Notes on Slavery*, *Supp.* 81; Mr. Moore's reply to, *Supp.* 105.
- Dawson, Henry B. and *The Yonkers Gazette*, 29; on Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, 182; *Gazette Series*, edited by, 195; *First Flag*, by, 198; *Historical Magazine* transferred to, 200; *Salutatory*, 201; on What are the Methodists celebrating? 259, *Supp.* 64; on Lord Rawdon and the executor of Col.
- Hayne, 269; on the Early Methodists and Intemperance 314; Citizen Genet, 329; on Early Methodists and Slavery, 344; on Early Methodists and American Revolution, 361; on Notable Places in American history, *Supp.* 5; on Old Taverns in New York 38; on Privately-printed books in America 43; on Dr. Lothrop's Fourth of July Oration, 62; on Art and Artists in New York 74; Notes on local history of Maine, 78, 115; on Christ Church, Boston, 120.
- Deane, W. R. Memoir of Dr. Jared Sparks, 146, 196.
- Decimal Currency, 196.
- Derry, N. H., 108.
- Dewey, Judge Charles A., *Supp.* 92.
- Dickinson, John, in 1774, 288.
- Diplomacy, Federal. State action on, 223.
- Doolittle, Benjamin, 113.
- Downing, Emanuel, 378; Sir George, 5.
- Duer, William Alexander. Papers of Old New York by him, 10, 49, 77, 118, 188.
- Dummer, Governor, 113, 179, 180.
- Dwight, Timothy, 110-113, 115, 117, 141, 143, 144, 178-181.
- Eacker, George, 292, *Supp.* 45.
- Eastburn's Rooms, New York, *Supp.* 16.
- Eastchester, N. Y. Celebration there, *Supp.* 27.
- Editors in public life, 165.
- Election Sermons (Massachusetts), 156, 320, 348.
- Elizabethtown, N. J., 21.
- Epitaphs, 19, 122.
- Ewbank, Hon. Thos., on North American Rockwriting, 257, 272, 306.
- E. Y. E. on Slavery in Colonial New York, 237.
- Female Farmers, 157.
- Fishkill, N. Y. Church celebration, 323; Soldiers' monument, *Supp.* 158.
- Flag, the first American in the Thames river, 187.
- Florida, Indians in, 2; Vocabularies of Indian tongues of, 239; Diary of a Campaign in, 279.
- Fonda, John, 20.
- Forefathers' day, 377.
- Fort Dummer. Papers concerning it, 109, 141, 178.
- France, the Press of, 95; the Records of, 136.
- Franklin, Benjamin, and his mother, 122; his library, 123; his return from France, 213; his cane, 229.
- Fuller, Timothy, 20, 57, 85, 123; Margaret, 20, 57.
- Fulton, Robert. His steamboats, 316.
- Funda, John, 20.
- Fundy, Bay of. Origin of its name, 158, 321.
- Gait, W. R. Letter on death of Tecumseh, 318.
- Gates, Gen. H. Letter concerning his Southern Campaign, 244.
- Georgia, Indians in, 2; early Spanish mining in, 137.
- Germantown, Battle of. Letter concerning it, 202.
- Gibbs, Dr. R. W., *Supp.* 160.
- Gomara, Francisco, Translation from, 368.
- Grant, S. Hastings, 94.
- Grave-plunderers, 158, 167.
- Hall, Francis, *Supp.* 96; Harrison, 200.
- Hamilton, Alexander. His monument at Weehawken, 292; his death, 319; his testimony against Genet, 385; his death-place, *Supp.* 5; his duel with Burr, *Supp.* 45.
- Hamilton, Philip, Sr. His death, 292, *Supp.* 45.
- Hampton, Va. The old church there, *Supp.* 159.
- Hastings, Doctor, 141.
- Hayne, Colonel Isaac. Correspondence concerning his death, 269.
- Heated Term of 1866, *Supp.* 94.
- Hendrick, King, 111, 112.
- Hennepin never in Albany, 268.
- Herrare, Antonio de, translation from, 371.
- Hessians in American Revolution, 7.
- Higginson, Stephen, 22.
- Hinsdale, Capt. Mehumon, 181.
- History, John Adams on the falsity of, 317.
- Hitchitee Indians. Vocabulary of their language, 239.
- Holmes, Thos. His Map of Pennsylvania, 123.
- Hooker, Rev. Thomas, 85.
- Hopkins, John, 223.
- Hoyts, the family gathering of, *Supp.* 30.
- Hudson River, the attempt to burn the English frigates on, in 1776, *Supp.* 84.
- Huguenots. Presidents of Congress who descended from them, 19.
- Humphrey, Mrs. Urania B., 383.
- Hutchinson, Anne, 121, 159.
- Independence, Dr. Lothrop on the Declaration of, 62.
- Indians. Abnaki, 17, 224, 378; Arkansas, 35; Caughnawagas, 58, 224, 321; Conical stone-heaps of, 292; Cherokees, 35; Hitchitee, vocabulary of, 239; Kaskaskias, 35; Mandaws, 35; Miamis, 2; Mikasuke, vocabulary of, 239; names derived from, 58; Natchez, 35; Onontagos, 224; reservations, 64; secret societies among them, 139; Seminoles, vocabulary, 239; Shawnees, 121; Taranteens, 159, 224; vocabularies, 239; Yamassces, 2.
- Iron Greys, *The Supp.* 15.
- Jackson, Gen. Andrew, 55.
- Jamaica, L. I. Tories there in 1775, 185.
- Jay, Sir James, 223; John, 339.
- Jenks, Rev. Wm., 379.
- Jersey Prison-ship*. Capt. Van Dyke's narrative concerning it, *Supp.* 7.
- John, Jack, 19.
- Johnson, Sir Wm., 6, 57.
- John street Church, New York, 363-365.
- Kapp, F. Paper on the Hessians, 7.
- Kenjoekty, Philip, 168.
- Kentucky, Indians in, 2.
- King, Rufus, 329; Gov. Samuel, 20.
- Kittery, Me., 79.
- Knox, Gen. Henry, 204, 335.
- Korpony, Col. G. de, 136.
- Kraitsir, Doctor, 82, 160.
- Laco, 22.
- Laight's Brigade, N. York, *Supp.* 15.
- Lamb, Major John, 219.
- Lang, John, *Supp.* 15.
- Laurens, Henry, 99, 233, 265-8, 316.
- Lawrence, Jonathan, and his family, *Supp.* 111.
- Libraries, Boston Public, 25; Columbia College, 63; Harvard College, 59; Prince, *Supp.* 60.
- Lima. Wealth of, 293.
- Locke, John, 101.
- London Coffee-house, Phila., *Supp.* 32.
- Lone Tree, Ill., *Supp.* 61.
- Longevity, Instances of, 32, 64, 96, 135, 167, 319.
- Lothrop, Rev. Dr., on Declaration of Independence, *Supp.* 62.
- Loudons. Who were they? 290.
- Loyalists. Celebration of their landing in New Brunswick, 282; Methodists of their number, 361.

- Lundy's Lane, Battle of, 253, 272.  
 Lyceum of Natural History, *Supp.* 16.  
 Lynch, Dominick, *Supp.* 15. James, on Pulaski's burial, 285.  
 Macgowan, Dr. D. J., on Secret Societies among the Indians, 139.  
 Macneven, Dr. William James, *Supp.* 15.  
 Madison, President, 220.  
 Madoc's Expedition, 223.  
 Maine, Indians in, 17; Speaker in her House of Representatives, 1866, 18; papers concerning, *Supp.* 17, 115, 144. *Vide* "Popham's Colony."  
 Maps of the War, 82; of the World, 299.  
 Marine Committee of the Continental Congress, 305, 306.  
 Market Regulations in New York, 1764, *Supp.* 13.  
 Marriages in Massachusetts, 120.  
 Marshall, (Chief-Justice, Portrait of, 383.  
 Masonry, History of, *Supp.* 26.  
 Massachusetts. Speaker in her House of Representatives, 1866, 19; codfish over his chair, 197; marriages in, 120; persecutions in, 377; Bill of Rights of, *Supp.* 18; slavery in, *Supp.* 47, 81, 105, 138, 186; election sermons, 126, 320, 348.  
 Mayflower, The ship, 378.  
 Medford, Mass. Soldier's monument, 324.  
 Merchants' Exchange, N. York, 381.  
 Methodists. What are they celebrating? 259, *Supp.* 64; and Intemperance, 314, and Slavery, 344; and American Revolution, 361.  
 Mexican republic, *Supp.* 21.  
 Michigan. Ancient mines there, *Supp.* 95.  
 Mikasuke. Vocabulary of their language, 239; Lord's Prayer in it, 288.  
 Mills family of Long Island, 291.  
 Mining, Early, in Georgia, 137; in Michigan, *Supp.* 95.  
 Mississippi River. Discovery of its source, 219.  
 Monterey, Battle of, 207, 255.  
 Moore, G. H., on the "Pennycook egg," 260; on Staten Island and the New Jersey boundary, 297; on the first Merchants' Exchange, New York, 381; on slavery in Massachusetts, *Supp.* 47, 81, 105, 138, 186; on the First City Hall in New York, *Supp.* 73.  
 Morris, Lewis, 42, 83; Robert, 301.  
 Morrison, Rev. John, 292, 347; William, 319.  
 Mott, Captain Gershon, 218.  
 Mound-builders of the Mississippi Valley, 34.  
 Mount Desert, Me., *Supp.* 80.  
 Munsell, Joel, 64; *Supp.* 44.  
 Myers, T. Bailey, 42.  
 Names of men with middle letters, 82.  
 Narragansett Club, 92, 159.  
 Nashville, Tenn., 96.  
 Natchez Indians, 35.  
 National Academy of Design, New York, *Supp.* 15.  
 Nephew, Ancient use of the word, 22.  
 Newcastle, Me., 81.  
 Newell, Rev. Wm., *Supp.* 27.  
 New Hampshire. Constitutional Conventions in, 219; The Convention of 1779, 260.  
 New Haven Greys, *Supp.* 96, 159.  
 Newichawannock River, Me., *Supp.* 116.  
 New Jersey. Scrap of the history of, 42; beef in 1778, 57; proffered re-cession to the Duke of York, 202; land-bounty promised by her redeemed by New York, 223; her boundary and Staten Island, 297.  
 New Netherland and Canada, 57.  
 Newport Mercury, Anniversary of, 232.  
 New South Church, Boston, *Supp.* 59.  
 Newspapers in America, The earliest, 22; number of, in 1789, 319; in Boston, 45, 63; in Hartford, 32; in New York, *vide* "New York City."  
 New York City, Evacuation of, 1763, 11; Doctors' Mob, 12; Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, 81, 182; *The Independent Journal*, 22, 84, 124, 182; Methodists in, 363; John-street Church, 363-365; St. Paul's Church, 362; First Merchants' Exchange, 381; fire in 1776, 49; Bull's Head tavern, 320; the Bayard house, *Supp.* 5; the Church in, in 1705, *Supp.* 13; markets, in 1764, *Supp.* 13; old taverns in, *Supp.* 39; City Hall, *Supp.* 41; the first City Hall, *Supp.* 73; Palace in, *Supp.* 42; Directory, for 1866, *Supp.* 59; art and artists in, *Supp.* 74; burning of British frigates, 1776, *Supp.* 84; Friendly Fire Company, 1800, *Supp.* 108; in April, 1776, *Supp.* 110; Jonathan Lawrence and his family, *Supp.* 111; First Baptist Church and Governor Tryon, *Supp.* 143; Old, by Wm. A. Duer, 10, 49, 77, 118, 188; Old New York Revived, *Supp.* 11, 38, 73, 108, 143.  
 New York, Colony of, Politicians in, in 1776, 218.  
 New York, State of, redeemed bounty-land promises made by New Jersey, 223; slavery in, 237, 318.  
 Ninigret. The plunder from his grave, 167.  
 Noah, Major, *Supp.* 15.  
 Norridgewock, Me., 17, 51, *Supp.* 81.  
 North American Rock-writings, by Thos. Ewbank, 257, 272, 306.  
 Northborough, Mass., *Supp.* 96.  
 North Carolina. First Classical School, *Supp.* 113; second do., *Supp.* 148.  
 North Yarmouth, Me., *Supp.* 116.  
 Notable Places in American History, *Supp.* 5, 45.  
 Notes, 13, 55, 79, 156, 182, 222, 261, 315, 377.  
 Nullification in Connecticut, 223.  
 Numismatics, 133, 196, 231, 327.  
 Ohio, Indians in, 2.  
 Old Hickory, 55.  
 Old New York, 10, 49, 77, 118; the same, revived, *Supp.* 11, 38, 73, 108, 143.  
 Olivier, Antoine, 183.  
 Omnibus, by W. A. Duer, 10, 49, 77, 118.  
 Ossili, Madame, see "Fuller, Margaret."  
 Otis, James, 13.  
 Ovieda, Gonzola Ferdinand de, 371.  
 Oxford, Registers of the University of, 167.  
 Paige, Edward, 24, 83.  
 Parkman's *Pioneers of France*, 37.  
 Parsons, Doctor Usher, 169.  
 Partridge, Col. Samuel, 111, 112, 117, 178, 180.  
 Passamaquoddy Bay, Me., *Supp.* 117.  
 Passenger-lists to New England, 121.  
 Paulding's *Backwoodsmen*, *Supp.* 15.  
 Penicuid, Me., *Supp.* 116.  
 Penn, T. and R. Their agreement with Lord Baltimore, 95.  
 Pennsylvania, Indians in, 3; Holmes' map of, 123; female farmers in, 157; and the War, *Supp.* 61.  
 "Pennycook Egg," by Doctor Belknap, 260.  
 Pensioners, Living Revolutionary, 19.  
 Pepperell, Sir William, 5.  
 Perrot, Nicolas. His *Memoires*, 103.  
 Persecutions in Massachusetts, 377.  
 Petersburg, 83.  
 Petrie, Doctor George, 96.  
 Philadelphia. The old bake-house, 16; County Court-house, 105; the London Coffee-house, *Supp.* 32.  
 Phipps, Sir Wm., 5.  
 Pierce, Joseph, Jr., 4.  
 Pilgrim Fathers of Massachusetts, 377.  
 Pinckney, Gen. Charles Cotesworth, 202; Gen. Thomas, 244.  
 Pipon, Phillp, 157.  
 Placentia Islands, 159, 321.  
 Pontiac's Medal, 158.  
 Pontoosuc, Meaning of the Word, 317.  
 Popham Colony of 1607, *Supp.* 93.  
 Portland, Me., *Supp.* 61.  
 Prince Library, *Supp.* 60.  
 Prison-ships during the Revolution, 223, *Supp.* 7.  
 Privately-printed works on America, *Supp.* 43.  
 Psalm-singing no ordinance, 120.  
 Pulaski's remains. Where interred, 285.  
 Putnam, General Israel, 216, 217.  
 Quackenboss, Dr. Nicholas I., *Supp.* 15.  
 Queries, 19, 57, 82, 120, 157, 189, 223, 290, 320, 346, 378.  
 Quotation fathered, 18.  
 Rau, Professor C., on "The Stone Age," 97.  
 Rawdon, Lord, on the execution of Colonel Hayne, 269.  
 Religious Orders in the United States, 61.  
 Replies, 21, 57, 83, 121, 159, 189, 224, 320, 346, 379.  
 Revolutionary Pensioners, 19; soldiers surviving, 320; War. British officers commanding in it, 19.  
 Rhode Island, Origin of the name, 159.  
 Richmond, Duke of, on the execution of Col. Hayne, 269.  
 Riveiro Diego, 374.  
 Rivington, James, 22, 84, 124, 182.  
 Rock Island, Old Settlers of, 325.  
 Rockwell, Professor E. F., on First Classical School in Western North Carolina, *Supp.* 113; on second classical school in Iredell Co., N. C., *Supp.* 148.  
 Roman Catholic Church in the United States, 61.  
 Romero. Dinner to him, *Supp.* 21.  
 Rooke, Major Harry, 291, 347.  
 Rush, Doctor Benjamin, 315.  
 Saco, Me., *Supp.* 117.  
 Sag-an, Matthew, 65.  
 Sanderson, Joseph M., 32.  
 Sargeant, Rev. John, 325.  
 Sault St. Marie. Registers of the Mission there, 58.  
 Schuyler, Col. John, 115, 117; Gen. Philip, 216.  
 Scott, Gen. Winfield, 221, 253.  
 Sebago Pond, Me., *Supp.* 117.  
 Selections from Portfolios in Various Libraries, 125, 146.  
 Seminole Vocabulary, 239.  
 Shaw Papers, The, 300.  
 Shawnees. Their migrations, 1; their location, 121.  
 Sheepscot, Me., *Supp.* 117.  
 Sheridan and the American Government, 184.  
 Ships. *Cerberus*, 292, 346; *James*, 121; *Mayflower*, 378.  
 Showkamonne, Meaning of the word, 317.  
 Simms, J. R., on Dwelling-ground at Weehawken, *Supp.* 45.  
 Skidmore family, 250.  
 Slaves in Army of Revolution, 223; in Northern Colonies, Notes on, 237; in New York, 237, 318; the early Methodists concerning them, 341; in Massachusetts, *Supp.* 47, 81, 105, 138, 186; in Connecticut, *Supp.* 160.  
 Sloop-trade of New-York, 1803, *Supp.* 11; in 1812, *Supp.* 12.  
 Smith, Buckingham. *Vocabularies of Indian tongues*, 239; paper on Verra-

- zamo's map of the world, 299 ; translations by, 368 ; Joshua Hett. His trial, *Supp.* 1, 33, 65, 97, 129 ; Sidney, 21.
- Societies, Proceedings of. American Antiquarian, 352, 379 ; American Baptist Historical, 90, 231 ; American Ethnological, 23, 85, 124, 190, 295 ; American Statistical, 59, 161 ; Arizona Historical Society, 160 ; Boston Numismatic, 25, 162, 228, 262, 354 ; Buffalo Historical, 129, 150, 193, 230 ; Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical, 58 ; Firelands Historical, 25, 164 ; Long Island Historical, 88, 337, 383 ; Maine Historical, 293 ; New England Historic-Genæalogie, 23, 24, 63, 87, 126, 163, 190, 226, 323, 326, 354 ; New England Numismatic and Archæological, 165, 194, 262, 327 ; New Hampshire Historical, 168, 224 ; New Jersey Historical, 191 ; New York Historical, 228, 262, 356, 360 . Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Phila., 68, 165, 264 ; Pennsylvania Historical, 26, 89 ; Prince, 227 ; Rhode Island Historical, 90, 194 ; Sons of Rhode Island, 59 ; State Historical, of Iowa, 264 ; of Minnesota, 128 ; and of Wisconsin, 27 ; Toledo Historical and Antiquarian, 165 ; Vermont Historical, 348 ; Virginia Historical, 91.
- Soule, Bishop, 360.
- Southampton, L. I. Celebration there, 31.
- South Carolina, Indians in, 2 ; Gates' Campaign in, 244.
- Sparks, Dr. Jared, 146, 222.
- Springfield, Mass., Protest of the Church at, 94.
- Sproat, David, 303.
- Stamp Act of 1765, 223.
- Stark, General John, 172-176.
- State Action on Federal Diplomacy, 223.
- Staten Island and New Jersey boundary, 297 ; Indian deed for, 375.
- Stewart, Sir John, 5.
- Stiles, Dr. H. R. Salutatory, Valedictory, 200.
- St. Joseph, Mo., 96.
- St. Louis, Mo., 96.
- Stockbridge, Mass., 160.
- Stoddard, Col. John, 110, 113, 115, 117, 143, 144, 181.
- Stone Age. Paper on, by Prof. Rau, 97.
- Stone-heaps, Indian conical, 292.
- Sudbury Monument. The date on it considered, 158, 182.
- Sullivan, Gen. John, A Vindication of, *Supp.* 161.
- Suydam, Hendrick, 379.
- Swaine, Francis and Martha, 176, 177.
- Syracuse, N. Y. How settled, *Supp.* 32.
- Taranteens, 159.
- Tate, Admiral, 4.
- Taverns in New York, *Supp.* 38.
- Tecumseh. Letters concerning his death, 204, 318.
- Tennessee, Indians in, 2.
- Thomas, James S., 32 ; Simon, *Supp.* 16.
- Tompkins, Gov. Daniel D., 220, 221.
- Topsham, Me., *Supp.* 117.
- Townsend, Dr. S. P., *Supp.* 42.
- Trumbull, Gov. Jonathan, 302.
- Tryon, Governor, and the First Baptist Church in N. Y., *Supp.* 143.
- Type, Old Style, *Supp.* 158.
- Unitarian Ministers at Baltimore, 261.
- Van Buren, Martin, *Supp.* 15.
- Van Dyke, Capt. John, *Supp.* 7.
- Varick, Captain Richard, *Supp.* 110.
- Verrazano. His map of the world, 299 ; illustration of his voyage, 368.
- Wallack, James S., *Supp.* 16.
- Waltham Free Press, 91.
- Ware, Anne, 378.
- Warren, Doctor Joseph, 318, *Supp.* 22 ; Mrs. Mercy, 157, 190.
- Washington, George. His seal offered for sale, 18 ; his signature counterfeited, 19 ; at Trenton, 32 ; his textbook, 47 ; letters from, 76, 301 ; Will of, 96 ; portraits of, 117, 167, *Supp.* 28 ; Lawrence, 222 ; Mary, 102, 177, 196.
- Weaver's *Genealogies of Windham County*, 29.
- Weddings, Varieties of Anniversaries of, 83.
- Wells, Me., *Supp.* 117.
- Wentworth, Sir John, 5.
- Wesley, Rev. John, 361.
- "Westchester Farmer," 189.
- Wilkes, John, 223.
- Wilkins, Rev. Isaac, 189.
- Winnisimmet Ferry, 292, 346.
- Winter Harbor, Me., *Supp.* 118.
- Winthrop, Lucy, 378.
- Wirt's *Patrick Henry*, 157.
- Wiscasset, Me., *Supp.* 118.
- Woodworth, Samuel, *Supp.* 15.
- Wright, Capt. Benjamin, 178.
- Yale College, Gift to, *Supp.* 159.
- Yankee Doodle, Origin of, 317.
- York, Duke of, 202 ; town of, Me., *Supp.* 118.

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# CONTENTS.

	Page		Page
<b>GENERAL DEPARTMENT.</b> —The Shawnees and their Migrations.....	1	<i>Replies.</i> —Sydney Smith's Eighteen Modern Improvements, 21; Nephew, 22; Laco, 22; Paintings by Copley, 22; Rivington's Independent Journal, or General Advertiser, 22; First American Newspaper.....	22
American Baronets.....	4		
The Hessians of the Revolution.....	7	<b>SOCIETIES AND THEIR PROCEEDINGS.</b> —American Ethnological.....	23
Old New York.....	10	<i>Massachusetts.</i> —New England Historico-Genealogical Society—monthly meeting, 23; New England Historico-Genealogical Society—annual meeting, 24; Boston Public Library Annual Report, 25; Boston Numismatic Society.....	25
The Omnibus.....	10	<i>Ohio.</i> —Firelands Historical Society.....	25
<b>NOTES AND QUERIES.</b> — <i>Notes.</i> —Reminiscences of James Otis, 13; Anecdote of the First President Adams, 15; An Error, 15; Destruction by Fire of the Old Bake House, 16; Long Pastorates in Boston, 17; Indian Fort at Norridgewock, Me., 17; "First American Book reprinted in England," 18; Curious Coincidence, 18; A Quotation Fathered, 18; Seal of Washington, 18; Autographs of Washington, 19; Revolutionary Pensioners, 19; Curious Epitaph, 19; British Commanders in the American Revolution, 19; The Huguenots, 19; Isaac Royal.....	19	<i>Pennsylvania.</i> —Historical Society of Pennsylvania.....	26
<i>Queries.</i> —The First Learned Society in this Country, 19; Arctic Discovery, 20; Fuller and Ossoli, 20; Books for Indians Printed in England about 1668, 20; John Funda, 20; Brandt, 20; Indian Elizabeth-Town Rights, 21; Portrait of Columbus.....	21	<i>Wisconsin.</i> —State Historical Society of Wisconsin.....	27
		<b>NOTES ON BOOKS</b> .....	28
		<b>BOOK GOSSIP</b> .....	29
		<b>MISCELLANY</b> .....	31

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# CONTENTS.

	Page		Page
GENERAL DEPARTMENT.—The Mound-Builders of the Mississippi Valley.....	33	Replies.—Fuller, 57; Indian Names, 58; Registers of Sault St. Louis.....	58
Pioneers of France in the New World.....	37	SOCIETIES AND THEIR PROCEEDINGS.—Massachusetts.—The Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, 58; American Statistical Association, 59; Harvard College Library.....	59
A Scrap of New Jersey History.....	42	New York.—Sons of Rhode Island.....	60
Biography of the <i>Boston Courier</i> .....	45	NOTES ON BOOKS.....	61
Washington's Text Book.....	47	BOOK GOSSIP.....	63
The Omnibus.....	49	MISCELLANY.....	64
The Religious Orders and Congregations in the United States.....	51		
NOTES AND QUERIES.—Notes.—Old Hickory, 55; Norridgewock Town, 56; Beef at One Penny per Pound, 57; Corrections.....	57		
Query.—Correspondence between the Governor of Canada and the Governor of New Netherland.....	57		

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# CONTENTS.

	Page		Page
<b>GENERAL DEPARTMENT.—Matthew Sagean and his</b>		<b>SOCIETIES AND THEIR PROCEEDINGS.—American</b>	
Adventures.....	65	Ethnological.....	85
Indexes to Books.....	71	<i>Massachusetts.</i> —New England Historic-Genealogical Society.....	87
First Use of the Prayer Book West of the Allegheny Mountains.....	73	<i>New York.</i> —Long Island Historical Society.....	88
First Steamboat to New Orleans.....	75	<i>Pennsylvania.</i> —The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 89; The Pennsylvania Historical Society, 89; The American Baptist Historical Society, 90.....	90
An Original Letter of Washington.....	76	<i>Rhode Island.</i> —The Rhode Island Historical Society.....	90
The Omnibus.....	77	<i>Virginia.</i> —Virginia Historical Society.....	91
<b>NOTES AND QUERIES.—Notes.</b> —Rare Tracts, 79; Isaac Royal again, 80; Long Pastorates in Boston, 81; War Maps.....	82	<b>NOTES ON BOOKS.....</b>	91
<i>Queries.</i> —Names, 82; Kraistir, 82; Peterborough, 83; Edward Paige, 83; American Skin Diseases, 83; Wooden Weddings.....	83	<b>BOOK GOSSIP.....</b>	91
<i>Replies.</i> —Lewis Morris of New Jersey, in 1756, 83; Contraband, 84; Rivington's Independent Journal, or General Advertiser, 84; Fuller, 85; Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, Conn., 85; Portraits by Copley.....	85	<b>MISCELLANY.....</b>	94

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# CONTENTS.

	Page	Page
<b>GENERAL DEPARTMENT.</b> —Remarks on the Stone Age.....	97	
Selections from Autograph Collections.....	99	
The County Court-House at Philadelphia—Its History.....	105	
Papers Relating to Fort Dummer.....	109	
The Omnibus.....	118	
 <b>NOTES AND QUERIES.</b> — <i>Queries</i> —Peter Pennyless, 120; Singing Psalms no Ordinance of God, 120; Passengers on the Ship James, in 1633, 120; Anne Hutchinson, 121; Astrology.....	121	
<i>Replies</i> —The Shawnees, 121; Curious Hexameters, 122; Doctor Franklin and his Mother, 122; Dr. Franklin's Library, 123; Derivation of Chickamauga, 123; Thomas Holme's Map of Pennsylvania, 123; Where is a Perfect Book? 123; American Skin Diseases, 124; Rivington's Independent Journal, or General Advertiser.....		124
 <b>SOCIETIES AND THEIR PROCEEDINGS.</b> —American Ethnological.....		124
<i>Massachusetts.</i> —New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 126; Massachusetts Historical Society.....		127
<i>Minnesota.</i> —The Historical Society of Minnesota.....		128
<i>New York.</i> —The Buffalo Historical Society, 129, 130		130
 <b>NOTES ON BOOKS</b> .....		132
 <b>BOOK GOSSIP</b> .....		132
 <b>NUMISMATIC NOTES</b> .....		133
 <b>MISCELLANY</b> .....		134

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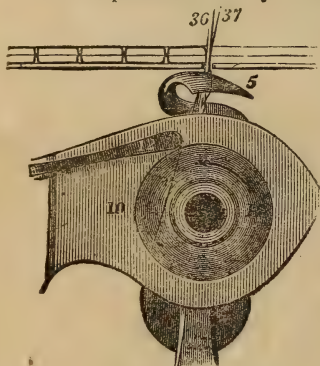
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## A M E R I C A .

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## CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

	Page		Page
I. The Early Methodists and the American Revolution.....	361	VII. Proceedings of Societies.....	379
II. Discovery of the Atlantic Coast of North America.....	368	SUPPLEMENT.	
III. The Indian Deed for Staten Island, in 1670.....	375	I. General John Sullivan, by Thomas C. Amory, Esq., of Boston.....	161
IV. Notes.....	377	II. President Reed of Pennsylvania.....	177
V. Queries.....	378	III. Slavery in Massachusetts.....	186
VI. Replies.....	379	IV. Books.....	199

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